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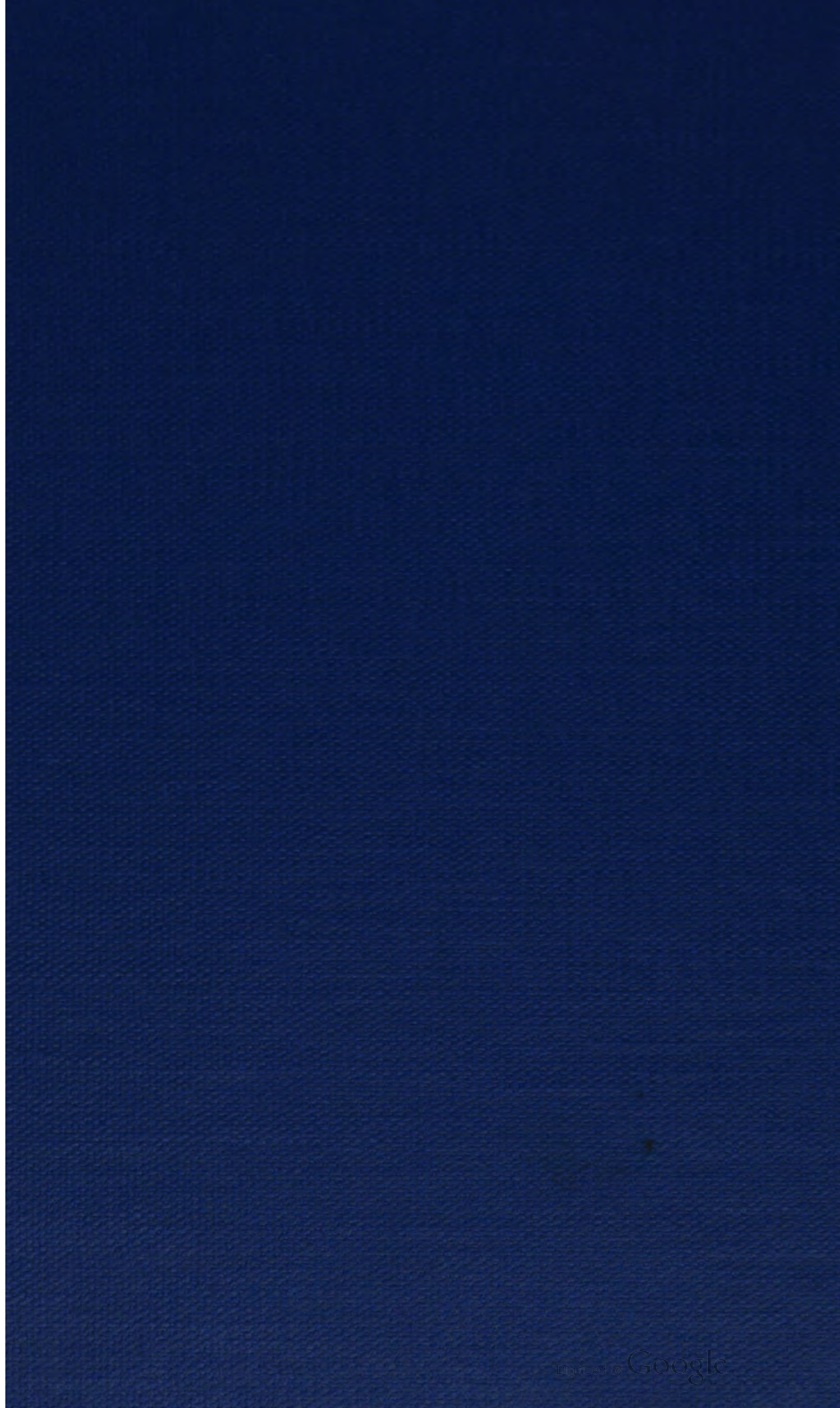
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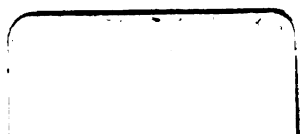
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ESSAYS ON LITURGOLOGY AND
CHURCH HISTORY.



BY THE REV. J. M. NEALE, D.D.

WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS

FROM THE ISAPOSTOLIC FATHERS,

BY THE REV. GERARD MOULTRIE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION, WITH PREFACE BY THE

REV. R. F. LITLEDALE, LL.D.



LONDON:

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TO HIS HOLINESS,
PHILARET,
METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW,
AND ARCHIMANDRITE OF THE TROITZKO-SERGIEVSKY LAURA,
WITH DEEP VENERATION FOR HIS OFFICE AND CHARACTER,
AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF HIS
BLESSING BESTOWED ON THE WRITER,
“AS ONE OF THOSE
WHO STUDY THE LITURGIES OF THE CHURCH,
IN ANTICIPATION OF HER FUTURE REUNION,”
THESE ESSAYS ARE DEDICATED.

Orthodoxy Sunday,
February 17, 1862.



PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.



THE impetus given to the study of Comparative Liturgiology by the great scholar whose chief Essays on that new branch of ecclesiastical literature are contained in this volume has already produced remarkable effects in the Church of England, and is likely to lead to results even more striking and comprehensive.

When the maxim, "*Lex orandi est lex credendi*," has once been accepted, the whole practical system of Christianity is straightway put on a firmer basis than that of Evidences or Articles, and is removed from the tainted atmosphere of controversy into the clear and healthy air of frank belief.

So long as attention is concentrated on the formularies of one age or nation alone, the full importance of certain expressions is apt to be underrated, and the removal or modification of phrases deemed exceptional or superfluous is urged by many who are unaware of the place which these phrases actually hold in Christian theology. There

is no such certain bulwark against hasty and indiscreet Liturgical Revision as the study of those Prayer Books of other lands and centuries which the advocates of sudden change do not even profess to understand or examine ; but which clearly establish the truth that the excisions desired are not of mere external accretions, not of portions of the frame in which the mirror of truth is set, but integral parts of the mirror itself, whose removal utterly mars the remainder in beauty and utility.

On the other hand, intelligent plans of true reform are steadily fostered by liturgical studies.

It is impossible for any one to examine the vast treasures of Eastern and Western devotions which are stored in Euchology and Menæa, in Missal and Breviary, in Hymnal and Sacramentary, without feeling that our poverty may most beneficially be aided from their wealth, our rigidity softened by their wonderful plasticity. For what the public Offices of the Church of England lack is not so much doctrinal fulness (although they are susceptible of much improvement under this head), as variety, fervour, flexibility. Such problems as those of constant occurrence: how to contrive a service suitable for children ; how to devise a second Even-song where one is insufficient ; how to provide for special occasions of prayer and thanksgiving, though absolutely insoluble so long as mere centos from the Bible and Common Prayer Book are made, become clear in the light of Comparative Liturgiology. The same principle, applied to religious song, has materially altered and raised the tone of English Hymnals during the last thirty years. Greek, Latin, and German

have contributed their beauties and their peculiarities for the enrichment of our hymnody ; and that not merely in the form of direct translation, but by the infusion of their spirit into the new compositions which are rapidly multiplying day by day. When the acerbity of modern polemics has somewhat abated, and when Revision is sought for the sake of practical utility rather than partisan triumph, the studies which these Essays represent will undoubtedly lead to healthy remodelling of our Offices. At first confined to a few erudite students, Liturgiology has gradually extended its sphere of attraction, and the fascination which it exercises over all who have once taken it up, even passingly, has put so much heartiness into the pursuit, that incomparably more progress has been made than was to have been looked for in so young a science. As yet, the results are rather of a private and unofficial character, betokened more by the increased richness and devoutness of manuals of prayers and collections of special offices, than by any direct improvement in our public formularies, except so far as Liturgiology happens to bear upon their outward manifestation. But every such manual or collection at once helps to build up individual devotion, and points out alike the wants in our common Offices, and the fitting mode of supplying them. That the wants have made themselves universally felt can no better be pointed out than by reference to the Harvest and Choral Festivals now common throughout England, and to the frequent sight of consecrations and restorations of churches. No one present on such occasions can have failed to note the extreme difficulty of making the service

express its intention, even when it is not further marred by the use of one of those singular orisons put out at irregular intervals in consequence of an Order in Council, which contrast so unfavourably, not only with the stately and simple collects of the West, but with the petitions of the Jewish Rabbi, or the fervid declamation of the higher stamp of Dissenting ministers.

A still deeper interest underlies this great subject. All who long and pray for the Reunion of Christendom must feel that such a blessed event cannot be brought about by formal treaties, by exchange of protocols, by comparison of Articles. The union which is to be cemented at the Altar has little to do with the pulpit, and nothing with ecclesiastical law-courts. Maimed and disfigured as our rites are, yet they attest our claims to the Catholic heritage, in a way that the Articles are very far from doing, and conciliate, in their degree, members of foreign Churches, who wisely and naturally shrink from those utterances of 1562, whose inutility amongst ourselves has long been patent, whose doom is already sealed, whose abolition is imminent.

And the result on our own side is not dissimilar. Those of us who are most reluctant to admit the truth or the advisability of many usages and tenets which we see prevalent in other communities, and who are apt to look rather at the surface differences than at the substantial identity, will find their best corrective in the marvellous devotions which, rising above the sphere of error and misconception, seem to pierce the very skies. And the humility which teaches us that we have very much to

learn from those we hastily despised is a large element in that temper of mind which is best adapted to promote Reunion.

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that Liturgiology is not a partisan science. No doubt it bears conclusive testimony against the innovators on the Faith, against the sciolists of revision. But its scope is so wide, embracing every age from the time of the Maccabees to the present, every land from India to America, every Jewish and Christian Church which has accredited formularies, that it is a standing witness against narrow exclusiveness. The same truths are seen by its light presented in such varying forms and colours, without any loss or concealment of identity, that the upholders of rigid uniformity are at once confuted.

It thus leads directly to the true idea of Catholic comprehensiveness and toleration; not the Latitudinarian notion of striking out what may displease anyone, till (like the picture of the ancient artist, who asked his critics to paint over anything they disapproved) nothing but a vague daub remains; but the higher thought of culling from every source the choicest flowers for the garland of prayer, heedless, so long as they are beautiful and fragrant, whether they have sprung wild on commons and under hedgerows, or have been the object of sedulous culture in the garden of a florist.

Such are the ideas, such the motives, which influenced the illustrious scholar whose learning and genius have thrown a bright halo around pursuits which before seemed dull and unattractive, and to whom it was given

to recast, in his lifetime, the hymnody of his native Church. That a yet greater task, that of recasting our Prayer Book, will be achieved in consequence of his labours, though not by his personal energy, cannot be doubted, and the new Office Book may be fitly laid upon his grave, in token of his victory, as the keys of the captured Moorish city were placed upon the coffin of the Cid.

R. F. L.

London: Quinquagesima, 1867.





PREFACE.



HAVE always felt that there ought to be some especial reason why papers, which have served their turn in a periodical, should be collected into a volume.

I may remark that the Essays, which the reader is about to peruse, are, in their nature, (for the most part,) rather successive chapters of one work, than scattered papers in a quarterly review. In the latter, they appeared rather by necessity, than by choice, of order. Perused, as they were to be, at such a distance of time from each other, an amount of recapitulation was sometimes necessary, which rendered the Dissertation in which it occurred the heavier reading; while, after all, it could not be expected that the student, in giving his attention to an Essay of this quarter, should be able to revert to the same subject in a number of the Review which might be two or three years old.

In the present volume the various papers have been arranged in proper order; reiterations, no longer neces-

sary, have been cut out ; some mistakes have been rectified ; some criticisms have, I hope, been profited by ; and the result is now before the reader.

I might also, in excuse for their republication, plead the urgent requests which I have received from scholars, both in England, Germany, and Russia, by whom it is an honour to be referred to, that these Essays should appear in a separate form : and I may mention that some of them have been translated into French, German, Romaic, and Rus.

This volume consists, almost entirely, of papers furnished to the *Christian Remembrancer*. I have to thank the editor not only for his permission to republish them, but also for his acceptance of Dissertations which to the majority of his readers must have been, for the most part, uninteresting ; and which could only be really acceptable to the small class of Liturgical students among us.

I have also to thank my friend, the Rev. Gerard Moultrie, for his addition to the paper on Liturgical Quotations in the New Testament : where he has most happily—unless partiality deceives me—worked out—with regard to the Apostolic Fathers,—the idea which had been in my Essay started with respect to the writings of the New Testament. I have endeavoured to adduce additional proof in favour of a theory which I am the more encouraged to consider important on account of the very great kindness with which it was received in Germany.

In addition to those papers which are reprinted from

the *Christian Remembrancer*, one—that on the Bollandists—was a contribution to the *Ecclesiastic*: only, when it was originally written, I had not myself enjoyed, as I have since, the privilege of visiting their house of S. Michael, at Brussels; and this has occasioned some addition to the original account.

And, finally, the Dissertation on Sequences is reprinted because it is not procurable in England, while it has been quoted as of some degree of authority in Germany. The first draught was prefixed as an Introduction to the Collection of Sequences which I printed in 1851. Dr. Daniel, the first hymnologist of the day, being about to add a fifth volume, by way of appendix, to his former labours—a volume dedicated to Profes alone—requested leave to reprint that Introduction. I was unwilling that, after the lapse of six or seven years, it should appear without corrections and additions; and the result was the Epistle which the reader has now before him.

How utterly unworthy of their subject these Dissertations are, no one can feel more deeply than I do. Yet, at the same time, they were, I believe, the first attempt to elucidate Comparative Liturgiology which had appeared in the English language, (Mr. Freeman's invaluable work having not been published when most of them were written),—a fact which may perhaps be allowed to excuse some of its shortcomings.

SACKVILLE COLLEGE,
All Saints, 1862.



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ЕГО СВАТѢЙШЕСТВУ,
ФИЛАРЕТУ,
МИТРОПОЛИТУ МОСКОВСКОМУ И
СВЯЩЕННО-АРХИМАНДИТУ СВАТО-
ТРОИЦКО-СЕРГІЕВОЙ ЛАВРЫ,

СЪ ГЛУБОКИМЪ ОУВАЖЕНІЕМЪ
КЪ ЕГО СЛУЖЕНІЮ И ОУСОВѢ ,
И ВЪ БЛАГОДАРНОМЪ ПАМЯТОВАНІИ Ш ЕГО БЛАГОСЛОВЕНІИ НА
ТРАДІИ ПИСАТЕЛЯ, КАКЪ ОДНОМУ ИЗЪ ТѢХЪ, КОТОРЫЕ ИЩУТЪ ЦР-
КОВНОЙ, ДРЕВЛЕ-ПРЕДАННОЙ ИСТИННЫ, ИЗЪ МІРУ И ЧАСТОМЪ
СОЕДИНЕНІИ СЪ СВАТЫХЪ БОЖІИХЪ ЦЕРКВЕЙ,
НАСТОЯЩІЕ ОПЫТЫ
ПОСВЯЩАЮТСЯ .

НЕСЪЕДЪ Православіа ХАЩЕВ .



Essays on Liturgiology and Church History.

I.

THE BREVIARY*—ROMAN AND GALLICAN.



HE Breviary! How many persons have the words constantly in their mouths without attaching a tangible idea to the phrase! How many have a misty notion that it contains a monstrous jumble of incredible legends, invocations of saints, mediæval miracles, fictions, and

deceits of all sorts! How many, even a degree further in ignorance, mix it up in some way with the mass, and expend a vocabulary of Protestant indignation on both in one! How few realize to themselves that it is, to the rest of the Western Church, their office of Morning and Evening Prayer, their Collects, their daily and Sunday Lessons, and Psalter! Nay, that it is the source from which our own Prayers and Collects have been transcribed. An English Breviary, indeed, would be a very convenient book, and we recommend the idea to the consideration of some of our church publishers.

We beg, at the outset, that our design in this paper may be distinctly understood. We have not the slightest intention of attempting anything approaching to a history of the Breviary,

* Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restitutum: S. Pii V. Pontificis maximi jussu editum: Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum: cum officiis Sanctorum, novissime per summos pontifices usque ad hanc diem concessis.—Mechliniæ. Typis J. Hanicq. 1846.

its gradual formation—its various branches—its different corruptions—its several reforms—the manner in which Rome has steadfastly set herself to have one recognized Breviary throughout the Churches of her obedience—to how great an extent she has succeeded, where she has failed; all this, though most deeply interesting, is utterly out of our field at present. We may, indeed, at some future time, enter on this subject, should that we have taken in hand prove agreeable to our readers; and we should do it the more readily, because *the History of the Breviary*, not only from the time that it came as a book, so-called, into use, about 1050, but from the very commencement of the gradual process of its formation, is a great desideratum, perhaps *the* great desideratum in ritualistic works: the treatise of Grancolas supplying but a very small part of what is wanted. But we now propose to explain what the Breviary is, and how it is used; and we believe that the majority of our readers will be obliged to us if we take nothing for granted as known, and begin from the beginning. It may be as well to say also, that we propose to include in our inquiry, besides the modern Roman, the various French Breviaries, those of England, in some degree those of western Germany, and those of some of the monastic orders. With the Breviaries of Germany, (generally speaking,) Poland, Prussia, Italy, Sweden, Holland, &c. we shall not concern ourselves; and we also propose to consider the Breviary as it is intended for the Church, and not for individual recitation.

It might seem that the crowd of French Breviaries which have had their origin within the last hundred and fifty years, must be utterly worthless for ritual studies; but this is not quite the case. Just as an ecclesiologist will, in a modernized church, trace a string here, a capital there, a jamb on this side, a piscina on that, which speaks of older and better work; so, in these office-books, many an old rite may be noted, if looked for, though perhaps disfigured, perhaps dislocated. And such discovery will be the more likely to be made, if the Breviaries in question are studied together with the invaluable *Voyages Liturgiques* of De Moleon, (Le Brun,) who wrote while the old provincial uses of France were still, in great degree, kept up, and who had that quickness of liturgical tact which let nothing noticeable escape his observation. Those who are not acquainted with this rare book may form a very tolerable idea of it from Mr. Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, except that Mr. Webb, if inferior to De Moleon as a ritualist, far surpasses him as an ecclesiologist.

Although not concerned with the History of the Breviary, it will be necessary to say a few words on Cardinal Quignon's Reform, both because we shall frequently have occasion to refer to

it in the following pages, and because it is very interesting to English Churchmen as a kind of connecting link between their own Prayer-book and the Roman Breviary. From the time that Pope Nicolas III, about 1180, substituted Franciscan for then Roman uses, (we need not here discuss with what limitations the statement is to be taken,) various proposals were made for a reform, which, as was natural, grew more requisite with each century. At length Clement VII. entrusted a thorough revision to Fernandez de Quiñones, of a noble family in Leon, a Franciscan, and Cardinal Presbyter of the title of Holy Cross. The first edition *appears* to have been published in 1535; and by the audacity of its alterations excited great opposition. It had been approved, however, by Clement VII, and was so again by Paul III, Feb. 5, 1535; but the Theological Faculty of Paris censured it on July 27 of the same year, as infringing on the ancient order of the Church, by the omission of antiphons, by reducing all days to a level in a perpetual monotony of three lessons, &c. Quignon made some alterations in his second edition, in the preface of which he says that he had rather published the former as a *feeler*, than as a final arrangement. The Breviary, in some respects amended, and with antiphons inserted, became a favourite in France; there are Paris editions of 1536,* 1539, 1542, 1545, 1546; and twelve Lyonese editions between 1538 and 1557. The last edition, we believe, is that of Antwerp, 1566.

The Brief of Paul III. gives leave to all secular priests to recite the new Breviary, on condition that they apply for licence to the Apostolic See, which licence is to be granted gratis. S. Francis Xavier, writing to S. Ignatius, (Lisbon, Nov. 1, 1540,) wishes to obtain the privilege of himself granting this licence to six priests at a time, of his own election, as likely to persuade some to follow him to India—certainly rather a strange reason for missionary enterprise.

The new Breviary, it is clear, was principally intended for private recitation; and we find a Bishop of Verona, and in Spain of Huesca, protesting against its introduction into the choir. The prefaces to the Breviaries of Ilerda and Huesca, printed about that time, bitterly complain of those of three lessons. At Saragossa, the people, justly enraged at the loss of the *Tenebræ* office, absolutely rose against the Clergy, and the secular churches were almost deserted. At length the Cardinal Peter John Caraffa,

* Or rather, we suspect, *two* of 1536. For Arevalus, in his *Breviarium Quignonianum*, speaks of the Paris edition of 1536 as a reprint of the *second* Roman edition. Now the copy we use is clearly a reprint of the *first*, because it does not contain Antiphons; but, in (what appears to be) a careful copy of the lost title-page, in an old hand, it is dated 1536.

elected Pope by the title of Paul IV, prohibited (Aug. 8, 1558) the granting any fresh licences ; yet, such was the number already issued, that four editions were subsequently called for. Finally, S. Pius V, by his bull, *Quod a nobis postulat*, in 1568, absolutely abolished the Breviary. We would recommend, as a very curious inquiry, to some such scholar as Dr. Maitland, what traces can be found in the writings of the Reformers of the influence exercised on the English Prayer-book by this Breviary ; to which it certainly owes, as we shall see, a portion of its preface, and probably the *first* hint of its table of lessons.

The principle of the French reforms is, as we shall see, to admit into the Breviary as little as possible that is not taken from Scripture ; with the exception of hymns, prayers, and lessons from Homilies, this rule is strictly observed. There was some countenance to this practice in earlier times. The Council of Braga, 561, forbade all poetical compositions not taken from Scripture ; and S. Agobard, who was Bishop of Lyons about 813, wrote against the use of hymns and antiphons on that very ground, and, probably in consequence of his authority, the Church of Lyons did not use any hymns in her services (except at Compline), till, we believe, the Lyonnese Breviary of Archbishop Malvin de Montazet, (1780,) and he, in his preface, makes a kind of apology for the innovation.

In proceeding to our subject, we utterly disclaim all disaffection, all lukewarmness, to our own Church, because we are about to dwell on the riches of the devotional treasury of her Roman sister. That we earnestly long to win back for her much of what she has lost, we do not deny. That we would fain help, be it only in the humblest degree, to promote such an object, is also true. But that any one should leave the Church of his Baptism because the offices of her rival have superior æsthetical beauty—against such undutifulness and ingratitude we should be the first to protest. And, (putting aside the very difficult question of a vernacular language,) we feel our advantage strongly in one respect. While the beauty of our Prayer-book is but the faint shadow of the beauty of the Breviary, it would be much easier to correct the former by amplification than the latter by diminution. The process, on our side, involves no laceration of faith. We have no legends that *must* be given up. We have no invocations that *must* not be insisted on. We have a good foundation, and have only to heighten and give majesty to our building :—Rome would have to take down part of the edifice, and to remove a good many of the incongruous ornaments. For, be it remembered, there is no instinctively Catholic truth stated in the Breviary, (of the Missal and Offices we are not now speaking,) which

is not as plainly set forth in our own Prayer-book, with the one exception of Prayers for the Dead. Regeneration,—the propitiatory virtue of Alms and Fasting,—the Power of the Keys,—England states them as clearly as Rome; and our weak point, the obscurity in which our offices involve the doctrine, that the Holy Eucharist is truly and properly a propitiatory Sacrifice, is one not particularly included in the subject of our present consideration.

We proceed to our task: and while, as we said, we propose to be as elementary as possible, the fact that some eighty Breviaries, several of excessive rarity, are at our side as we write, may enable us, in some degree, to gratify those who are rather further advanced in ritual studies.

The Breviary, then, is usually contained in four volumes, one for each quarter of the year. It is sometimes, indeed, comprised in one volume, and is then technically called a *Totum*. One of the neatest of Hancocq's reprints, the Franciscan Breviary, is so; it forms a goodly octavo of some 1200 pages, in double columns, and in type a size smaller than the notes to the present article. Among early *totums* are those of the Cardinal Quignon, 1536, and of the *Frates Humiliati*, 1540.

Each of the volumes of the Breviary consists of six parts. 1. The Calendar, Rubrics, and Tables. 2. The Psalms, Versicles, and Responses of the week-day hours, or ferial office. 3. The *Proprium de tempore*: the collects and lessons for the Sundays and weeks in that part of the year which the volume contains. 4. The *Proprium de Sanctis*: the same for the festivals of Saints which occur in that period. 5. The *Commune Sanctorum*: the lessons, collects, hymns, &c. common to all those Saints for whom no particular office is appointed. And to all these we may add—6. The offices for the Anniversary of a Dedication, for a Departing Soul, of the Dead, the Little Office of S. Mary, &c; so that much of the 1st, and all the 2d, 5th, and 6th of these divisions are necessarily repeated in every volume of the Breviary.

We do not here propose to speak of the Calendar, nor of those admirable Tables, whereby all the confusion and perplexity concerning concurrences is avoided, which, in our own Church, is so painful, and all the prolixity and difficulty, which, in the Eastern Church, is so cumbersome; reserving that subject for another time.

We need hardly stay to remind our readers of the mystical commemoration of our LORD'S sufferings made by the Seven Canonical Hours. The old verses give them well; we quote the version from the notes of the late translation of Durandus.

At Matins bound, at Prime reviled, condemned to death at Tierce,
 Nailed to the Crofs at Sexts, at Nones His Blessed Side they pierce :
 They take Him down at Vesper-tide, in grave at Compline lay,
 Who thenceforth bids His Church observe her sevenfold hours alway.

And the same idea was expanded in many a mediæval poem, of which, perhaps, one of the most beautiful is that which begins—

Patris Sapientia, bonitas divina,
 Deus Homo captus est horâ MATUTINA, &c.

We will proceed to the hours themselves, after noticing the *golden verses* which in some of the older Breviaries preceded them.

Mens vaga, discursus, et syncopa, sermoque mixtus,
 Tollunt canonicas meritum dicentibus horas.

Although, correctly speaking, Vespers are the first office of the day, and although the Breviaries usually commence with Prime, from which the Psalms also begin their course, we will take Matins first. The *Officium Nocturnum, Vigilæ, Ad Matutinum*, or *Matutinæ*, consists of one, two, or three Nocturns, as the case may be, and is immediately followed by Lauds.

Matins are preceded by the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Credo ; as are all the other hours except Compline with the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. This use, however beautiful, is known not to be very ancient ; it was not received with any authority into the Roman Church till the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon ; which, however, added also the *Confiteor* of the Mass. No doubt, however, the practice was widely in use as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries : and in the Sarum, York, and Hereford Missals, the Pater Noster is ordered to be said secretly before the commencement of the office, just as now in the Roman Church. In the Paris Breviary of 1557, and that of Senlis of the same date, no allusion is made to the use. In that of the *Frères Humiliés* no notice is taken of the Ave Maria and the Creed, but the Pater Noster is prescribed. The proper commencement of Matins, therefore, is with the Versicles and Responses, “ O LORD, open Thou our lips. And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise. O GOD, make speed to save us. O LORD, make haste to help us ;” the *Gloria*, and the *Laus tibi Domine, Rex æternæ gloriæ*, in Septuagesima, or *Alleluia* at other times.

We would here make one remark on the *Gloria*, with respect to the custom of turning to the East, and bowing when it is said. It was the universal custom for the children of the choir to do this in all French Cathedrals ; but in the beginning of the last century, it was remarked as a singularity, that the Canons of Notre

Dame at Rouen, and the Canon-Counts of S. John at Lyons, still retained the practice. The Cluniac rule orders turning to the altar at the *Gloria*, as well as at the *Deus in adjutorium*. The extravagant inclinations practised by some of our brethren during both verses show more zeal than knowledge ; in fact, at the *Sicut erat* it was the practice of many churches to turn to the west.

The ninety-fifth Psalm is preceded by the Invitatory, the greatest of the minor losses which the English Church has sustained. It pitches the key-note to the whole office : It directs the worshippers in what light they are at that particular time called on to regard GOD ; and stamps its own meaning on the whole series of Psalms. No one, we imagine, but must have felt the lamentable want of this in our own Matins. On Christmas-Day, for example, and Good-Friday, the office is absolutely the same through sentences, exhortations, confession, absolution, versicles, and Venite ; in short, down to the Psalms. And on days which have no proper Psalms the case is even worse. For instance, on Maundy Thursday and Lady-Day, the difference between the Te Deum and the Benedicite, (and that is seldom practically observed,) would be the first intimation that the days were of different natures.

The Invitatory is divided into two clauses : both are said before the Psalm, and at the end of the second, seventh, and last verses ; the second clause only at the end of the fourth and ninth verses. The Gloria is followed, first, by the second, and then by both clauses. The Breviary of Cardinal Quignon restricted the Invitatory to the beginning and end of the Psalms. *Deinde sequitur invitatorium tempori seu festo conveniens ; Psalmus, Venite exultemus ; in cujus fine duntaxat invitatorium repetitur, non autem in medio.*

The ordinary Sunday Invitatory in the Roman Breviary is : " Let us worship the LORD * our Maker." In the four first Sundays of Lent : " Let it not be in vain to you to rise early before the light, * for the LORD hath promised the crown to them that watch." On Easter-day : " The LORD is risen indeed, * Alleluia." On the commemoration of Apostles : " The LORD, the King of Apostles, * O come let us worship." So in the commemoration of other saints : " The LORD, the King of Martyrs," or " the King of Confessors," or " the King of Virgins, * O come let us worship." In the office of the Dead : " The King, to Whom all things live, * O come let us worship." Quignon's Reform, while it retained the proper invitatories for the commemoration of Saints, made great innovations in those for Sundays. For example, in those of Advent : " LORD, we wait for Thine Advent * that Thou mayest quickly come, and

dissolve the yoke of our captivity." How unfavourable a contrast with the Roman: "The King, the LORD That is to come, * O come let us worship!" But Quignon, true to his scriptural principle, continually inserted texts in this position which were not in the least calculated for it.

The English Breviaries agree pretty closely in their invitatories with the modern Roman. The York, however, in the commemoration of Saints, has great and not happy variations. Thus, for one Martyr: "The just shall flourish, planted in the house of the LORD; * let us rejoice and be glad in this sacred solemnity." Of one Confessor: "One GOD in Trinity let us faithfully worship, * by faith in Whom the Holy Prelate N. beheld GOD." Of the invitatories of the older French Breviaries there is little to be said; but a few words must be given to those of the Paris Reform, by way of showing how much the attempt to scripturalise them has lowered their tone. For example, in the commemoration of Martyrs, instead of the glorious "The LORD, the King of Martyrs, * O come let us worship,"—which at once raises our thoughts to Him Who is the Martyr of Martyrs and the Saint of Saints, assuming His mystical union with His people in this as in every other action,—we have mere common matter-of-fact statements, that direct our attention to the grace of GOD rather than to the GOD of grace. Thus the new Paris, followed by a multitude of others: "The GOD of patience and consolation, * O come let us worship." Laon, S. Quentin, Le Mans, Limoges, Rouen, Amiens, Cahors: "CHRIST, Who giveth to the conqueror hidden manna, * O come let us worship." Bourges, Chalons-sur-Saône, Nevers: "GOD, Who giveth the crown of life to him that is faithful unto death, * O come let us worship." Dijon, with completely the old spirit, "The LORD, mighty in battle, * O come let us worship."

It will be worth while, as a curious specimen of this diversity, to take the invitatories for an ordinary Sunday. Paris: "The LORD Who made us, * O come let us worship." Laon, Rheims, Cahors, Le Mans: "GOD, Who hath made us and regenerated us *." It would be difficult to assign any reason for the omission of redemption. Versailles, Chalons-sur-Marne: "It is a solemn feast unto the LORD *." Bourges, Beauvais: most inappropriately: "The LORD Who rested on the seventh day and sanctified it *." Dijon, Liège: "O come * let us sing unto the LORD." S. Quentin, Amiens: "The LORD our GOD, * O come let us worship." Bazas, Lombes, Toulouse, Vienne: "GOD, Who hath made us and raised us together with CHRIST *." Nevers: "Him that sitteth upon the throne, and liveth for ever and ever *." Meaux: "CHRIST JESUS,

Whom it behoved in all things to be like unto His brethren, that He might be merciful *.” The last is an invitatory clearly at variance with the spirit of the festival: appropriate enough to a Friday, but sadly out of place on a Sunday.

The *Venite exultemus* is said, not from the Vulgate, but in the Old Italic version. This Quignon abrogated for that of S. Jerome. When the Psalm occurs in the middle of the office, however, then it is said from the Vulgate.

A few words on these two Translations of the Psalms may not be out of place. The Old Italic, slightly corrected by S. Jerome, was called the Roman use: the new version of S. Jerome was introduced by S. Gregory of Tours into Gaul, and thence called the Gallican use. From Gaul it had passed into Germany, before the time of Walafrid Strabo. In Spain, the Old Italic was retained till the partial abrogation of the Mozarabic Rite by S. Gregory VII. S. Francis, in his Rule, orders the Roman Office, *except the Psalter*. By the time of Sixtus IV. the Gallican use had prevailed everywhere, except in Rome itself, and the churches within a circle of forty miles. Finally, the Gallican edition was made the use of the Latin Church by the Council of Trent. But the Clergy of the Lateran, in spite of the Council, retained the Italic version, and still do so. The second volume of the collected works of the Cardinal Thomasius contains a comparison of the two versions, arranged in parallel columns.

We have said that the *Venite exultemus* follows the responses with which Matins open. But the rule of S. Benedict prefixes to it the third Psalm. This is retained in the modern Benedictine and Cluniac Breviaries, as also in the Carthusian.

The *Venite* is followed by the hymn, either for the day of the week, or proper to the festival, as the case may be. Of the hymnology of the Breviary* we do not now intend to speak, and shall therefore pass on to the Psalms.

* We will, however, for the sake of those who may travel in those French dioceses which still have proper Breviaries, (though the ultramontane views at present prevailing in France are introducing, or reintroducing, the Roman Breviary everywhere,) give the explanations of the initials attached to the French hymns.

B.—The Abbé Bénédict, Priest of S. Maurice, Sens, 1726.

Br. or sometimes *B.*—The Abbé J. B. Le Brun Desmarets, author of the Breviaries of Orleans and Nevers, died 1791.

C.—Charles Coffin, Rector of the University of Paris, who died in 1749: the second in point of excellence.

Commir.—Jean Commire, of the Society of Jesus, died 1702.

D.—J. D. Danicourt, of Noyon, died after 1786.

G. or *Guet.*—Charles Guet, of the Society of Jesus, died 1684.

G. ep S.—Guillaume du Pleffis de Geste, Bishop of Saintes, died 1702.

H.—Isaac Habert, Doctor of the Sorbonne, 1668.

At the conclusion of the hymn the first nocturn begins. We may, for greater clearness, divide the arrangement of nocturns into two great families, which we may call the monastic and the secular. We will begin with the latter first, and take the Roman as the example.

On ordinary days, *one* nocturn only is said. This consists of twelve Psalms, recited two and two together under one antiphon, and three lessons from Holy Scripture; or, if it be a simple festival, the second, or the second and third lessons, are of the Saint.

On semi-double and double Festivals* there are three nocturns. The first consists of three Psalms, each under its own antiphon, and three lessons from Scripture; the second also consists of three Psalms, and three lessons from some sermon, generally speaking, on the passage of Scripture which has preceded; the third of three Psalms, the beginning of the Gospel for the day, and three lessons from a homily upon it; and then, under restrictions which we shall afterwards see, the *Te Deum*.

But on Sundays, the first nocturn consists of twelve Psalms, said four and four under one antiphon; while on the Festivals of Easter and Pentecost one nocturn only is said.

The general arrangement of the Parisian Breviary is the same, with the exception that the first nocturn on Sundays is of the same length with that on ordinary days; that semi-doubles have

L.—F. L. Liffior, Præmonstratensian Abbat of Val-Dieu, died after 1786.

R.—Urban Robinet, Vicar-General of Paris, died 1758.

S. V.—Jean Baptiste Santeuil, the Prince of French Hymnographers, better known by his name of Santolius Victorinus, died 1697. His hymns met with the almost unanimous admiration of contemporary French critics; one of the best editions was published at Paris in 1698. The greater part of the French Breviaries have adopted them;—among the first that did so were those of Orleans, 1693; Lisieux, 1704; Narbonne, 1709; Meaux, 1713. Bourdaloue even wished that they might be received into the Roman Breviary. The criticisms of Commire were those of a rival; but the remarks of De la Monnaye, (*Menagiana*, Ed. 1713, tom. iii. p. 402,) give a much juster idea of their merits. For anything like the fervour and sternness of the older hymns we must not look; but they were the truly elegant productions of a Christian scholar of the age of Louis XIV. We believe that they are, from their very faults, more popular among English Churchmen, generally speaking, than those of the Roman Breviary. Santeuil has been accused of Jansenism; it would seem causelessly;—at least, the verse which has been thought to imply it is innocent enough,—“*Inscripta saxo lex vetus Præcepta, non vires dabat; Inscripta cordi lex nova Quicquid jubet, dat exequi.*” There are, however, some very offensive passages; e.g. of our suffering LORD: “*Clamore magno dum Patrem Sibi relictus invocat, Cum morte luctantem Deum Non audit Ille, vix Pater:*” a contradiction, almost in terms, of the Apostle’s declaration, that “*He was heard in that He feared.*”

S. M.—Santolius Maglorianus, or Claude Santeuil, brother of the above.

* [On the different classes of Festivals, see a subsequent paper on “The Calendars of the Church.”]

only one nocturn; and that this nocturn, as well in them as in simple feasts and ferial days, has nine and not twelve Psalms.

In the Benedictine Breviary, on semi-double and all superior festivals, three nocturns are said: the first consists of six Psalms, said two and two under one antiphon, if Sunday;—each with its own antiphon, if any other festival;—and four lessons from Scripture: the second, of six Psalms in like manner, and four lessons from a homily: the third, of three Canticles from the Old Testament, the beginning of the Gospel for the day, with four lessons by way of commentary on it.

But on feria and simple feasts, as also on octave days, though semi-doubles, two nocturns are said. The first consists of six Psalms, under three antiphons; and in the feria of winter, simple festivals, and octave days, three lessons; but in the feria of summer, a short "chapter" only. The second nocturn consists of six Psalms in like manner, and a short chapter.

The old order, as we learn from Durandus, was that monks never said nine lessons, except in Matins for the Dead, and, as being of the same kind, on the three last days of Holy Week; but this rule was afterwards departed from. The breviary of the *Frères Humiliés* (1548) has only nine lessons; and a great many of the modern reforms, e.g. the Carmelite (1755), the Augustinian (1849), the Franciscan (1848), the Gallican congregation of Augustinians (1778), and that of S. Maur, have all the same arrangement. The unreformed Benedictines, however, the Cistercians, and (to the last) the Cluniacs, retained the twelve lessons. The two nocturns are not so easily explained. Durandus does not mention them; and the rule of S. Benedict only does so by implication.

Cardinal Quignon's Reform gives one nocturn of three psalms and three lessons all the year round.

In proceeding to the Psalms, we may remark that the rule of S. Benedict, the great normal guide of monastic Breviaries, after giving a particular arrangement, concludes thus:—"Admonishing this before all things, that if by chance the aforesaid distribution of the Psalms should displease any, let him arrange them in some other way, as it shall seem good to him; observing, however, this most carefully, that, in every week, the whole Psalter, to the number of CL. Psalms, be sung, and be commenced anew in the vigils (Matins) of the Sunday."

* This is S. Benedict's rule; but he makes, with great *naïveté*, an exception,—“Unless by chance, which God forbid, the brethren arise too late, and something has to be shortened in the responses or lessons,—all care, however, should be taken that this fall not out so,—but if it shall so happen, he by whose neglect it fell out shall worthily satisfy God in the oratory.”

The Benedictine arrangement, then, is this :—

	Matins.						Lauds.					
Sunday ..	21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.	27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.*	67. 51. 118. 63. Benedicite. 148. 149. 150.									
Monday ..	33. 34. 35. 37. 38.	39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45.	51. 5. 35. Song of Isaiah. 148. 149. 150.									
Tuesday ..	46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 52.	53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 59.	51. 47. 57. S. of Hezekiah. 148. 149. 150.									
Wednesday ..	60. 61. 62. 66. 68.	69. 70. 71. 72. 73.	51. 64. 65. S. of Hannah. 148. 149. 150.									
Thursday ..	74. 75. 77. 78. 79.	80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85.	50. 88. 90. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.									
Friday ..	86. 87. 89. 93. 94.	96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101.	50. 76. 92. S. of Habaccuc. 148. 149. 150.									
Saturday ..	102. 103. 104. 105.	106. 107. 108. 109.	50. 153. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.									
	Prime.	Tierce.	Sexts.	Nones.	Vespers.	Compline.						
Sunday ..	119. v. 1—32.	119. v. 32—56	119. v. 57—80.	119. v. 80—105.	110. 111. 112. 110.	} 4. 90. 1						
Monday ..	1. 2. 6.	119. v. 105—128	119. v. 129—153.	119. v. 153—end	114. 115. 116. 117. 129.							
Tuesday ..	7. 8. 9.	120. 121. 122.	123. 124. 125.	126. 127. 128.	130. 131. 132. 133.							
Wednesday ..	10. 11. 12.				135. 136. 137. 138.							
Thursday ..	13. 14. 15.				139. 140. 141.							
Friday ..	{ 16. 17. 18. }				{ 142. 144. 145. v. 1—10 }							
Saturday ..	{ v. 1—25. }	} 145. v. 10—end }	} 146. 147. }									
	{ 18. v. 25—51. }											
	19. 20. }											

Now, this arrangement is manifestly imperfect, because there can be no reason why Monday should be distinguished above the other days of the week by proper Tierce, Sexts, and Nones. Yet it is retained in the later Benedictine Reforms; as, for example, in the Cluniac revision, 1696. The Roman Breviary removes the inconsistency by making the Psalms of the little hours always the same: and a beautiful mystery is discovered in this by the ecclesiastical commentators, that whereas in the *night* of this world change and chance prevail, in the immutable *day* of heaven the service of GOD will ever be one and the same.

We will now give the Paris arrangement.

	<i>Matins.</i>	<i>Lauds.</i>	<i>Prime.</i>	<i>Tierce.</i>	<i>Sexts.</i>	<i>Nones.</i>	<i>Vespers.</i>	<i>Compline.</i>
Sunday ..	1. 2. 3. 18. 28. 30. 66.	63. 70. 100. 148.	118. 119. v. 1—32.	119. v. 32—80.	119. v. 80—128.	119. v. 128—176.	110. 111. 112. 113. 114. (115.)	4. 91. 134
Monday ..	104. 105. 106.	92. 136. 135.	8. 77.	25. 96.	47. 98. 99.	53. 73.	115. 121. 124. 126. 137.	6. 7.
Tuesday ..	15. 19. 72. 101. 107.	24. 85. 97. 150.	35.	26. 50.	37.	109.	120. 122. 133. 141. 142.	13. 32. 79
Wednesday	9. (=9. 10.) 78.	5. 36. 65. 147—part.	31.	42. 43.	21. 103.	82. 94.	123. 125. 127. 130. 131.	11. 14. 16
Thursday ..	20. 33. 68. 89.	81. 108. 147—part.	67. 90.	27. 84.	23. 34.	80. 92.	126. 138. 145.	12. 39.
Friday ..	52. 55. 59. 61. 69.	54. 71. 146.	44.	40. 58.	102.	22.	129. 139. 140.	38. 56.
Saturday ..	41. 49. 62. 64. 75. 76. 83.	17. 57. 117.	88. 143.	29. 45. 149.	46. 47. 87.	60. 74.	128. 132. 144.	51. 86.

It is to be understood that those Psalms which in the preceding table are in larger characters, are such as are said in two or more divisions; so that the principle of nine at Matins, four, besides the canticle, at Lauds, five at Vespers, and three at all the other hours, may be constantly observed. It must be confessed that the division of some of these Psalms seems rather arbitrary. Thus, while the 51st and 88th, each consisting of nearly twenty verses, are undivided, the 19th, which has only fifteen, is divided. Thus also the first division of the 109th has only four verses.

The Paris, and, following it, many of the French Breviaries, take, so to speak, a theme for the Psalms of each Feria. Thus, Monday is occupied with the goodness of GOD, as displayed in the works of Creation: Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, by Charity, Hope, and Faith: Friday, by our LORD'S Passion: Saturday, by the future glory of the Saints.

Now, theoretically, nothing could be more excellent than the weekly recitation of the Psalms. But, practically, it came to pass that, from the fact of all, even semi-double festivals, having proper Psalms, a few of them were repeated over and over again, and the rest left utterly unsaid. The prefaces to the modern Breviaries are full of complaints of this abuse. So Paul Rabuffon, or whoever wrote the preface to the Cluniac Reform: "Porro ea Psalmorum servata distributio est, ut singulis hebdomadibus omnes percurrantur, in quo et veteris Ecclesiæ mos retentus, et S. Benedicti sententiæ obtemperatum" . . . "In hujus operis ordine illud primum intendimus, ut juxta antiquam Ecclesiæ consuetudinem plurimorumque Conciliorum decreta, Davidicum Psalterium per singulas Hebdomades recitatum foret," says Bishop De Rochechouart, in his preface to the Evreux Breviary. "Ut quidam Psalmi," complains Bishop Desnos, "per magnam anni partem vix semel atque iterum recitarentur: nos rem gratam facturos existimavimus, si eorum sequeremur exempla qui Psalmos ita distribuerunt," &c. And for this reason, amongst others, Gregory XIII. in his bull, *Pastoralis Officii* (1573), forbade—"ne scilicet officium majoris partis Feriarum anni omitteretur, et Breviarii ordo subverteretur." But the most remarkable complaint is that of Cardinal Quignon, in the Preface to his Reform, if we put it in juxta-position with the preface to our own Prayer-book, evidently derived from his; although both lead us a little way from our immediate purpose, inasmuch as they touch on the Lessons as well as on the Psalms.

* The Benedictine use here, as always in the third Nocturn, gives three Canticles from the Old Testament writers under one Antiphon.

venient. They occur in many old Breviaries: we copy from that of S. Remy of Rheims (1557).

Versus tonos declarantes.

Pri. re, la : *Se.* re, fa : *Ter.* mi, fa : *Quart.* quoque mi, la :
Quint. fa, fa : *Sext.* fa, la : *Sept.* ut, sol : *Oct.* tenet ut, fa.

Psalmorum meditationes.

La, la, la dat *Primus*, *Sextusque* : * fa, sol, fa *Secundus*,
Tertius, *Octavus* : ter fa post sol dabo *Terno* :
La mutat per re *Quart.* et post vult dare mi, re.
Septimus in sol, re dabit, et post dat fa, mi, re, mi.

The Psalms naturally lead us to the Antiphons.† This most beautiful invention pitches the key-note of the Psalm (as the invitatory of the office); and points out in which of its mystical senses it is at that time to be recited. Thus, for example, the 65th Psalm is, in the Benedictine Breviary, recited in the serial office for Lauds on Wednesday; the antiphon then is, "Thou, O GOD, art praised in Sion." It is also said in the office of the Dead; and in this case we have the antiphon, "Hear my prayer; unto Thee shall all flesh come;" where the reference is manifestly to the resurrection of the dead. Thus the 46th is said at Matins on Tuesday, with the antiphon, "A very present help in trouble." It is recited in the Commemoration of a Virgin, under the antiphon, "GOD is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed." We will now give some examples of the general arrangement of antiphons.

Here are those at Matins on Easter Day, from the York and Salisbury Breviaries, which are in this case the same as the modern Roman.

Nocturn.—I am that I am, and my counsel is not with the wicked, but my delight is in the law of the LORD: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 1.)—I asked My Father, Alleluia: and He gave Me the Gentiles to My heritage: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 2.)—I laid me down and slept, and rose up again. Alleluia, Alleluia. (*Psalm* 3.)

From the modern Paris:—

Nocturn.—GOD hath fulfilled His promise, raising up His Son JESUS, as it is written in the Second Psalm, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee; Alleluia. (*Psalm* 2.)—In that GOD raised Him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, He saith on this wise, Thou wilt not suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption: Alleluia. (*Psalm* 16.)—Him, delivered up by the appointed counsel and foreknowledge of GOD, GOD raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was impossible that He should be holden of them. Alleluia. (*Psalm* 30.)

No doubt the dove-tailing of the Old and New Testament, in

* That is, the mediation of the First and Sixth is, according to this rule, monotonic. The exquisite beauty of such an arrangement of the First, in Mr. Helmore's 137th Psalm, will probably recur to our readers.

† [I have dwelt at much greater length on the subject of Antiphons in the first essay prefixed to my "Commentary on the Psalms."]

the Paris Breviary, is, as we shall more than once have occasion to observe, ingenious to the last degree. One cannot, however, but sometimes feel that the effect is rather too much like a theological lesson, to be always beautiful as a devotion of praise.

The Paris Breviary is followed in its Antiphons by most of those of the French. Here, however, is an exception for Easter Day, from the Breviary of S. Quentin:—

Nocturn.—I laid me down, &c. (*Psalms* 3.)—Thou hast showed Me the way of life: Thou hast filled Me with the joy of Thy presence: Alleluia. (*Psalms* 16.)—Thou hast turned My mourning into joy; Thou hast put off My sackcloth, and girded Me with gladness: Alleluia. (*Psalms* 28.)

The Benedictine Breviary, though containing three Nocturns on Easter Day, has but three Antiphons. They are these:—

1. *Nocturn.*—I am that I am, &c. (*Psalms* 1, 2, 8, 16, 24, 28.)

2. *Nocturn.*—The earth trembled, and was still, when GOD arose to judgement: Alleluia. (*Psalms* 30, 64, 66, 76, 88, 108.)

3. *Nocturn.*—Fear not ye: ye seek JESUS of Nazareth, Which was crucified. He is risen; He is not here; Alleluia. (Song of *Isaiak*, lxi. 1—5; Song of *Hosea*, vi. 1—6; Song of *Zephaniah*, iii. 8—13.)

The Antiphons of the Salisbury Breviary are frequently in verse. Thus, those of the first nocturn in the Sundays from Trinity to Advent are:—

Pro fidei meritis vocitatur jure beatus
Legem qui Domini meditatur nocte dieque.

Followed, of course, by the first Psalm:—

Naturæ Genitor conserva morte redemptos,
Facque tuo dignos servitio famulos.

And—

Pectora nostra tibi tu conditor orbis adure,
Igne pio purgans, atque cremando probans.

The need felt of Antiphons, which, not being entirely or always taken from Holy Scripture, may more definitely express what they are intended to signify, is curiously shown by the devices sometimes adopted to point out, irrespectively of them, in what mystical sense the Psalm for the time being is to be taken. Thus, in the Breviary of Bazas, at the first Nocturn of the Feast of the Conception, we have the following:—"Ps. Cœli enarrant. *Cœlum*, "*Apostoli*; *Sol*, *Christus*; *Lex*, *Evangelium*. Ps. Eructavit cor "*meum*. *Christus*, *Rex*; *Regina*, *Virgo Mater*;" &c. &c.

The manner in which Antiphons are said, in the Breviary, is as follows. In double Festivals the Antiphons are doubled, *i. e.* said whole, both before and after their Psalm, at Matins, Lauds, and Vespers; on other days they are not doubled, *i. e.* the first words only are said at the beginning, but the whole at the end. And thus much of Antiphons.

The assistance given by Antiphons to the mystical explanation of the Psalm for that time, is still further explained by the *farced* Kyries, Epistles, &c., which, in mediæval times, were so much in use. We give an example of the former from a Lyons edition of the Missal of Pope Paul III, where we have this :—

Sequuntur quædam devota verba super *Kyrie eleison, Sanctus, et Agnus Dei*, ibi ob pascendam nonnullorum Sacerdotum devotionem posita, quæ, licet non sint de Ordinario R. E., tamen in certis missis ibidem annotatis licite dicendæ.

This is one : *—

Kyrie cunctipotens genitor Deus omniceator—*eleison*.
 Fons et origo boni, pia luxque perennis—*eleison* ;
 Sanctificet pietas tua nos bone Rector,—*eleison*.
Christe Dei splendor, virtus Patrisque Sophia—*eleison* ;
 Plasmatis humani sator, lapsi reparator—*eleison* ;
 Ne tua damnetur Jesu factura, *eleison*.
Kyrie, amborum spiramen nexus amorque—*eleison* ;
 Purgator culpæ, veniæ largitor opimæ—*eleison* ;
 Offensas dele, sacro nos numine reple—*eleison*.

The insertions are called *Tropes*. They continued in use in Sicily till the middle of the last century, and may do so now.

Farced Epistles are still more curious. There is one published by M. Edelestand du Meril, from a MS. at Sens, of the thirteenth century. We may imitate it thus, not a whit exaggerating its rudeness :—

*The Church shall raise her voice to sing The glory of the Heavenly King ;
 And in the praise of John be said The Epistle that shall now be read.* From the Wisdom of Solomon. *Attend, ye faithful, every one ! The Holy Ghost proclaimed of old This lesson to the chosen fold.*

He that feareth the LORD, will do good :

And when this evil life is past, Receive the King's reward at last.

And he that hath knowledge of the law shall obtain her, and as a mother shall she meet him :

For He is full of love and grace, And mercy guards His dwelling-place, And glory shines around His face.

With the bread of understanding shall she feed him :

While he alone, among the rest, Reclined on God the Saviour's breast.

And give him the water of wisdom to drink :

That so the river might arise, And flow abroad from Paradise, That wisdom to the world supplies.

He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved ; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

That, placed on Syn's glorious height, His virtues thence might glitter bright.

She shall exalt him above his neighbours :

And him beside the Judge shall place, When He shall come to doom our race.

In the midst of the congregation he opened his mouth :

* [See note at the end of this Article.]

*And taught the Evangelic lore Of mysteries unknown before.
And she filled him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding:
That he, like Eagle soaring high, Might view the Sun with unmoved eye,
&c. &c.*

It is not wonderful that these farced Epistles from doggrel should have degenerated into ribaldry, and left a trace of their name in the modern *farce*.

The Nocturns end with a verse and response, as in the Commemoration of Apostles, Roman Breviary. "*V. Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth. R. They shall remember thy name, O Lord.*"—On Passion Sunday: "*V. Deliver my soul from the sword. R. My darling from the power of the dog.*"

In several Breviaries, however, there is a double verse and response; the one preceding, the other following, the LORD'S Prayer. The former is called the *Versus Puerorum*; the latter, the *Versus Sacerdotalis*. This occurs, for instance, in the Moulins and Liège Breviaries. Thus, in the former, we have, on an ordinary Sunday, after the concluding Antiphon of the first Nocturn: "*V. Puerorum. Memor fui nocte nominis tui, Domine. R. Et custodivi legem tuam.*" Then the *Pater Noster*, and then—"V. *Sacerdotalis. Media nocte surgebam. R. Ad confitendum tibi.*"

The LORD'S Prayer is then said; and after the "*V. And lead us not into temptation. R. But deliver us from evil,*" the Priest gives the Absolution. These slightly vary. The Roman rule is this:—At the first Nocturn, and on Monday and Thursday (for in the Ferial office there is, of course, only one Absolution), "Hear, LORD JESUS CHRIST, the prayers of Thy servants, and have mercy on us: Who with the Father," &c. In the second Nocturn, and on Tuesday and Friday: "His piety and loving-kindness help us: Who with the Father," &c. In the third, and on Thursday and Saturday: "From the chains of our sins, the Almighty and merciful LORD absolve us."

The Absolutions, in the Gallican Breviaries, are taken from Holy Scripture, according to the principles of that Reform, and have thereby lost much of their original and distinctive character. Thus, the Paris has:—*First Absolution.* "GOD open your heart to His law, and to His precepts, and grant unto you all a heart that ye may fear Him." (2 *Maccab.* i. 3.) *Second Absolution.* "Our GOD incline our hearts to Him, that we may keep His commandments." (1 *Kings* viii. 58.) *Third Absolution.* "GOD remember His covenant which He hath spoken, and hear your prayers." (2 *Maccab.* i. 4.) The poverty of this arrangement is self-evident.

The Absolutions, we should say, do not exist at all in many

Breviaries. This was the case in the Salisbury and York ; so, among modern French Rituals, in the Bourges. It is, in the Cluniac Reform, called the Benediction ; as there are no proper benedictions in that office. To these we next proceed.

After the "*V. Jube, Domine, benedicere,*" before each lesson, how few or many soever in number, a benediction is said.

Their fullest form is, of course, where there are four lessons to each nocturn. Those in the Benedictine are as follow :—

- I. *Noë.* 1. Benedictione perpetuâ benedicat nos Pater eternus.
2. Unigenitus Dei Filius nos benedicere et adjuvare dignetur.
3. Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminet sensus et corda nostra.
4. In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat nos Pater et Filius.
- II. *Noë.* 5. Deus Pater omnipotens sit nobis propitius et clemens.
6. Christus perpetuæ det nobis gaudia vitæ.
7. Ignem sui amoris accendat Deus in cordibus nostris.
8. A cunctis vitiis et peccatis absolvat nos virtus Sanctæ Trinitatis.
- III. *Noë.* 9. [Which, as we shall see, precedes the Gospel.]
Evangelica lectio sit nobis salus et protectio.
10. Ille nos benedicat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat.
11. Divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum.
12. Ad Societatem civium supernorum perducatur nos Rex Angelorum.

But, if the office be of a Saint of twelve lessons, the 11th benediction is—"Cujus festum colimus, ipse intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum." And if, for the twelfth lesson, a part of another Gospel, with the homily, be read, the 12th is, "Per Evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta."

The modern Roman agrees with the above, except that, of course, the 4th, 8th, and 12th of the benedictions are omitted.

The Salisbury has the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, as above ; the 4th, "Omnipotens Dominus suâ gratiâ nos benedicat ;" the 5th, "Christus perpetuæ," &c. ; the 6th, "Intus et exterius purget nos Spiritus almus." The 7th, that is, the one at the commencement of the third nocturn, differed according to the Gospel. If it were from S. Matthew, "Evangelicis armis muniat nos conditor orbis ;" if from S. Mark, "Evangelica lectio," &c. ; if from S. Luke, "Per Evangelica," &c. ; if from S. John, "Fons Evangelii repleat nos dogmate cœli." The 8th, "Divinum auxilium," &c. ; the 9th, "Ad Societatem," &c. There are a great number of Proper Benedictions in Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Paris, and, following it, the other French Breviaries, have substituted, as is their wont, Scriptural benedictions, *e. g.* 1. "GOD, the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Father of glory, give unto us the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him ;" 2. "The SON of GOD give us an understanding, that

we may know the true GOD ;” 3. “ May the love of GOD be shed abroad in our hearts by the HOLY GHOST.”

We now come to the Lessons ; and we will commence with the Benedictine Ritual.

To begin with a general outline of the scheme. In a festival that has twelve lessons, the four first are from Holy Scripture; the four next contain the commentary of some Father on the passage that has been already read ; or, in the case of a Saint with Proper Lessons, contain his life. The third nocturn commences with a few lines from the Gospel of the day followed by *et reliqua* ; then four lessons from a Commentary on that ; and after the *Te Deum*, the Gospel itself. Of course there are exceptions ; and the *Tenebræ* service, and Matins of the Dead, are quite anomalous. In a festival of three lessons, they are sometimes from Scripture, sometimes from a homily on Scripture. Sometimes the first is from Scripture, and the two others from the life of a Saint.

With one or two slight exceptions, the Roman Breviary, *mutatis mutandis*, as to the number of lessons, agrees with the Benedictine.

The Paris Breviary principally differs in not making (at least as a general rule) the lessons of the second nocturn a commentary on those of the first.

We must now say something as to the manner in which the various books of Holy Scripture are read. For this purpose, we will take the Benedictine Breviary, as the most difficult, noting its most remarkable differences from the Roman or Paris.

Commencing with Advent, that order begins the first chapter of Isaiah on its first Sunday, and reads detached lessons here and there, right through the book, till Christmas Eve. On Christmas Eve itself, the Gospel (S. Matth. i. 18-21,) and the Commentary, in three Lessons (the Festival being simple), from S. Jerome. On Christmas Day, four lessons from separate parts of Isaiah ; four from the first sermon of S. Leo, on the Nativity ; and, in the third nocturn, which is anomalous, the commencement of four Gospels, one in each lesson, with the respective comments of the four Western Doctors. Down to the octave of the Epiphany, the Lessons are for the most part *proper*, either of the Festivals, or of the octaves. On the first Sunday after Epiphany, the First Epistle to the Corinthians is begun, and selected portions read through in the week. On the Second Sunday, the Second Epistle is commenced, and read in like manner. On the Third Sunday, the Epistle to the Galatians, the selected portions of which are finished on the Tuesday. On the Wednesday, that to the Ephesians is begun, and finished on Saturday. The Epistle to

the Philippians is begun on the Fourth Sunday, that to the Colossians on Tuesday; the First Epistle to the Thessalonians on Thursday; the Second to the Thessalonians on Saturday. On the Fifth Sunday, the First Epistle to Timothy; on the Tuesday, the Second to Timothy; on the Thursday, that to Titus; on the Saturday, that to Philemon. On the Sixth Sunday, the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is continued in that week.

On Septuagesima Sunday they commence Genesis, which is read pretty nearly in course till Shrove Tuesday, which has part of the fourteenth chapter.*

On the week-days of Lent,† gospels are read, with commentaries from the Fathers; the Gospels are principally from S. Matthew, till the beginning of the fourth week; then principally from S. John (though also from S. Luke), till Palm Sunday. As for the Sundays, the first has its lessons from 2 Cor. vi. and vii., on repentance and its fruits; the second, from Gen. xxvii.,‡ Esau's finding no place for repentance; the third, Gen. xxxvii., the story of Joseph's mission to his brethren. Why this is selected,—presently; Durandus's reason is not very satisfactory: "This is the sixth Sunday from Septuagesima, and our Lord was crucified on the sixth day of the week, wherefore mention is made of the Passion of the Lord, which is signified by Joseph." On the fourth Sunday, Moses' mission to save the Israelites, the lessons being from Exod. iii. On Passion Sunday, the mission of Jeremiah (Jer. i.): the reference of all these lessons clearly being to Him Whose mission to save lost man the Church is immediately about to celebrate. We now come to Holy Week. The lessons on Palm Sunday are from Jeremiah, as also on the Monday,§ Tuesday, and Wednesday. On the Thursday, when the double office begins (though but three lessons in each Nocturn), the three first are from Lamentations; the three next from S. Augustine's Commentary|| on the Fifty-fifth Psalm; the three last, the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, from the Epistle to

* The Paris here, as always, partly by the superior length of its lessons, partly by its principle of abstracting the whole, rather than giving at continuous length part, of a book, has advanced much further, namely, to the twenty-fifth chapter.

† In the week-days of Lent, till *Passion* Sunday, the two first lessons of the Paris Breviary are from the rest of Genesis; a few chapters from the other books of Moses; from Joshua; Judges, and Ruth; in *Passion Week*, from Jeremiah.

‡ This and the following Sundays, till *Passion* Sunday, have, in the Paris Breviary, their lessons merely in the due course of the ferial reading.

§ On these three days, in the Paris Breviary, as all through Lent, the third lesson is from a Commentary on the Gospel.

|| Paris, from S. Chrysostom's Sermon on the Betrayal.

the Corinthians. On Good Friday and Easter Eve the three first lessons are from the Lamentations; the three next from S. Augustine's Commentary* on the Sixty-third Psalm; the three last from the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the Octave of Easter, Paschal gospel† are read, with commentaries. On the weekdays, from Low Sunday till Ascension, there is merely a brief lesson (Hos. vi. 1, 2) repeated daily.‡ In the second Sunday after Easter, the lesson is from the first (thirteenth in the Roman) chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; on the third, from the beginning of the Revelations; on the fourth, from the beginning of S. James's Epistle; on the fifth, from the beginning of the First Epistle of S. Peter. Ascension Day and its octave have Gospels and their commentaries proper for the season; the Sunday, however, has its lessons from the First Epistle of S. John; the octave day, from Ephes. iv. "Wherefore he saith, when He ascended up on high," &c.; and the Friday after the octave, from the Second and Third Epistles of S. John and S. Jude; the Roman has the Third Epistle of S. John only, and entire. Pentecost, and its octave, have, of course, proper lessons for the solemnity. Trinity Sunday has its four first lessons from Isaiah's vision, with reference to the Trisagion of the Angels; (in the Paris the lessons of the first Nocturn are from 1 Sam. i., § the old lesson for the first Sunday after Pentecost;) the four next from the Treatise of S. Fulgentius to Peter, on Faith; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, from a Homily of S. Gregory Nazianzen, read by way of Commentary on the commission of our LORD to His Disciples to baptize in the name of the FATHER, of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST; while the twelfth is the Gospel for the old first Sunday after Pentecost, before the institution of the festival of the TRINITY, "Be ye therefore merciful," &c., with the Commentary of S. Augustine thereon.

After Trinity, till the beginning of November, with the exception of the octave of Corpus Christi, there are no proper lessons for the ferial office,|| but merely a short chapter at the

* Paris, as before, from S. Chrysostom.

† In the Paris Breviary, during the Octave of Easter, the three lessons are—1, from the Acts; 2, a passage from the Fathers; 3, a Paschal Gospel, with its homily.

‡ In the Roman Breviary, in the weeks that follow the first and Second Sundays after Easter, the Acts are read; in that succeeding the third Sunday, the Revelation is continued; in those following the fourth and fifth Sundays, the Epistles of S. James and one of S. Peter respectively.

§ "Sumus," says Durandus, "in viâ veniendi ad patriam. Sed quia hostes habemus prius quam illic perveniamus, sc. carnem, mundum, et diabolum, ideo legitur de Libris Regum, in quibus agitur de bellis et de victoriis."

|| In the Roman Breviary the lessons of the week are continued from those of the Sundays, else the arrangement is nearly the same.

end of the first Nocturn, which varies with the day of the week.

After the Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi, the Sundays are thus arranged :* there may be eleven Sundays between Pentecost and the Sunday nearest to the first of August ; for these, eleven sets of lessons are provided, from the books of Samuel and Kings. From the first Sunday in August (*i. e.* the Sunday nearest to the first day of August) the eight first lessons are given from the Sunday in the month, while the last four, namely, the Gospel and its commentary, are, as usual, for the Sunday, *de Tempore*. An example will make this plainer. The eleventh of August is this present year on a Sunday ; for the first eight lessons, then, take those of the second Sunday in August ; those of the first Nocturn, from Ecclesiastes ; those of the second, from the Sermon of S. Chrysostom against concubinage ; for the four last lessons, we turn to those of the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, the Gospel of the deaf and dumb man, and S. Gregory's remarks thereon in his Commentary on Ezekiel.

In August, September, and October, five Sundays are given respectively. In that time we have lessons from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Tobiah, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.

With November, the ferial lessons are resumed ; the intention of this being, according to S. Benedict's rule, that the increasing length of the winter nights gives the greater time for Nocturns. In the three first weeks of November, Ezekiel and Daniel are read ; in the two last the Minor Prophets ; and thus we again come to Advent.

A remark here may not be out of place. By the winter and summer arrangement of S. Benedict, we see clearly how great a point he made of the hours being said at the canonical time, and not by anticipation. It was his intention that Lauds should always begin at break of day ; and we have before seen that, if the convent were late in beginning Matins, they were rather to omit lessons and responses than violate this rule. Now, it need hardly be said, Matins are oftener than not recited on the preceding afternoon. The French Breviaries give the following table ; (the hours slightly differ :)— Dec. 1, Matins may be begun at 2 P.M. ; Nov. 1, Jan. 12, 2.15 ; Oct. 20, Feb. 4, 2.30 ; Oct. 3, Feb. 22, 2.45 ; Sept. 16, March 10, 3 ; Aug. 30, March 27, 3.15 ; Aug. 12, April 13, 3.30 ; July 21, May 1, 3.45 ; May 22, 4.

* In the Paris Breviary there is no distinction between the Sundays of the month and the Sundays after Pentecost ; but the whole series runs on, as in our own Prayer-book. The books of Samuel and of Kings are read up to the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, and then Proverbs are commenced.

From the most abstruse, we come to the easiest of the arrangements of lessons, that of Quignon.

The weeks from Advent follow each other in regular course; the first lesson being invariably from the Old Testament, the second, from the New; the third, where there is a festival with proper lessons, is of that; where there is not, it is taken from a calendar given at the beginning of the Breviary, of which we print a specimen, as undoubtedly the germ of our own:—

APRILIS HABET DIES XXX.

Festa et aliæ tertiæ Lectiones.

			Fol.
<i>g</i>	Calendis. 1. Ex Epist. ad Ephes.	Paulus Apost.	90
<i>a</i>	iiij Non. 2. Ex Epist. ad Ephes.	Et vos cum	91
<i>b</i>	iiij Non. 3. Ex Epist. ad Ephes.	Hujus rei	eodem.
<i>c</i>	Prid. Non. 4. <i>Isidorus Episcopus Confessor</i>		346
<i>d</i>	Non. 5. Ex Epist. ad Ephes.	Obsecro itaque	92
<i>e</i>	viiij Id. 6. <i>Xystus Papa Martyr</i>		346
<i>f</i>	vij Id. 7. Ex Epist. ad Ephes.	Renovamini	91

The reference to the folio points to the place where the portion of Scripture in question, here to be read as the *third* lesson, is elsewhere to be found as the second. The Acts and Epistles are read entirely through twice in the year; the Gospels once; and a considerable part of the Old Testament once. How clearly our arrangement was taken from this, it is needless to remark.

Before we proceed, we will make a few observations on the general principle of Lessons, as enunciated in the various Breviaries which we have been considering, and in our own Prayer-book.

And, to begin:—No one doubts that our people hear a great deal more of Holy Scripture in the course of the year than those of the Roman Church; but some grave considerations will arise for the discussion of the future National Council of the English Church.

1. It is absolutely certain that no uneducated, and not many educated, persons, can understand half of the Old Testament lessons of our Church. Take, for example, the prophets from Jeremiah, which occupy from the 17th of July to the 27th of September, how many chapters are, and must be, an utter mystery to an ordinary congregation! How many to how many priests! So again of the Epistles; where not only is the obscurity so great, but where there is considerable danger lest they that are unlearned and unstable should wrest them to their own destruction. Do we therefore say that such lessons need be unprofitable to the hearers? GOD forbid! But we say that they can only be profitable by virtue of a kind of *opus operatum*. The hearer

comes in faith, believing that it will do him good to hear a certain amount of Scripture; and no doubt GOD will have respect to the faith, and increase that man's goodness in proportion to it; but not by any inherent virtue of the portion read. Mr. Monro, in his *Parochial Work*, speaks of the cottager sitting down on a Sunday afternoon to "read his Bible," and pitching, very likely, on the genealogies of the Chronicles, or the visions of the Apocalypse. We think he hardly does justice to the good which the poor man is likely to obtain in such a way; but, if he does not obtain any good, it certainly follows that many of our lessons are wholly useless. And it is inconsistent enough, on the one hand, to condemn wholesale the use of one tongue "not understood of the people," and, on the other, to make such a large portion of the service consist of a language (namely, that of Scripture prophecy and argument) almost equally unintelligible to them.

For, 2, the English Church has deprived herself of the helps which Rome gives to an intelligent reading of Scripture history, by rejecting all comments. Does it not stand to reason that a few verses, rightly understood by means of a plain explanation, would be more likely to affect the heart than chapter after chapter, which (like the "thorough-paced doctrine" which had nearly got Dr. Yalden into trouble) go in at one ear and out at the other?

And, 3, in order to make room for this vast portion of obscure passages, how do we treat those which are most likely to do good—those which are all in all—those on which our salvation hangs? How do we treat the words and actions, the miracles and parables, of our LORD? We heap a series of them together, giving the mind no time to dwell on any; presenting them in a confused mass, at unnecessary length, and in distracted variety. Yet some who praise the triple repetition of the New Testament in the course of the year, would be the first to sneer at the remark of S. Dominic the Cuirassier, who on one occasion observed to a friend, that he never before remembered to have spent so profitable a day—he had eight times recited the Psalter, whereas never before could he get through it so many. We cannot see so much difference between the two principles.

4. Again; the dislocation of sense, by adopting the capitular division, must painfully jar on the feelings of religious people. What can be well worse, for example, than to leave off in the middle of our LORD'S Passion, go to something quite different—the prayers for the Parliament, for instance—and then begin it again?

5. The length—as mere length—of the lessons, is not unfrequently objectionable; even the shorter portions of other Breviaries are broken up by the beautiful responses, of which more presently.

In one particular, however, Cardinal Quignon's lections are inferior to our own; it is, that the greatest festivals of saints have no commemoration in the way of lections, except the third lesson, which the minor festivals share equally with them. For example, in the present year: the first lesson for S. John Baptist (falling, as it does, on the Monday following the fourth Sunday after Trinity) is Deut. xix. 14 to xx. 10; the second, Acts xxi. 1—19. The scriptural history, in such cases, is mingled together and abbreviated in the oddest manner possible.

We do not, however, mean for a moment to deny the great necessity there was for a reform in the lections for the festivals of saints. Here, in the modern Roman Breviary, as we have seen, those of the second Nocturn only contain the legend (if we except the cases of a double commemoration, where the ninth lesson also embraces it); but, in the English Breviaries, where there were nine lections on a saint's festival, all of them were filled with the legend of the saint. We have heard English Roman Catholics lament the ultramontane tendency which has deprived them of their own uses, and imposed a foreign Breviary upon them. And we entirely sympathise with them; only, if ever they can re-obtain the Salisbury Breviary, they may rest well assured that *its* lections will need, what the Roman have received, a scrutinizing reform. And the case was the same, more or less, with all the unreformed Breviaries. In the *Breviarium secundum usum percelebris archicænobii divi Remigii Remensis nunc primum typis excussum (sic) Parisiis*, 1549, (where there are twelve lections,) eight of them are of the Saint, four of the Gospel and Homily. In the Paris Breviary (1557), all nine are of the Saint; and examples might be easily multiplied. The Breviary of the Fratres Humiliati (Rome, 1548) agrees with the arrangement of that of Rheims. But now, all the reforms, both secular and religious (so far as we are aware), have adopted, more or less closely, the arrangement of the Roman.

The division of the Meaux Breviary is almost unique. Here there is no *Proprium de Tempore*, except for Sundays; but the days, whether festivals or not, follow each other regularly all through the year, except during Septuagesima. Thus, for example:—

Oct. 19. SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et Sociorum, MM. Duplex minus.—
 Lect. 1. Zeph. i. 1—9 (in ferial course). Lect. 2, 3. The Legend of the SS.
 Oct. 20. De Feria.—Lect. 1. Zeph. i. 10 to end. Lect. 2, cap. ii. 8—11.
 Lect. 8, cap. iii. 1—7. Oct. 21. S. Hilarionis Abbat. Simplex.—Lect. 1,
 Hag. i. 1—8. Lect. 2, cap. i. 14. Lect. 3. The Legend. Oct. 22. S. Celinia,
 V. and Patroness of Meaux.—Solemn Minus. 1 Noct. Lect. 1. Zach. i. 1—16.
 Lect. 2. Zech. ii. —5. Lect. 3. Zech. vi. 11. 2 Noct. Lect. 1. The Legend.
 Lect. 2. From S. Cyprian *de habitu Virginum*. Lect. 3. From Pseudo-

Chrysoſtom on S. Thecla. 3 Noct. Lect. 7, 8. From S. Auguſtine's Sermon on the Ten Virgins. Lect. 9. S. Matt xix. 12, and S. Chryſoſtom thereon.

This Breviary, and this only, therefore, agrees with the Engliſh Prayer-book, in appointing Scripture leſſons according to the days of the year (as Quignon's did the *third* leſſons on ſerſæ).

Each lection is cloſed by *But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us*, from the reader; and *Thanks be to God*, as the reſponſe. But, on the three laſt days of Holy Week, the three firſt lections (which are, as we have ſeen, from Jeremiah) are terminated by, *Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, return to the Lord thy God*, without reſponſe. In the Paris Breviary, during Advent, the three firſt leſſons (from Iſaiah) are followed by, *Thus ſaith the Lord God: Return unto me, and ye ſhall be ſaved*.

We have now arrived at one of the moſt beautiful parts of the Breviary—the reſponſes that follow each leſſon.

The reſponſe is divided into two parts—the beginning, and the *reclamation*; which are ſeparated from each other by an aſteriſk, and of which the reclamation is repeated after the verſe: *e. g.* after the fifth lection on the Feſtival of the name of Jeſus:—

R. Let them give thanks unto Thy name. • For it is great, wonderful, and terrible. V. Some put their truſt in chariots, and ſome in horſes: but we will remember the name of the LORD our GOD. For it is great, wonderful and terrible.

But, at the laſt lection of each Nocturn, the *Gloria* is added on this wiſe: *e. g.* after the ſixth lection in the Commemoration of the Virgin:—

R. The virgins that be her fellows ſhall be brought unto the king. • With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought. V. According to thy beauty and renown: good luck have thou with thine honour. With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought. Glory be. With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought.

It is, perhaps, ſuperfluous to obſerve that, for brevity's ſake, the reſponſes are written thus: *e. g.* in the Commemoration of Apoſtles:—

R. Without ſin were they before GOD, and from each other they were not divided. • The cup of the Lord they drank, and became the friends of GOD. V. They delivered their bodies to torments for GOD's ſake: wherefore they are crowned, and receive the palm. The cup. Glory. The cup.

But occaſionally, and eſpecially in inferior Breviaries, the *initium* of the reſponſe is repeated, inſtead of the reclamation after the verſe. And ſometimes, in the laſt reſponſe of a Nocturn, there are two reclamations ſaid thus; *e. g.* the third reſponſe on S. Stephen's Day, in the Paris Breviary:—

R. He that soweth in blessings shall reap also in blessings, as it is written. • He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor. † His righteousness remaineth for ever. V. All the Church of the Saints shall tell of his loving-kindness. • He hath. Glory. † His righteousness.

In the Paris, and many other French Breviaries, when *Te Deum* is not said, the whole third (or ninth) response is repeated.

It is a peculiarity, and not, we think, an enviable one, of the Roman Breviary, that, when *Te Deum* is said (of which more presently) there is no ninth response, the eighth being treated as if it were the ninth. It is, however, an ancient use, for Durandus mentions it as the custom of *some* Churches.

We have said enough to acquit ourselves of any undue partiality for the Paris Breviary; but in the responses it exceeds, in our judgment, any other with which we are acquainted. The manner in which the Old and New Testament are made to explain each other—a manner so much more really *Scriptural* than long unconnected lessons—will be best understood by an example, which we will take from Good Friday, and place by their side those from the Roman Breviary.

Lesson 1.—From the Lamentation of Jeremiah the Prophet.†

I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath. He hath led me and brought me into darkness, but not into light. Surely against me is he turned; he turneth his hand against me all the day. My flesh and my skin hath he made old; he hath broken my bones. He hath builded against me, and compassed me with gall and travel. He hath set me in dark places, as they that be dead of old. He hath hedged me about, that I cannot get out: he hath made my chain heavy. Also when I cry and shout, he shutteth out my prayer. He hath inclosed my ways with hewn stone, he hath made my paths crooked. He was unto me as a bear lying in wait, and as a lion in secret places.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the LORD thy God.

PARIS.

R. They sought false witness against Jesus, to put Him to death: and found it not: • for many bare false witness against Him, but their witness agreed not together. V. False witnesses also did rise up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not. For many. (S. Mark xiv. 55, 56; Ps. xxxv. 11.)

ROMAN.

All my friends have fled from Me: and they that laid snares for Me have prevailed against Me: He whom I loved hath betrayed Me: • and with terrible eyes they smote Me with a cruel stroke, and gave Me vinegar to drink. V. They cast Me out among the wicked, and spared not My soul. And.

Lesson 2.

He hath turned aside my ways, and pulled me in pieces: he hath made me desolate. He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow.

† The Roman are not precisely the same as the Paris lessons from the Lamentations, being, the first, Lam. ii. 8—11; the second, Lam. ii. 12—15; the third, the same as the first Paris. But this makes no difference in what we are now comparing.

He hath caused the arrows of his quiver to enter into my reins. I was a derision to all my people; and their song all the day. He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken with wormwood. He hath also broken my teeth with gravel stones, He hath covered me with ashes. And Thou hast removed my soul far off from peace: I forgot prosperity. And I said, My strength and my hope is perished from the LORD: remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall. My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me. This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the LORD thy GOD.

PARIS.

R. The High Priest saith: I adjure Thee by the Living GOD, that Thou tell us whether Thou be the CHRIST, the Son of GOD. JESUS saith unto him: Thou hast said.— They say: • He is guilty of death. V. Then spake the priests, saying, This man is worthy to die: for he hath prophesied, as ye have heard with your ears. He. (S. Matt. xxvi. 63. 66. Jer. xxvi. 11.)

ROMAN.

R. The veil of the temple was rent in twain, • and the earth did quake; the thief cried from the crosses, saying, LORD, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom. V. The rocks were rent, and the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints which slept arose. And the earth.

Lesson 3.

Mine enemies chased me fore, like a bird, without cause. They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy Name, O LORD, out of the lowdungeon. Thou hast heard my voice: hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry. Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee: thou saidst, Fear not. O LORD, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul; thou hast redeemed my life. O LORD, thou hast seen my wrong: judge thou my cause. Thou hast seen all their vengeance and all their imaginations against me. Thou hast heard their reproach, O LORD, and all their imaginations against me; the lips of those that rose up against me, and their device against me all the day. Behold their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their musick. Render unto them a recompense, O LORD, according to the work of their hands.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the LORD thy GOD.

PARIS.

R. They spat in the face of JESUS, • and buffeted, saying: Prophecy unto us, Thou CHRIST: who is he that smote Thee? V. They have gaped upon me with their mouth: they have smitten me upon the cheek reproachfully. And buffeted. (S. Matt. xxvi. 67. Job xvi. 10.)†

ROMAN.

R. My elect Vine, I planted thee: • how art thou turned into bitterness, that thou shouldest crucify Me, and let Barabbas go? V. I hedged thee, and gathered the stones out of thee, and built a tower in thee. How art thou. My elect Vine.†

† The *Gloria* is omitted, as being Holy Week. For the last half of the response the Paris substitutes nothing; the Roman, the whole. The regular ending of course would be, "How art thou. Glory. How art thou."

NOCTURN II.—A Sermon of S. John Chrysostom.†

Lesson 4.

To-day CHRIST our Passover was sacrificed for us. And where was He sacrificed? On a lofty Cross. The Altar for this Sacrifice was new: because the Sacrifice itself was new and marvellous. For the same is both Sacrifice and Priest: Sacrifice according to the Flesh, Priest according to the Spirit. The same both offered, and according to the Flesh was offered. And the Cross was the Altar. And why, sayest thou, was not the Sacrifice offered in the Temple, but without the city and the walls? That the saying might be fulfilled, He was reckoned among the transgressors. And why is He put to death on a lofty Cross, and not under a roof? That the LAMB, immolated on high, might purge the nature of the air. The earth also was purged: for blood flowed from His Side upon it. Therefore not under a roof, therefore not in the Jewish Temple, that the Jews might not claim the Sacrifice to themselves: that ye might not imagine this Victim to have been offered for that nation alone. Therefore without the city and the walls, that ye may learn that the Sacrifice is universal: because the Oblation was for the universal world;—and that this purification was common to all, and not peculiar, as that among the Jews.

PARIS.

R. They said unto Peter: Surely thou art one of them. • He began to curse and to swear, I know not this Man of Whom ye speak. V. They that dwell in my house count me for a stranger: I am an alien in their fight. He began. (S. Mark xiv. 70, 71. Job xix. 15.)

ROMAN.

R. Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and with staves for to take Me? • I was daily with you teaching in the Temple, and ye laid no hold upon Me: and behold ye have scourged Me, and lead Me away to crucify Me. V. And when they had laid hands on JESUS, and had taken Him, He said unto them. I was.

Lesson 5.

Would you learn His illustrious work? To-day He opened to us Paradise:—till then closed. For on this day, at this very hour, GOD introduced the thief thither. To-day He restored to us our ancient country; to-day He brought us back to the City of our Land: for, To-day, saith He, thou shalt be with Me in Paradise. What! crucified and nailed, and promise Paradise! Even so, saith He: that on the Cross thou mayest learn My power. Because it was a spectacle of grief, that thou mightest look, not at the nature of the Cross, but at the pains of the Crucified, He works this miracle on the Cross, which, beyond any other, manifests His power. For, not when He raised the dead, not when He rebuked the winds and the sea, not when He put demons to flight, but when He was crucified, pierced with nails, loaded with spitting, contumely, reproach, rebuke, did He will to change the heart of the thief, that thou mayest see His power on all sides. He agitated the whole of Creation: He cleft the rocks: but the heart of the thief, harder than the rock, He drew to Himself.

† The Roman lesson is from S. Augustine's Commentary on the 64th Psalm.

PARIS.

R. Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or JESUS, which is called CHRIST? They said, Barabbas. What then shall I do with JESUS? They all said: * Let Him be crucified. V. We beseech thee, let this man be put to death; for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt. Let Him be crucified. (S. Matt. xxvii. 17. 22. Jer. xxxviii. 4.)

ROMAN.

R. And there was darkness when the Jews had crucified JESUS: and about the ninth hour, JESUS cried with a loud voice, My GOD, My GOD, why hast Thou forsaken Me? * And He bowed His Head and gave up the ghost. V. And JESUS cried with a loud voice, Father, into Thine Hands I commend My Spirit. And He bowed.

Lesson 6.

But what so great thing, will ye say, did the thief, that after death he should gain Paradise?—Shall I briefly tell you what he did? When Peter was denying below, he was confessing above. The Disciple endured not the threats of a worthless maid-servant: the thief, beholding the multitude thronging around, crying out, casting forth blasphemies and reproaches, attended not them;—cast not in his mind the present vileness of Him That was crucified; but, passing them all by with the eye of faith, and making nothing of these hindrances, acknowledged the LORD of Heaven; and prostrating himself in mind before Him, LORD, remember me, said he, when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom. Seest thou of what good things the Cross was the cause? Tell me: thou speakest of a Kingdom. What dost thou behold of that sort? What thou seest is the Cross and the Nails. But that very Cross, saith he, is the Symbol of a Kingdom. It is for this reason that I call Him a King, because I see Him crucified. For it is the part of a king to die for His subjects. Himself said, The Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep. Therefore the Good King also giveth His life for His subjects. Since, then, He hath given His Life, I call Him King: LORD, remember me when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom.

PARIS.

R. And when the soldiers had scourged JESUS, they put on Him a purple robe, and a crown of thorns, and began to salute Him, Hail, King of the Jews: and * they smote Him on the Head with a reed, and did spit upon Him. V. I gave My back to the smiters, and My cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not My face from shame and spitting. They smote Him. (S. Mark xv. 16, &c. Isaiah l. 6.)

ROMAN.

R. I have delivered My beloved into the hands of the wicked: Mine heritage is unto Me as a lion in the wood: the adversary hath roared against Me, saying, Gather ye together, and make haste to devour Him: they have laid Me in a wilderness, and all the earth mourneth for My sake: * For there is none found to acknowledge Me, and to do Me good. V. Men without pity have risen up against Me, and have not spared My Soul. For there.

NOCTURN III.

Lesson 7.—From the Epistle of Blessed Paul to the Hebrews.†

Seeing then that we have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, JESUS the SON of GOD, let us hold fast our profession. For we have not an

† The Roman lesson commences a little further back.

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high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities ; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to GOD, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins : who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way ; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity. And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.

PARIS.

R. They took JESUS, and led Him away. • And JESUS, bearing His Cross, went forth unto a place which is called the place of a skull. *V.* And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son. And JESUS. (S. John xix. 16, 17. Gen. xxii. 6.)

ROMAN.

R. They delivered Me up into the hands of the wicked, and cast Me out among the transgressors, and spared not My soul. The mighty men gathered together against Me : • and like giants they stood against Me. *V.* Strangers have risen against Me, and mighty men sought after my soul. And like giants.

Lesson 8.

And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of GOD, as was Aaron. So also CHRIST glorified not himself to be made an high priest ; but he that said unto him, Thou art my SON, to day have I begotten thee. As he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared ; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered ; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him ; called of GOD an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.

PARIS.

R. They crucified JESUS, and the thieves, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said JESUS : • Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do. *V.* He was numbered with the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. Father, forgive them. (S. Luke xxiii. 33, 34. Isaiah liii. 12.)

ROMAN.

R. The traitor delivered JESUS to the chief priests and elders of the people. • And Peter followed afar off, that he might see the end. *V.* And they brought Him to Caiaphas, the Chief-Priest, where the Scribes and Pharisees were gathered together. And Peter.

Lesson 9.

And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death : but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto GOD by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens ; who

needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself.

PARIS.

R. He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; * The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed. V. He His own Self bare our sins in His own Body on the Tree, that we, being dead unto sin, might live unto righteousness. The chastisement. He was wounded . . . healed. (Isaiah liii 5. 1 Pet. ii. 24.)

ROMAN.

R. Mine eyes are darkened with weeping: for My comforters are far from Me. Behold, all people, * if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow. V. O all ye that pass by, behold and see. If there. Mine eyes.

The beauty of these responses, and especially of those from the Paris Breviary, is evident. Even in this instance, however, it may be doubted whether the latter are not too much didactic, and too little—which is the very essence of all Church ritual—dramatic. The rule which makes them always taken from Scripture is frequently fatal to effect. The truth of this remark is more easily seen on the festivals of martyrs or other saints, where their words, or the circumstances of their passion, are, in other Breviaries, worked into the responses. A striking instance of the beauty of this occurs in the Festival of S. Agnes: we quote from the Benedictine Breviary, as the fullest.

After the *first* lesson:—

R. Celebrate we the feast of the holy Virgin; how blessed Agnes suffered, let us recall to memory: in the thirteenth year of her age she lost death and found life: * because she loved the alone Author of Life. V. Reckoned by years, hers was infancy: but the old age of her mind was venerable. * Because. II. [reciting the words of S. Agnes] R. He hath rounded my neck and my arms with precious stones. He hath given to my ears inestimable pearls: * and He hath endued me with bright and sparkling gems. V. He hath set a sign on my face, that I should own no lover but Himself. * And he hath. III. R. CHRIST I love, into Whose bridal-chamber I shall enter: Whose Mother is a Virgin, Whose Father knows not woman, the melody of Whose notes already resounds in my ear. * Whom, when I shall have loved, I am chaste: when I shall have touched, I am pure: when I shall have received, I am a virgin. V. With the ring of His faith He hath plighted me to Himself: and hath adorned me with priceless jewels. * Whom, when. IV. R. Come, Bride of CHRIST, receive the Crown which the LORD hath prepared for thee for ever: for Whose Love thou hast poured forth thy blood: * and thou hast entered with Angels into Paradise. V. Come, My elect, and I will set thee upon My Throne, because the King hath desired thy beauty. * And thou hast. Glory. And thou hast.

Another use of these responses is, that where the lessons are serial—or from the Common—they may be diverted, so to speak, into the channel proper for the day. A thousand beauties will

thus exhibit themselves in the ordinary lections, varying almost prismatically according to the light thrown upon them from the responses.

Those for ordinary Sundays are for the most part taken from that portion of Scripture into which they are interwoven. Thus, in the Roman Breviary, the three first lections for the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, relate the fight of David with Goliath. The responses are :—

I. *R.* Prepare your hearts unto the LORD, and serve Him only : • and He will deliver you out of the hands of your enemies. *V.* Turn unto Him with all your hearts, and put away the strange gods from the midst of you. • And He. II. *R.* GOD, Who heareth all, sent His Angel, and took me from my father's sheep : • and anointed me with the oil of His Mercy. *V.* The LORD, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear : • anointed. III. *R.* The LORD, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear : • He shall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies. *V.* GOD hath sent forth His mercy and truth : and hath delivered my soul from the midst of the lion's whelps. • He shall. Glory. He shall.

The manner in which the ferial responses are, in the Roman Breviary, taken from those of the Sunday, though set forth at length in the Rubrics, is too elaborate for explanation here. The Paris rule is simpler : "In the Ferial Office (Paschal-tide excepted) the responses are taken from the preceding Sunday (unless it be otherwise ordered, or there be proper responses assigned for the feria in question). They are taken alternately from the 1st and 2nd nocturn, in this order : Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from the first ; Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, from the second nocturn." The ground-work of the Roman rule is the same.

The responses of the Salisbury Breviary are, for the most part, where they are peculiar, of a very inferior description. Very frequently they are in verse : thus, on the Martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury :—

- R.* I. Stupens livor Thomæ supplicio
Thomæ genus damnat exilio.
• Omnis simul exit cognatio.
V. Ordo, sexus, ætas, conditio,
Nullus gaudet hic privilegio. Omnis.
R. II. Thomas manum mittit ad fortia,
Spernit damna, spernit opprobria.
• Nulla Thomam frangit injuria.
V. Clamat cunctis Thomæ constantia
Omne solum est forti patria. Nulla.

The same remark may be made of the York Breviary. Take, for instance, the responses on S. Cuthbert's day :—

R. I. Cuthbertus puer bonæ indolis pervigil nocturnis insiftens hymnis •
Aydanī Episcopi animam in cælum ferri videt ab angelis. *V.* Cum pasto-

ribus ovium positus pastor animarum Deo prælectus mente et vultu supernis intentus • Aydani. *R.* II. In sanctis crescens virtutibus almus vir Cuthbertus, despectis hujus caduci sæculi rebus, venerabilis ac per cuncta digne laudabilis • factus est monachus. *V.* Corpore, mente, habitu, factique probabilibus, castris Dominicis affociatus. • Factus.

Both these examples are also instances of that kind of responsories which we may call the historical : *i. e.* where the life of the saint whose festival it is, is related in them, as well as in the lections, of which, indeed, they form a kind of *résumé*.

The last response of the lections completed, or, in the Roman use, as we have seen, the last lection, follows, if it is to be said, *Te Deum*. The Roman rule is this : it is said on all Sundays of the year, except in Septuagesima and Lent ; from Easter to Ascension, daily (except on Rogation Monday), and on all festivals, whether of three or nine lections, except that of the Holy Innocents. Its omission on that day arises from the same feeling which prompts, in some village churches, the ringing of a muffled peal on that day : *e. g.* in S. Giles, Leigh-upon-Mendip, Somersetshire. And this sign of sorrow on a festive occasion may profitably be compared with the very singular custom, now, or very lately, observed on Christmas Eve, at All Saints, Dewsbury, Yorkshire : towards evening, one of the bells is tolled after the manner of a passing bell ; it is called the *Devil's knell*, and mystically represents that Satan's power was destroyed by the Birth of our LORD.

There are, however, great varieties of use with respect to the *Te Deum*. In the Benedictine order it is said on all Sundays both of Advent and Lent ; at Lyons the case was the same, although it was altered at least as long ago as 1780 ; while at S. Martin of Tours it was said on the Holy Innocents till 1635 ; as, we believe, it still is at Paris, Lyons, Vienne, Quimper, Chartres, Laon, and other places. At the verse, *We therefore pray Thee, down to and lift them up for ever*, it is a very usual practice to kneel.

Te Deum is immediately followed, in the Roman Breviary, by Lauds (except on Christmas Day). In the Paris, and most other modern Breviaries, it is succeeded by the Sacerdotal Verse, *e. g.* on S. John Baptist : "*V.* My mouth shall tell of Thy Praise. *R.* And of Thy Salvation all the day long." On Trinity Sunday : "*V.* GOD, even our own GOD, shall bless us. *R.* And all the ends of the world shall fear Him." And this was the use, as we learn from Durandus, of secular Breviaries generally. The Benedictine concludes differently. We have already seen that, on festivals of nine (or twelve) lections, the first of the third nocturn consists of the beginning of the Gospel for the day, followed

by a homily on it. *Te Deum* finished, the Benedictine order takes up the Gospel from the beginning, reads it through and, after the response, *Amen*, the short hymn, "Thee befits praise, Thee befits a hymn, to Thee be glory, GOD the Father, SON, and HOLY GHOST, world without end, Amen," is sung. The collect for the day concludes the office of Matins. An approximation to the Benedictine use is found in the Paris Breviary, where, in churches "where it is the custom," the genealogy of our LORD, according to S. Matthew, was sung before the *Te Deum* on Christmas Day; and that according to S. Luke on Epiphany. The Benedictine Breviary does the former, though, contrary to its usual rite, *after Te Deum*. Most of the French Breviaries follow the Paris; some, as Dijon and Laon, make the rite imperative on all churches. At S. Maurice of Vienne, during the ninth response, the Archdeacon was robed with peculiar magnificence in the sacristy; and, preceded by two subdeacons in albs, bearing tapers, and two in tunics, one bearing the censer, the other the Gospel—he went into the *jubé*, and there sang the Genealogy. In an ancient ritual of Jargeau, near Orleans, inspected by Le Brun, it is simply called the *Generatio*; and in the Salisbury and York Breviaries, the ceremonial of the *Generatio*, both at Christmas and Epiphany, was much the same as at Vienne.

It was a favourite question among old ritualists, whether Lauds, the Orthron of the Greek, the Outrenia of the Slavonic Church, were a separate office or not, from Matins. However that may be, it is certain that now the two offices are almost always joined in one.

Lauds commence with the *O God, make speed to save me*, with the Gloria and the Alleluia, as Matins. We may observe here, what we might equally well have remarked there, that Alleluia, according to Roman use, is not said in Septuagesima, though, according to some Gallican rituals—such was that of Lyons—it was said up to the first Sunday in Lent inclusive. This was a nearer approach to the Mozarabic Ritual, which carries it on all through Lent; and that of the Eastern Church, which even multiplies it then.

The usual Sunday office in the Roman Breviary, which is that of all mediæval Lauds, is this:—Psalms 93 and 100 are said; Psalms 63 and 67 under one Gloria: Benedicite, the three last Psalms, under one antiphon and one Gloria; the short chapter, the hymn, the versicle and response, Benedictus, and the collect for the day. The Psalms, which may thus be considered either as five or seven, have, of course, given rise to variety of mystical explanations. The reason, certainly anything but self-evi-

dent, why the 63rd and 67th Psalms are said under one Gloria, is explained to be, that the first signifies love of GOD ("My soul is athirst for GOD, even for the Living GOD"), the second, love of our neighbour ("Let the people praise Thee, O GOD"), and that these two are in reality one. Or again, because the first Psalm represents the miseries of this present world ("My soul is athirst"), in which we cannot praise GOD as we would; we must therefore wait until that Life in which He shall, indeed, "have mercy upon us and bless us," and "show the light of His countenance upon us" in the Beatific Vision. The 63rd and 67th Psalms, and the 148th, 149th, and 150th, never vary at Lauds, because, say the interpreters, there never was a time in which the souls of the righteous did not "thirst for the Living GOD," or in which the "LORD of Heaven" was not "praised in the heights;" and there never will be.

For the first Psalm at Lauds, the 93rd, is on week-days said the 51st, according to the ancient and the modern Roman rule. Instead of the second Psalm, namely the 100th, they recite the 5th on Monday, the 42nd on Tuesday, the 64th on Wednesday, the 90th on Thursday, the 143rd on Friday, the 92nd ("A Psalm for the Sabbath Day") on Saturday. On all these days follow, as we have seen, the 63rd and 67th as one; and then, instead of the Benedicite, on Monday, the Song of Isaiah, (chap. xii.); on Tuesday, of Hezekiah; on Wednesday, of Hannah; on Thursday, of Moses (Exod. xv.); on Friday, of Habakkuk; and on Saturday, of Moses (Deut. xxxii.); Benedicite and the three last Psalms are always said.

The rule of S. Benedict for Lauds, or, as he calls them, Matins, on Sunday is this; "At Matins on the LORD'S Day, let there first be said the 67th Psalm without an antiphon; after which the 51st with Alleluia; after that the 118th and 63rd; then the Benedictions and the Lauds (*i. e.* the Benedicite and the three last Psalms); the lesson from the Apocalypse, by heart, the Responsory, the Ambrosian, (*i. e.* the hymn *Æterne rerum Conditor*), the Verse, the Evangelical Canticle, and it is over." The Evangelical Canticle is, of course, the Benedicite. The modern Benedictines (judging from the Augsburg edition of 1758,) have so far receded from this rule, as to substitute for the 51st and 118th Psalms the 93rd and 100th, on all Festivals of Saints, and through octaves, and in all Paschal-tide. The Cluniac Reform, however, of 1686, which, whatever be its other faults, (and we are not disposed to controvert the remarks of Father J. B. Thiers, in his *Observations sur le Bréviaire de Cluni*,) keeps close to all points ruled by S. Benedict, reverts to the original rule of the order.

On week-days, the 67th and 51st Psalms were to be said; modern Benedictines have dropped the first of these, but the Cluniac Reform retains it. The two next Psalms were, on Monday, 6, 36; Tuesday, 43, 57; Wednesday, 64, 65; Thursday, 88, 90; Friday, 76, 92; Saturday, the 143rd only, because the Song of Deuteronomy is divided into two parts, each with its Gloria. S. Benedict expressly specifies that the Canticles are to be said on the other days, "according to the Roman use."

According to S. Benedict's rule Lauds (and Vespers,) were to conclude with the LORD'S Prayer, said aloud, (instead of secretly; or secretly with the "*V.* And lead us not into temptation :") "*R.* But deliver us from evil ;") in order that twice a day the clause "Forgive us our trespasses" might compel an open expression of forgiveness of others. S. Benedict only orders the Abbat to recite the prayers aloud; but Durandus seems to imply that all the monks recited it. He hints that such perfect forgiveness could not be expected of them at the little Hours, and remarks that it sufficed if the sun did not set on their wrath.

The Salisbury and York Breviaries agree pretty closely with the Roman, except that after the Benedictus on Sundays they add the 123rd Psalm; and all the older Breviaries, of whatever nature, seem to have a very close resemblance in Lauds to the mediæval type, which the Roman Church has exactly retained.

The Paris has very widely departed from it. The beautiful rite of introducing into the Lauds of every day those true Lauds, the three last Psalms, is gone; the reason clearly being that, as the Psalms were to be said through every week, the repeating any of them more than once in that time was merely an additional lengthening of the office.

The Paris arrangement of Laudal Psalms is this :—

Sunday, Psalms 63, 70, 100, Benedicite, 148.

Monday, Psalms 92, 136, in two, Song of Moses, (Exod. xv.) [instead of which, on Festivals, Ecclesiasticus 39, 15—20,] 135.

Tuesday, Psalms 24, 85, 97, Song of Hezekiah, [instead of which, on Festivals, Ecclesiasticus 36, 1—14,] 150.

Wednesday, Psalms 5, 36, 65, Songs of Isaiah, (xii.) [instead of which, on Festivals, the Song of Tobiah, (xiii. 1—7,)] 147 (1—11).

Thursday, Psalms 80, 108, in two, Song of Hannah, [instead of which, on Festivals, 1 Chron. xxix. 10—13,] 147. (11—end).

Friday, Psalms 51, 74, in two, Song of Habakkuk, [instead of which, on Festivals, Isaiah xxvi. 1—12,] 146.

Saturday, Psalms 17, in two, 57, Song of Deuteronomy, [instead of which on Festivals, Song of Judith,] 117.

The rest of the Office is the same in arrangement as the Roman.

The French Breviaries follow the general arrangement of the

Paris Lauds, though the particular Psalms often vary. In some Breviaries, as that of Limoges, the Festal Canticles are not given ferially, but as proper in the several days when they are said—in that of Sens, one of the three last Psalms is always said, as the *Psalmus Laudum*: thus, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, the 150th; Mondays and Thursdays, the 148th; Tuesdays and Fridays, the 149th. The Cologne, a very mediæval Breviary, retains the ancient type.

Cardinal Quignon's Reform simply gives two Psalms and a Cantic, with Benedic̃tus.

We will here stop to remark how very improper it is in our own Office to substitute the Jubilate for the Benedic̃tus, except where compelled by the unfortunate rubric preceding the latter. For exchanging the evensong Evangelical Canticles for their substitutes there can never be any excuse.

The Chapter for Laudson Sundays from the second Sunday after Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from the third Sunday after Pentecost till Advent, is in the Roman Breviary, that verse in the Apocalypse, "Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our GOD for ever and ever, Amen." At other times it varies with the season. The Ferial Chapter during the same time is, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and let us put on us the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day." This, in the Benedictine, and some few other Breviaries, is followed by a brief response on this sort. "R. Heal my soul * For I have sinned against Thee. Heal my soul. V. I said, LORD, be merciful unto me. For I have sinned against Thee. Heal my soul."

Of the Hymn which follows the Chapter, we do not intend, as we said before, to speak. Nor is there anything in the verse and response that follow, nor in the Antiphon of the Benedic̃tus which need detain us.

On Christmas Day, according to the Paris Breviary, instead of Benedic̃tus, the Song of Isaiah, (chap. xxv.) is sung, in which it is followed by one or two of the French offices: *e. g.* Chalons-sur-Saône; the Breviary of Mirepoix substitutes the Song of Micah.

In most of the Breviaries the Collect for the day follows, and one of the antiphons of S. Mary concludes the office, unless Prime immediately succeeds. The *Prayers*, which follow on some occasions, we shall better consider under Prime.

In mentioning the Collect, we cannot help relating a piece of Protestant bigotry to which we were once witnesses. A gentleman took up a Breviary, and read a Collect, which ended, as

usual, thus, (say) "Ad cœnæ Tuæ convivium occurramus. Per." "Per!" he exclaimed; "PER! Poor benighted creatures! You see, instead of our LORD'S Name, they may insert that of any saint they please!"

The old verses, which give the proper conclusion, are:—

Per Dominum dicas: si Patrem Presbyter oras.
 Si Christum memores: *per eundem* dicere debes.
 Si loqueris Christo: *qui vivis* scire memento;
Qui tecum, si sit Collectæ finis in ipso.
 Si memores Flamen: *eiusdem* dic prope finem.

These rules might not unreasonably be recalled by those whose office it is to compose "occasional prayers" among ourselves.

We now proceed to *Prime*. The Sunday Roman Office is this:—After the Pater Noster, &c. and the Hymn, "Jam lucis orto sidere," which never alters, three Psalms are said, the 54th, the 118th, and the thirty-two first verses of the 119th, under two Glorias. After this, when the office is of the Sunday, the Athanasian Creed; and this is followed by the short chapter, and the verses and responses;—"O CHRIST, SON of the living GOD, "have mercy upon us (twice). *V.* Thou That sittest at the "right-hand of the FATHER. *R.* Have mercy upon us. "*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the "HOLY GHOST. *R.* O CHRIST, SON of the living GOD, "have mercy upon us. *V.* Arise, O CHRIST, and deliver us. "*R.* And save us for Thy mercies' sake." After this follow if they are to be said, (which they are not on Doubles, nor within Octaves) the Preces or Suffrages, with the *Confiteor*, and the Collect, "Almighty GOD, Who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day, &c." with which Prime, properly speaking, ends. It is followed by the office of the Chapter. This commences with the martyrology of the day, the "*V.* Right dear in the sight of the LORD, *R.* is the death of His saints;" short suffrages, the Collect, "O Almighty LORD, and everlasting GOD," and after the "*V.* Sir, pray for a blessing," and the Benediction, "Almighty GOD order our acts and days in His peace," a short lesson, of which five are given for various seasons of the year, and a benediction. The Ferial office is much the same, except that the short lesson is different, and that, instead of the 118th Psalm, there are said, one on each of the five first days of the week, the 24th, 25th, 26th, 23rd, 22nd. On Saturday none is substituted for it, and this is the case in all Festivals. The Athanasian Creed is not said. The variations of Prime being so slight, and the antiphon only varying with the season, this hour is not alluded to in the *Proprium de Tempore*. Want of space forbids us to dwell on the variations which the

other Breviaries exhibit from this form : we shall only observe that the Paris Breviary, while it retains the hymn *Jam lucis* unchanged for every day, has varying Psalms. The Officium Capituli there consists of the Martyrology for the day, the Necrology, with the *De Profundis*, the Suffrages, and a Canon selected for every day, in a kind of continued series : thus, in the Meaux Breviary ; Sept. 1st has a canon on Residence, 2nd—18th on Zeal for Souls ; 19th—30th, on the Love of Poverty. Oct. 1, 2, against Nepotism ; 3rd, 4th, 5th, on the care of the Poor ; 6—10, on the care of the Sick ; 11—25, on Confession and the Care of Death-beds ; &c. &c. These canons are, in the Paris Breviary, given in the regular course of the Proprium de Tempore ; in other French Breviaries, though with the same arrangement, they are usually printed at the end of the volume. The Meaux Breviary is singular in arranging the Canons as well as the lessons, by the days of the year. In the Roman, instead, the Preces, and De Profundis are said in Lent, and Advent, and Fasts, at the end of Lauds, to which we have previously alluded. The fullest specimen which we know of the Laudal Preces occurs in the Liège Breviary, and we give them here, both for their extreme beauty, and because they tend to illustrate the Primal Preces. They may be very profitably compared with the Greek Ectene.

V. I said, LORD, be merciful unto me. *R.* Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee. *V.* Let us pray for every state of the Church. *R.* Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and let Thy saints sing with joyfulness. *V.* For the peace and unity of the Church. *R.* Let there be peace in Thy might, and abundance in Thy towers. *V.* For our Bishop. *R.* The LORD preserve him, and keep him alive, that he may be blessed upon earth : and deliver not Thou him into the will of his enemies. *V.* For our King. *R.* O LORD, save the King ; and mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee. *V.* For all Catholic people. *R.* O LORD, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance ; govern them, and set them up for ever. *V.* For all our benefactors. *R.* Bestow, O LORD, on all them that do good to us for Thy Name's sake, eternal life. *V.* For them that travel. *R.* O LORD, give salvation ; O LORD, prosper us now : blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the LORD. *V.* For the faithful that voyage. *R.* Hear us, O GOD of our salvation, Thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea. *V.* For them that are in discord. *R.* And the peace of GOD, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in CHRIST JESUS. *V.* For them that persecute and calumniate us. *R.* LORD JESUS CHRIST, lay not this sin to their charge, for they know not what they do. *V.* For them that are penitent. *R.* Turn Thee again, O LORD, at the last, and be gracious unto Thy servants. *V.* For them that are in affliction and captivity. *R.* Deliver Israel, O GOD, out of all his troubles. *V.* For the sick. *R.* Send, O LORD, Thy word, and save them from their destruction. *V.* And for all the faithful departed. *R.* Eternal rest grant unto them, O LORD, and light perpetual shine upon them. *V.* May they rest in peace. *R.* Amen. *V.* For our sins and negli-

gences. *R.* And for the glory of Thy Name, O LORD, deliver us, and be merciful to our sins, for Thy Name's sake. *V.* For our brethren that are absent. *R.* My GOD, save Thy servants that put their trust in Thee. *V.* Send them, LORD, help from the sanctuary. *R.* And strengthen them out of Sion. *V.* Be unto us, O LORD, a strong tower. *R.* From the face of the enemy. *V.* O LORD, hear our prayer. *R.* And let our cry come unto Thee.—*De Profundis.*

The three next hours, Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, are arranged on so precisely a similar plan, that they may all be comprehended in a few words. The office at each consists of the Pater Noster, &c. a hymn, (at Tierce, *Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus*; at Sexts, *Rektor potens verus Deus*; at Nones, *Rerum Deus tenax vigor*); three Psalms, *i. e.* six divisions of the 119th Psalm, under three Glorias, the short chapter, varying with the season of the year; verse and response; and (when the preces have been said before) the *Kyrie* and short suffrages; the whole concluded by the Proper Collect.

S. Benedict's rule gives three divisions only (each, of course, under its own *Gloria*,) of the 119th Psalm, for Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, on Sunday and Monday, and the Psalm is thus finished on Monday at Nones. The nine Psalms, from 120—129, are said, three at each little hour, through every other day of the week.

The Paris and French Breviaries have, as we have seen, varying Psalms here, as in the other hours. The way in which the Antiphons are regulated by those of Lauds (where no express rule is given to the contrary), is this: the first Antiphon of Lauds is said for the Psalms at Prime; the second, for those at Tierce; the third, those at Sexts; the fifth, for those at Nones; the fourth being omitted.

The only other remark we shall make on the little Hours is that the Liège Breviary has, on the greater festivals, proper collects for them; an arrangement which is very rare. Thus, on the Epiphany, it has at Lauds the same collect as the Roman and most other Breviaries, which is substantially the same with that of our own Prayer-book. But the Collect for Tierce is: "GOD, the Illuminator of all nations, grant that Thy people may enjoy perpetual peace; and pour into our hearts that shining light, which Thou didst inspire into the minds of the Wise Men, Thy SON our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who." At Sexts: "Grant to us, Almighty GOD, we beseech Thee, that Thy salvation, wonderful with a new light from Heaven, which for the safety of the world, as on this day, shone forth, may ever arise in our hearts, that thereby they may be renewed, through Thy SON, JESUS CHRIST our LORD." At Nones: "Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, that the Nativity

"of the SAVIOUR of the world, made manifest by the leading
"of a star, may ever be revealed, and increase in our hearts,
"through." At the second Vespers: "Almighty and Ever-
"lasting GOD, the Light of Souls, Who hast consecrated this
"solemnity by the first-fruits of the election of the Gentiles, fill
"the world with Thy glory, and, the people being subdued unto
"Thee, make the brightness of Thy light to appear, through."
(At the first Vespers, the Collect had been: "Lighten, O
"LORD, we beseech Thee, Thy people, and evermore inflame
"their hearts with the glory of Thy grace, that they may without
"ceasing acknowledge their SAVIOUR, and without error ap-
"prehend Him, Thy SON, &c.")

We come to Vespers. After the Pater Noster, the secular Breviaries give five, the monastic four Psalms, each under its own Antiphon, (except in Paschal time, when all are said under Alleluia;) then the short chapter, which, on ordinary days, is, "Blessed be GOD, even the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Father of mercies, and GOD of all consolation," &c.; a beautifully chosen lesson after the fatigues of the day. Then the hymns, varying with the day of the week, the verse and response; the Magnificat, with its proper Antiphon and the proper Collect. In Advent, Lent, and the Ember Days, the Preces and the 51st Psalm are said after the Magnificat. And here it is well to observe that the Sarum Breviary retained, while the Roman has dropped, the original custom of ending every one of the Hours, on all days not Doubles, with Psalm li.

The French Breviaries give varying short chapters at Vespers, according to the day of the week.

It is as Antiphons to the Magnificat that the famous O's are said. On Dec. 17th, "O Sapientia;" 18th, "O Adonai;" 19th, "O Radix Jesse;" 20th, "O Clavis David;" 21st, "O Oriens;" 22nd, "O Rex Gentium;" 23rd, "O Emmanuel." The English Breviaries added, "O Virgo Virginum," and (on the 20th and 21st,) "O Thoma Didyme," beginning the O's on the 16th instead of the 17th of December, (as marked in our present Calendar.) Some of the French Breviaries, as that of Moulins, begin the O's on the 15th; having on the 21st, "O Speculum;" and on the 23rd, "O Rex Israel." The Liège begins them on the 18th, adding, on the 24th, "O Summe Artifex."

It now only remains to say a word about Compline. This commences with the *Fube Domine benedicere*: the Benediction, "Almighty GOD grant us a quiet night and a perfect end:" the Lesson, "Be sober, be vigilant," &c.: the Confiteor and the four Psalms, 4, 30 (1—6), 91, 130, under one Antiphon. The Benedictine Breviary omits the 2nd of these, except on the last nights of Holy Week. Then the hymn, *Te Lucis ante ter-*

minum, (which in the English Breviaries varied with the season) : the short chapter from Jeremiah, "But Thou art in us, O LORD, "and Thy Holy name is called upon us : leave us not, O LORD "our GOD : " the verse, "Into Thine hands I commend my "spirit," &c. : the Song of Simeon, the *Preces*, when they are to be said, the beautiful Collect, "Visita quæsumus," and an Antiphon and Prayer of the Virgin. The office is concluded with the LORD'S Prayer and Belief, that the Church's children may lie down to rest with the faith of their Mother on their lips. By monastic rule, speech was forbidden after Compline.

On the variations of this office we have not left ourselves space to dwell. The French Breviaries change the Psalms with the day of the week, and some even appoint proper lessons, thus utterly spoiling the beauty of this quiet service, the monotony of which is expressly calculated for the last weary hour of the day.

Before we conclude, we wish to say a few words on the selection of Saints commemorated in the Breviary, because certainly, in some of the modern uses, a very great reform is needed here. We have no reason to complain that any religious order should by preference commemorate its own Saints. Yet we do think that such a list of greater Doubles, as the present Franciscan Breviary gives,—we are quoting from the Mechlin edition of 1848,—can scarcely be tolerated. They are these : The Dedication of the two famous Franciscan Churches of S. Mary de Portiunculâ and S. Francis at Assisi (see Mr. Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 455); the Transfiguration; the Exaltation of the Cross; the Sacred Heart; the Betrothal, Seven Dolours, Visitation, Heart, Name, Seven Dolours again, Patronage, Presentation, Expectation, Rosary, of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Festivals de Mercede, ad Nives, and under the title of "the Help of Christians," the Translation of the House of Loretto, (surely this festival should at once be put down by authority;) S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Joachim, both Cathedræ of S. Peter, S. Peter ad Vincula, S. John Port. Lat., Conversion of S. Paul, Decollation of S. John Baptist, S. Barnabas, and then the following list :—

	Beatified by	Canonized by
S. Fidelis a Sigmaringa, M. 1622.		
B. Lucius	Pius VI.	
S. Felix a Cantilicio	Urban VIII.	Clement XI.
S. Ivo		Clement VI.
B. John of Prado, M.	Benedict XIII.	
Translation of S. Francis.		
B. Benvenutus.		
S. Isabel of Portugal		Urban VIII.
Martyrs of Gorkom, 1572	Clement X.	

Beatified by

Canonized by

(At Rome.) The miraculous motion of the eyes in some images of the Blessed Virgin.

B. Elzear.

S. Agnes of Assisi (sister of S. Clara.)

B. Leonard a Portu Mauricio . . Pius VI. (who had known him.)

Invention of S. Francis.

B. Andrew de Comitii . . . Innocent XIII.

S. Joseph a Leonissa . . . Clement XII. . . Benedict XIV.

B. Andrew de Strinconio, 1687.

B. Joan of Valois (divorced wife of

Louis XI.) . . . Benedict XIV.

S. Conrad . . . Leo X. . . Paul III.

B. John of Parma . . . Pius VI.

B. Angela of Fulgino.

Now we do call it intolerable that Saints so completely local as many of the above should be allowed to take precedence of those whose fame is world-wide; such as the Eight Doctors of the Church; as the Martyrs S. Agnes and S. Vincent; as S. Leo I., S. Ignatius of Antioch, or S. Mary Magdalene. This is to turn an order into a clique. The case is the same with other monastic Breviaries; and in particular, though not to such an extent, with that of the Augustinians. That at least three-fourths of the principal holidays of these late Breviaries should have been appointed only within the last 250 years, is another remarkable phenomenon.

Although we said, at the commencement of this paper, that we did not intend to treat of the Breviary except as a choral book, and had no purpose of entering into the question of its solitary recitation, we cannot refrain from mentioning the *Breviary Colbertinum*. The celebrated minister of France, Colbert, was in the habit, for many years, of reciting the Breviary daily. He at first employed the Roman, and then the Parisian use; but finding much in both that was more appropriate for the choir than for private recitation, especially when the reciter was a layman, he had the book in question drawn up for his own devotions. It is a handsome 8vo. of about 780 pages, very much simplified; for instance, there is but one Antiphon to each hour,—the ferial Psalms are always said,—and there are no lessons, because Colbert read the Bible yearly through, after an arrangement of his own. There is a French preface, in copper-plate, written evidently after Colbert's death. Some of the hymns were composed on purpose for this Breviary. The Calendar is curious for calling the two Sundays after Christmas the first and second Sundays after Advent: and—as Quignon's Breviary also does—

for naming the Sundays which occur either after Epiphany or before Advent, prima, secunda, &c. *Dominica Vagantium*.

Yet of one thing, in conclusion, it seems proper to remind the reader, lest the glitter of so magnificent an array of sevenfold devotion should blind the eyes of any to the real state of the matter. Except in monastic bodies, the Breviary, as a Church office, is scarcely ever used as a whole. You may go—we do not say from Church to Church, but from Cathedral to Cathedral of central Europe, and never hear—never have a chance of hearing—Matins, save at high festivals. In Spain and Portugal it is somewhat more frequent; but there, as everywhere, it is a clerical devotion exclusively. But anywhere, as we had occasion to say in a previous number, “to find in a village church a Priest who daily recited his Matins publicly would be a phenomenon.” Then, again, the lesser Hours are not often publicly said, except in Cathedrals, and then principally by aggregation, and in connection with Mass. Vespers is the only popular service; and that, in connection with the Benediction, seems to be put forward by English Ultramontanes as *the* congregational service of the Roman Church of the Future. Our readers will remember that some time ago we made a statement characterized by many persons at the period as “startling,” that “in no national Church under the sun are so many Matin Services daily said as in our own.”* An Anglo-Roman Priest shortly afterwards strongly and publicly remonstrated about certain other statements contained in the same number of the *Christian Remembrancer*. But of this point he took no notice; and therefore, we may fairly presume, allowed its truth. We feel it only right to dwell on this; because, having had occasion in the preceding pages to enlarge with so much admiration on the Roman theory, we are bound not to shut our eyes to Roman practice.

We thus conclude the very brief sketch which alone our limits have allowed us to offer. It would be our wish to render it more perfect, by adding, at some future time, a few more remarks on the other contents of the Roman Breviary and of the Ritual, and an account of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites.

* See this in the subsequent paper on “Daily Service.”

Note referred to at p. 17.

[The reader will observe, that of these tropes, only one in the first batch forms a perfect hexameter without *eleison*: two in the second: all in the third. I suppose this is to symbolise the gradual advance to perfection from the Jewish to the Christian, and thence to the Heavenly Church.]



II.

THE COLLECTS OF THE CHURCH.*



HAVE been studying," said General Paoli to Dr. Johnson, "the ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages." "Why, sir," replied Johnson, "they are very curious." The one and the other spoke of the pursuit as of something which might occupy some six or eight weeks of a busy

man's leisure time: and that was about the idea which the last century had formed of the various Church works and Church sciences of the Middle Ages. Notice how completely such books even as Wheatley's ignore all liturgical writers previous to the Reformation; how to him, and to such as him, the Millennium, which elapsed between the time of Justinian to that of Luther, is a pure blank. How little could the men of that generation, so wise in their own conceit, so contentedly and equally anathematizing Rome on the one hand, and Methodism on the other, form an idea of the distinct and separate sciences, each of them not to be acquired by the labour of a life, which the narrowest boundary of the term Ecclesiology must needs embrace! Art on the one side, Antiquarianism on the other. Art, with her separate divisions of architecture, music, painting, and the crafts and mechanical studies that minister to all these; the precious works of the needle, in which England by the consent of all stood first; the various schools of glass-painting, the work of the potter, the enamels of Limoges, the manipulation which could raise a Quentin Matsys to the very first rank of artists, and endue the flowers of the field with the cold metallic life of iron and brass;—

* Ancient Collects and other Prayers, for the Use of Clergy and Laity; selected from various Rituals. By William Bright, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford, Theological Tutor of Trinity College, Glenalmond. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker.

all this on the one side : on the other, the gradual compilation of Liturgy, Office, Sacramentary, the living kernel of devotion enshrined in its art-shell, the breath of life, animating the otherwise worthless, though glorious, forms of mediæval skill. On which of these subjects might not volumes on volumes be written ? On Hagiology ? Let those patient Fathers of Brussels, now in the third century of their labour, toiling on with the Bollandist October, answer the question. Then we need a history of the Missal, tracing it out in its various European families. We want the wealth that can first amass a library full of those invaluable Incunabula, printed according to the use of all the more celebrated Churches of Europe ; from those which Norway gave us, the Missale Nidrosienſe and Upsalenſe, to those of Seville and Evora in the far south, and those of Dantzic, Strigonia, and Cracow, on the confines of the Eastern Church ; glorious tomes bound in half-inch oak or chestnut, armed, and nobbed, and studded with wrought brass or silver, scaled, tortoise-fashion, with metallic lappets, and bound together by the hogskin back, relic of boars that had fattened themselves plentifully in great forests of beech ; those volumes that have initials of such marvellous splendour, with flowers and fruitage curling down the side of the page, or symbolising in their very pattern the meaning of the Epistle or Gospel which they prelude. All these books have to be collected, divided according to their families, need their histories related, their various developments and corruptions set forth, till the outbreak of the Reformation on the one side, or the all-grasping, all-levelling interference of Rome on the other, drove them from the cathedral choir into the royal or municipal library. And if the Missal needs this history, equally so does the Breviary. Let the reader try, as the writer has done for nearly twenty years, and he will find that scarcely a third-rate town in France or Germany but will yield him, in its library, some ancient Breviary of a family hitherto unknown to him. We could specify, at the present moment, between three and four hundred of a date anterior to the Reformation ; and, in all probability, that amount is not the half that diligent examination could produce. What further are we to say of Hymnology, the history of which remains still to be written ? What of the endless *genera* of Antiphons and Responses ? What of Antiphonaries, Sequentiaries, Graduals, Processionals, Benedictionals, and their countless varieties ? Surely this, that the science of Ecclesiology is truly infinite. Well may that noble description in the Wisdom of Solomon, consequent on the "command to build a temple upon Thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein Thou dwellest, a resemblance of the holy Tabernacle which Thou hast prepared

"from the beginning," be applied to the treasures of art and learning laid up in the storehouses of the Catholic Church.

Of one small division of this great shrine it is our purpose now to speak. From the *Lex Psallendi*, which we treated in the last paper, we naturally turn to the *Lex Orandi*; and we now propose to say something as to the character, history, and various modifications of actual prayers, whether Collects or Litanies, both in the East and West. The subject is entirely new; and we must therefore entreat the reader's pardon if, in endeavouring to untwist a somewhat tangled skein, we should sometimes ourselves become confused; if, where we have scarcely a guide to precede us, we should be guilty of occasional mistakes.

The prayers to which we are about to direct the reader's attention may conveniently be divided into seven classes:—

1. Collects, properly so called.
2. Longer prayers, such as have no distinctive name, but are the Euchai of the Eastern Church.
3. Litanies.
4. Illations.
5. Exhortations.
6. Responsory Prayers; the *Preces* of Lauds, Prime, and Vespers.
7. Benedictions.

Each of these we will by turns consider, and we will commence with the Collect. The derivation of the word is uncertain. It may be because the substance of the prayer is *collected* from the Epistle and Gospel which it accompanies; or much more probably, because into that prayer the priest *collects* the wishes and supplications of the by-standing faithful. This much better agrees with the Greek synonym, *Synapte*.

A Collect, then, is (1) a liturgical prayer; (2) must be short; (3) embraces but one main petition; (4) consists but of one sentence; (5) asks through the merits of our LORD; and (6) ends properly with an ascription of praise to the Blessed TRINITY. It is a composition belonging to the Western Church; for, as is well known, the Eastern Church has nothing resembling it. In the East, 1. There is no varying collect for Sunday and Festival. 2. The prayers are almost all lengthy. 3. They form various sentences, and embrace a variety of particulars; and 4, they do not, in so many words, base their request on our LORD'S merits.

There is nothing more wonderful than the immense variety of the Collects said, or that have been said, in the Western Church. Numerous as those are which the Latin Communion still possesses, a still larger number have probably perished in the destruction and desolation of Diocesan Missals. Our own Prayer-book

contains less than a hundred. It might not be difficult to find, without searching very far, a thousand of equal beauty; and Mr. Bright, in the little book which has been mentioned by us, has done good service in familiarizing the English reader with a few of these.

The construction of Collects is on a plan which is tolerably unvarying. When fully developed, it consists of five parts.

1. The Invocation.
2. The Antecedent Reason of the Petition.
3. The Petition itself.
4. The Benefit which, if it be granted, we hope to obtain.
5. The Conclusion.

Take an example.

1. Almighty GOD.
2. Who see'st that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves.
3. Keep us both outwardly in our bodies and inwardly in our souls.
4. That we may be defended . . . hurt the soul.
5. Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.

This, as we have said, is the fullest version of a Collect, though the Petition may sometimes consist of two or more members. Frequently the fourth clause is omitted: still more frequently the second: rarely both.

Let us now, by way of understanding better these Collects, go through the more interesting half of the Church's year,—from Advent to Trinity, with a comparison of the Collect for the day in various uses. We must remember that the one English Collect supplies the place of the Collect, the Secreta, and the Post Communio, of the Roman Church; all of them in like manner varying with the Festival: although the Collect, the Maxima Collecta, (the Oratio super Sindonem of the Ambrosian rite,) is almost always the fullest and richest. We will take as a specimen of the rites of various Churches—1. The Roman; 2. The Sarum; 3. Our own English Prayer-book; 4. As an example of a Mediæval German rite, the Liège; 5. The Aquilæan; and 6. The Modern Paris. To these we will add, as an example of that reform which it was intended at the revolution to carry out, the amended Collects proposed in the Royal Commission, but which were never presented to Convocation, and which lay buried in the library at Lambeth till a Parliamentary vote the other day dragged them out to light. A diligent comparison of documents so various, and yet all so illustrative of the times and circumstances under which they were composed, cannot be without its advantage.

It has always appeared to us that, in beginning the arrangement of the yearly Collects, the English Reformers had intended to deviate far more widely from the Sarum use, than they afterwards found it convenient to do. The Collects for the three first Sundays in Advent have no resemblance to those in the Missal and in the Prayer-book. The ancient Missals to which we have referred give it thus (and we may observe once for all that, where we quote the Roman alone, it is because the Sarum, Liège, and Aquilæan agree with it) :—

Raise up, we beseech Thee, O LORD, Thy power, and cause that from the imminent perils of our sins we may merit through Thy protection to be delivered, and through Thy liberation to be saved.

Our Reformers, dismissing the ancient form, composed a fresh one from the Epistle; not without its own beauty, but at the same time containing an awkwardness in its arrangement which would at once prove it of later date.

That for the Second Sunday in Advent is as follows :—

Stir up, O LORD, our hearts to prepare the ways of Thy Only-Begotten Son, that, through His Advent, we may merit to serve Thee with purified minds.

Here, again, our Reformers have formed their Collect from the Epistle.

In like manner with the third.

We beseech Thee, O LORD, to bow down Thine ears to our prayers, and enlighten the darkness of our minds by the grace of Thy visitation.

So here, once more, our Reformers compounded their Collect from the Epistle, though with a glance here and there at the more ancient form.

In the fourth Sunday we find them for the first time translating from the old Collect, but so translating as to lose almost wholly its true spirit and emphasis. In the original it is addressed to GOD the SON; and with the dramatic effect which permeates every ecclesiastical office, calls upon Him,—as if the work of our redemption were not yet begun,—to raise up His power and succour us, to be born, as it were, for our sakes. In our version, this beautiful realization of the approaching festival is lost: the silver is become drops, the wine is mixed with water; the prayer is now addressed to GOD the FATHER, and ends, “through the satisfaction of Thy SON, our LORD,” &c. In these Advent Collects, then, our Prayer-book falls short of its original; we shall find in many that succeed, that this is far from being the case. King William’s Divines still further injured this Collect, merely transcribing the Epistle :—“O LORD, “Who hast given us cause of perpetual joy by the coming of

“Thy SON, our Saviour, among us, raise up Thy power, we
 “pray Thee, and possess us with a mighty *sense of Thy wonder-
 “ful love, (!)* that whereas through the cares of this life we are
 “fore let and hindered in running the race,” &c.

On Christmas-day it has usually been thought that our Prayer-book had adopted an original Collect. “The Collect for this
 “day,” says Palmer, “is not directly translated from the ancient
 “Offices of the Church.” It is true that the Roman and
 Sarum uses give a perfectly different prayer:—“Grant, we be-
 “seech Thee, Almighty GOD, that the new birth of Thine
 “Only-Begotten SON in the flesh, may liberate us whom ancient
 “slavery held under the yoke of sin.” But we have noted some-
 thing like our own Collect in more than one German Missal:
 a fact which ought to be known to English liturgical scholars.

On S. Stephen's Day, our Prayer-book has, in our opinion,
 a clear advantage over its original. The Gregorian Prayer is
 somewhat lean and poor. “Grant to us, LORD, we beseech
 “Thee, to imitate that which we celebrate, that we may learn
 “to love our enemies, because we celebrate his birthday, who
 “could pray even for his persecutors to our LORD JESUS
 “CHRIST.” And the same remark may apply to that for
 S. John. The *Ecclesiam tuam benignus illustra* is but poor com-
 pared with its exquisite development, “Merciful LORD, we
 “beseech Thee to cast Thy bright beams of light upon Thy
 “Church.” If the reader wishes for a bathos, he has only to
 turn to King William's book:—“Merciful GOD, Who art light,
 “and in Whom is no darkness at all, enlighten our minds, we
 “humbly beseech Thee, with such a full understanding of the
 “doctrine taught by Thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist S. John,
 “that we, walking in the truth and in all holiness and purity
 “of life, may have fellowship with Thee and Thy SON JESUS
 “CHRIST, by Whose blood being cleansed from all our sins, we
 “may at length attain to everlasting life.”

The first Prayer-book of Edward VI. gives the Collect for
 Holy Innocents from the original:—“Almighty GOD, Whose
 “praise this day the young Innocents, Thy witnesses, both
 “confessed and shewed forth, not in speaking, but in dying:
 “mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation our
 “life may express Thy faith, which with our tongues we do
 “confess, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.” So far as we
 know, our present composition is original; it seems no improve-
 ment on the old Collect. King William's Divines have, however,
 sunk far beneath it:—“O most Blessed GOD, Who, having
 “sent Thy SON in our nature, didst preserve Him in His Infancy
 “from the malice of Herod, by whom many other children were

“ slain, grant that in all dangers and adversities we may put
 “ our whole trust and confidence in Thee, and do Thou by Thy
 “ good providence preserve us from the rage of unreasonable
 “ and wicked men, or strengthen us by patient sufferings to
 “ glorify Thy Holy Name, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.
 “ Amen.”

It were difficult to say why the Sunday in the Octave of Christmas has no especial Collect: its original one has certainly no small beauty:—“ Almighty, everlasting GOD, direct our
 “ acts according to Thy good will; that in the name of
 “ Thine Only-Begotten SON, we may be fruitful in all good
 “ works.”

In the Circumcision we have—what is not usual—deep theological teaching slurred over for the sake of a smoother prayer; and it is worth noticing how the same process takes place in the Parisian Missal as in our own. The Collect in the Roman and most other Missals is simply a prayer for the intercession of S. Mary: that which our compilers were imitating is a Gregorian Benediction “On the Octaves of the LORD:”—“ Almighty GOD, Whose Only-Begotten SON received corporal
 “ circumcision on this day, to the end that He might not destroy
 “ the law which He came to fulfil, purify your minds by spiritual
 “ circumcision from all the incentives of vice, and pour upon you
 “ His benediction.” We see how our own Prayer-book polishes this Benediction, losing at the same time some of its value: the Gallican compilers write thus:—“ O GOD, Who being made
 “ Man for our sakes, didst vouchsafe as on this day to be circumcised, and to receive the name of JESUS: grant, of Thy
 “ mercy, that we, renouncing the works of the flesh, may obtain
 “ the reward of eternal salvation by the invocation of Thy Holy
 “ Name; Who with the Father,” &c.

On the Epiphany, we have a mere translation of the Sarum rite. The Parisian agrees with it. King William’s Commissioners do little more than dilute it, without any material change in the substance.

First Sunday after Epiphany.—Our Prayer-book sadly falls short of the pithy vigour, and what the French would call *verve*, of the Collect from which this is taken:—“ Ut et quæ agenda sunt videant, et ad implenda quæ viderint convalescant:” where notice the admirable force of the last word, and especially of its preposition, so feebly expressed by the “ may also have grace and power.” The Commissioners dilute it in the following fashion:—“ O GOD, Whose infinite mercies in our blessed Saviour encourage us to call upon Thee: we beseech Thee graciously to
 “ hear us, and grant that we may both perceive and know what

"is Thy good and acceptable and perfect will revealed in us, "and also," &c. We can find no variation in the ordinary Liturgies.

Second Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a literal translation from the Sarum. All the books agree. The Commissioners :—"and so rule and guide us, that we may do our duties faithfully "in their several places and relations, constantly abhorring that "which is evil," &c. &c. ; taking it, according to their usual fashion, from the Epistle.

Third Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a translation : except that "in all our dangers and necessities," is an addition of the compilers. Notice how beautifully, in the original Office, the "right hand" of the LORD, stretched out in the Gospel to heal the leper, prayed for in the Collect to be our own defence, is glorified in the "Offertory :"—"The right hand of the LORD "hath the pre-eminence ; the right hand of the LORD bringeth "mighty things to pass." The Commissioners, as usual, insert a large portion of the Epistle.

Fourth Sunday after Epiphany.—Here the famous expression, "that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright," is, probably, as good a translation as can be made of "*pro humanâ fragilitate non posse subsistere.*" By the Commissioners it is softened down into "that in many things we offend all." There seems very little connection between this Collect and the Epistle ; whether taken, as in our book, from the beginning of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans ; or, as in the Sarum and Roman, from the eighth and following verses. But it is worthy of notice, that there is a very strong connection between our Collect and the Mozarabic Epistle,—the complaint of S. Paul in Romans vii., regarding the struggle of the two natures. One cannot but think that the two were originally co-existent for this Sunday. The curious difference in the termination of the Sarum and our Collect, is not easily to be explained. Instead of "as may support us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations," the original has, "that the things which for our sins we suffer, by Thy help we may overcome."

We will now go on to Septuagesima.—Here all the books seem to agree. The Commissioners introduce a long insertion as to the Christian race from the Epistle.

Sexagesima.—Here the more ancient books have, for the conclusion, instead of "mercifully grant that by Thy power we may be defended against all adversity,"—"mercifully grant, that by "the protection of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be defended against all adversity ;" a clause, which, from its very

nature, is not of remote antiquity, and which, manifestly, has reference to the actions of S. Paul, as related in the Epistle. Quignon, who eliminates several passages of a similar kind, allows this to remain. But in the Parisian, instead of "Doctōris Gentium protectione," we have, "Gratiæ tuæ protectione."

Quinquagesima.—Here the compilers of our Prayer-book introduce a new Collect: and, it will scarcely be denied, to the manifest improvement of the Office. The key-note of the whole service for Quinquagesima is, and ought to be; "The greatest of these is charity:" but to that charity the Sarum Collect makes not the slightest reference. "We beseech Thee, O LORD, graciously to receive our prayers, and having freed us from the chains of our sins, to preserve us from all adversity;"—a mere repetition of what has occurred in previous prayers. Ours must be regarded as one of the most successful of modern compositions in this line. The Commissioners leave it almost unaltered.

Ash-Wednesday.—Our Collect is rather a *résumé* of that recited at the benediction of the ashes, than a literal translation of any. It is rather wonderful, that the Collect for the first Sunday in Lent was not transposed with this. At the same time, it shows the most venerable antiquity of these compositions, that fasting should be for the first time mentioned, not on the Wednesday, but on the Sunday: the four extra days being, as every one knows, of comparatively modern introduction. They were not introduced into the Mozarabic ritual till the revision of Cardinal Ximenes. And here, in entering on Lent, it is impossible not to bewail the ritual loss we experience in the rejection of the daily varying Collects during that most holy time. That there is a certain amount of sameness in them, may not be denied: but, surely, had it been thought not desirable to retain all, every Wednesday and Friday might at least have been distinguished by their own. We will give examples of these for one week, noting the variations in varying rituals. And for that purpose we will take the first week in Lent.

The First Week, Monday.—The Roman and Sarum:—"Turn us again, O GOD of our salvation: and, to the end that our fast of forty days may profit us, instruct our minds with Thy celestial discipline."

Parisian:—"Grant, we beseech Thee, O LORD, that our fasts may be acceptable to Thee: that by purifying us, they may make us worthy of Thy grace, and may bring us to eternal glory." And this is the general Collect for the day in most of the modern French Breviaries, although some few, as the Rouen, agree with Rome.

Let us turn to the Ambrosian. The first of the five at Lauds is the same as the Roman. The second :—"We beseech Thee, O LORD, vouchsafe to hear, of Thy mercy, the morning prayers of Thy servants ; and to them that desire to attain to Thee, let the door of Thy indulgence ever stand open." The third :—"GOD, Who sheddest forth light at the morning hour, guard, we beseech Thee, of Thy mercy, our steps, that while we walk in good works, the faith of believers may ever shine forth in us." The fourth :—"Sanctify, O LORD, we beseech Thee, our fasts ; and, of Thy mercy, give us the pardon of all our faults." The fifth :—"Stretch forth, O GOD, Thy hand over us, and bestow upon us the help of celestial virtue."

From the Ambrosian, turn we to the Mozarabic. The Collects at Matins are as follows :—"Although, O LORD, the multitude of our enemies may deny that there is any help for us in Thee ; yet the strength of our hope is mightily increased, because Thou didst vouchsafe to undertake our cause. Wherefore the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped, since perpetual mercy surrounds them that put their trust in Thee." The second :—"O LORD, with Whom is the full salvation of righteousness, and the perfection of incorruptible beatitude ; grant to us that we may pass the time in the meditation of Thy law by day and night, and may forsake the way of sinners, and the seat of the scornful ; to the end that, like a tree which bringeth forth his fruits in due season, planted by the rivers of waters, we may be full of fruits, and beautified with grace." The third :—"Let Thy discipline both join us to Thee by holy fear, and by fear, bring us to Thy joy : and, to the end that we may not depart from the path of righteousness, restrain us ; and, to the end that we may attain to felicity, give us faith in Thee."

Notice the marvellous difference between the brevity of the Roman, the quaint amplification of the Ambrosian, and the derivation from the Psalter, of the Mozarabic, rite. It helps to give one some idea of what the treasury of the Church really is, when one calls to mind these countless Collects, each composed, not for the sake of appearing in an Office, but as the real utterance of some soul in affliction or distress ; composed at the expense of how much suffering, collected and arranged at the price of how much labour ; starting from so many different points, twining themselves round so many passages of Scripture, employing so many varied forms of expression ! Commentators admire, and rightly, the richness of our own Collects. But what, when instead of one a week, there are three or four for each Hour of the day ? and what, still further, when we take the aggregate of

all these Offices, and consider them as a whole? To us it is perfectly marvellous what multitudes of exquisitely beautiful prayers, once the daily heritage of thousands who have long since entered into their rest, are now absolutely lost; dead prayers, as it were, to be found in folios which but few scholars open, and they principally for antiquarian, rather than for religious, purposes. The two folios of the Mozarabic ritual, absolutely unused, except in a few Spanish churches; the Ambrosian, confined but to one province, and beyond that exercising no influence whatever.

We will proceed to the Tuesday.

Roman and Sarum:—"Look down, we beseech Thee, O LORD, upon Thy family, and grant that our souls may through Thy love be accounted glorious with Thee, forasmuch as they chasten themselves by the mortification of the flesh."

The Parisian:—"Preserve, O LORD, Thy family, so as to be ever instructed in good works; and so console it with Thy present assistance, that Thou mayest of Thy mercy lead it on to eternal joys."

Ambrosian. First Prayer, the same as the Roman. Second:—"Pour forth in our hearts, Almighty GOD, the pure and serene light of Thy truth; that we may have no portion in the darkness of sin, who have merited to know and to fear the Eternal Light." The third:—"Hear us, O GOD of our salvation, and exclude from the consent of our will all evil concupiscence; that, since we know Thee to be the True Light, we may not be entangled by any chains of the world." Fourth Prayer:—"Let our prayers, O LORD, ascend to Thee, and repel all wickedness from Thy Church." Fifth Prayer:—"Grant to us, LORD, we beseech Thee, to lay aside perverse dispositions, and ever to love holy justice."

Mozarabic. First Prayer:—"Give, O LORD, fortitude to Thy people against all adversities, and enrich Thy servants with the gift of peace; that, according to the abundance of their quiet, they may with one voice celebrate Thy praise in Thy temple, and, forgetting the ills of their life, may ever offer glory and honour to Thy Majesty." Second Prayer:—"Forgive, O LORD, the wickedness of our hearts, for which every one that is godly maketh his prayer to Thee in an acceptable time; and give us understanding, through the prayers which we offer, and instruct us in the path of this life, along which we journey." Third Prayer:—"Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O LORD, in the hearts of Thy servants, the joy of the righteous which is in Thee, that Thy praise, which becometh well the just, may expel all depravity from our senses."

These specimens may serve as an example of the infinite rich-

ness of such supplications. We will now continue the ordinary course of the Sundays.

First Sunday in Lent.—Our Collect is scarcely more than a distant imitation of the Roman and Sarum:—"GOD, Which purifiest Thy Church by the yearly observation of the forty days' fast, grant to Thy servants that the things which by abstinence they endeavour to obtain from Thee, they may through good works achieve." Mr. Palmer quotes an Ambrosian Collect, which hardly bears a stronger resemblance to that of our Prayer-book. We can find no variation in the French or German Liturgies. The Commissioners, besides diluting the prayer, think fit to prefix what they call a sermon or homily, containing about ten lines, and in which they say:—"It is most earnestly recommended to all persons, but more particularly to all Churchmen, to observe that time religiously, not placing fasting or devotion in any distinction of meats, but spending larger portions of their time in prayer," &c.

Second Sunday in Lent.—The Collect is almost a verbal translation; in the Gospel we follow the Sarum, which here curiously differs from the Roman, use. The latter reads the Transfiguration from S. Matthew; and some of the most striking discourses of Italian preachers have been delivered on this day. But it is remarkable that Durandus explains our Gospel, and makes no allusion to the Roman: so does Sicardus. And this also was the case in the greater part of the Churches of Germany.

Third Sunday in Lent.—Except that the epithet in "*heartly*" desires" is added, and that the object of GOD'S defence, "against all our enemies," is subjoined, ours is a literal translation of the Sarum Collect. This Sunday is, by Latin Liturgists, said to set forth to us more especially the doctrine and the duty of Confession, its key-note being that passage in the Gospel:—"When the devil was gone out, the dumb spake." In the Mozarabic Office, though both Epistle and Gospel are entirely different, the idea is evidently the same; the raising of Lazarus involving the doctrine of absolution in "Loose him and let him go;" and the Benediction in Lauds brings out this idea very strongly.

Fourth and Fifth Sundays in Lent.—Here again our Collects are almost verbal translations of the Sarum. It may well be asked why, when everything else on Passion Sunday directs us more immediately to the subject on which from that day forward our thoughts are to be employed, the Collect should in no respect differ from those of the other Sundays in Lent.

The Parisian Missal substitutes another in its place:—"O GOD, Who by the Passion of Thine Only-Begotten Son, and

“by His humiliation, even unto death, hast destroyed the pride
“of the ancient enemy : grant to Thy faithful people that they
“may both worthily remember that which He endured for us,
“and may by His example patiently bear all adversity ; Who
“liveth,” &c.

Even the Commissioners of William the Third saw the propriety of a Passion Collect, as well as Epistle and Gospel. “O Almighty GOD, who hast sent Thy SON CHRIST to be an High Priest of good things to come, and by His own Blood to enter in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption for us; mercifully look upon Thy people, that by the same Blood of our Saviour, Who through the eternal SPIRIT offered Himself without spot unto Thee, our consciences may be purged from dead works, to serve Thee, the living GOD, that we may receive the promise of eternal inheritance, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.”

Palm Sunday.—The Collect is again a mere translation ; but it must be confessed that the arrangement of the Gospels for the following week is the great blot in the ritual of our Prayer-book. Let us compare their arrangement in ours, the Roman, the Mozarabic, and the Ambrosian books.

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.	ROMAN.	MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.
Palm Sunday . . S. Matt. xxvii. . .	The Passion from S. Matt. S. John xi. 55 to xii. 13	S. John xi. 55 to xii. 11.	
Monday . . . S. Mark xiv. . .	S. John xii. 1—9. . .	No especial Gospel . .	S. Luke xxi. 34—38.
Tuesday . . . S. Mark xv. . .	The Passion from S. Mark	No especial Gospel . .	S. John ii. 47—54.
Wednesday . . S. Luke xxii. . .	The Passion from S. Luke S. Matt. xxvi. 1—16	S. Matt. xxvi. 1—5	
Maundy Thurs. S. Luke xxiii. . .	S. John xiii. 1—15 . .	S. Luke xxii. . . .	S. Matt. xxvi. 17 to end.
Good Friday . S. John xix. . .	The Passion from S. John	A kind of harmony of S. Matt. xxvii. the Passion	
Easter Eve. . . S. Matt. xxvii. 57. S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7. . .	S. Matt. 28	S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7.	

In the same way let us now take the Epistles :—

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.	ROMAN.	MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.
Palm Sunday . Philip. ii. 1—11	Philip. ii. 1—11	Gal. i. 3—13	2 Thess. ii. 15 to iii. 5.
Monday . . . Isaiah liiii. . . .	Isaiah l. 5—10	No especial Epistle. . .	Isaiah l. 5—10.
Tuesday . . . Isaiah l. 5—10	Jer.	No especial Epistle. . .	Jer. xi. 18—20.
Wednesday . . Heb. ix. 16—28	Isaiah liii.	1 St. John ii. 12—17	Is. lxii. 11 to lxiii. 7.
Maundy Thurs. 1 Cor. xi. 17—34	1 Cor. xi. 17—34	1 Cor. xi. 17—34	1 Cor. xi. 20—34.
Good Friday . . Heb. x. 1—25	Exodus xii. 1—11	1 Cor. v. 6 to vi. 11. Is. xlix. 24 to l. 11.	
Easter Eve. . . 1 S. Pet. iii. 17—22	Col. iii. 1—14	Rom. vi. 1—11	Eph. iv. 1—6. (*)

It must not be thought, however, that the Roman is by any means the exact norm of the provincial uses of the Western Church in this week. Retaining the ancient use, it here has a Prophecy on the Wednesday, on the Friday, and twelve on the Saturday. Many German Missals have a prophecy for every day of the week ; the Aquilæan agrees with them.

As it may well be imagined, the Church seems to have, so to speak, exerted herself that her prayers for Holy Week should

* But the Epistle and Gospel “In the Winter Church for the Baptized,” are Romans i. 1—7, and S. John iii. 1—13.

be worthy of the season. Departing a little from the strict classification with which we commenced, we will here give a few specimens of some of the most beautiful. Unfortunately, the Mozarabic, Ambrosian, and Eastern rites are so completely sealed books to most students, that we need not apologise for a few somewhat lengthened quotations; and truly glad shall we be if anything that we can say shall incline them to explore for themselves those treasures of liturgical composition. We will venture to assert, that if the Chaplains of the Archbishop of Canterbury would condescend to give but one week's attention to such books as these, we should be spared the remarkable compositions which on every state fast or festival inundate the English Church.

How magnificent, for example, is this Collect from the Mozarabic Breviary, at Matins for Monday in Holy Week :—

Arise, O LORD, not from sleep, not from place, not from time, O infinite and eternal Watch; that since many persecute, many harass Thy little flock, Thou, our Redeemer and Defender, wouldest be present as our Hope in the storm, our Shelter in the heat, and tread under foot the fierceness and the evil councils of them that rise up against us, and scatter the collected thousands of them that surround us.

Or again this, at Sexts, on the same day :—

CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who, in the extremity of Thy Passion, hadst gall and vinegar given Thee to drink by the Jews, grant to us that, by this the bitterness which Thou didst taste for us, we may be made joyful by drinking of the river of Thy pleasures; to the end that both the bitterness of Thy death may increase the sweetness of our love, and the power of Thy resurrection may manifest to us in its perfect beauty the promised glory of Thy Face.

Or again : let us turn to the glorious Missa in the Missal of the same Church, for Easter-day :—

Let the heaven rejoice, and the earth be glad: let the sea laugh, let the sun shine out; calm weather has returned, the pestilence is at an end; the tempest has ceased, the darkness has vanished, the Cross has purged the atmosphere, the Blood has purified, the Sun has healed the earth; thus did crucified GOD redeem man. But if we regard the immutability of His Majesty, it was by gifts, not by labour. Because when He, devising the means of redemption, had grieved over our loss, He assumed the body of our vileness, not because He could in no other way assist us against the tyranny of our fallen adversary, but to the end that the oracles of the Prophets might by this miracle of love be fulfilled. All the more certain knowledge, then, have they that are set free, that death wrought his work in the offence of the first transgressor, not through the weakness of man's frame, but through the exceeding vileness of sin: that the cause of destruction was not frailty, but deliberate will: that the origin of punishment was the decay, not inherent in the work, but wrought by crime: that the condition of the

guilt was brought to pass, not by sense but by consent (*non sensus statuit, sed consensus*): that the sin of the fall arose from the contumacy of the world, not from the negligence of the Creator. Let me ask thyself, now that the LORD has redeemed us, in what part of thy frame did the devil first destroy thee? Was there any flaw in it as it came from the hands of its Maker, which brought to pass its destruction? In thy members thou hadst certainly been stable, hadst thou not been unstable in keeping the commandments. The tempter obtained possession of thy soul, in which was the pre-eminence of thy dignity. Thou seest that it was the act not of thy LORD, but of thyself, that thou didst perish. I will say it, O Almighty GOD, confessing the depravity of the old man, yet not ungrateful for our present state of liberty; he could never have been subject to captivity, had he not been lord of his own liberty. And in this, then, O most merciful Judge, confessing both the pre-eminence of Thine own power, and the iniquity of our transgression, we pray and beseech that henceforth we may neither be able nor willing to sin any more.

This Missa is an excellent example of the antithetic style of the Mozarabic prayers: it is curious also to observe how the sentiments appear to have been influenced by the teaching of Faustus of Riez and others who, from the Augustinian party, received the name of Semi-Pelagians.

Take another example from the same book: it shall be the Illation for Easter Monday:—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Almighty FATHER, and to Thine only SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, descending from heaven, ceased not to humble Himself until he found the fugitive servant whom He was seeking, not that having found, He might destroy him, but, setting him free from the chains of diabolical damnation, that He might re-create him as His own possession. Wherein the free will of Him That descended vouchsafed to endure a voluntary death, not an unavoidable necessity. For He was not unwillingly drawn down, Who descended into hell by the path which the descending Saviour trod. He rose then the third day, alive† from the dead, because He alone was found free among the dead. He accomplished the saying of the Prophet, uttered so long before, "After three days He will quicken us; the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight." According to which prefiguration, Jonah also, after his three days' imprisonment, was set free from the whale's belly; that the mystery of the TRINITY might be manifested as co-operating in that which the Person of the SON alone undertook. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, because He was not obnoxious to destruction Who was free from sin. Nor could death hold Him captive Who was not buried by the death of transgression. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, Who visited the place of death by the right of a Redeemer, not through the wickedness of a sinner. Death stood aghast at the Advent of the Almighty,—fearing his own death, and trembling with the terror of his own destruction; admired the LORD of Life, and feared Him as mighty whom it acknowledged as innocent; feared Him as the avenger, Whom it could not claim as a debtor. Because it is written, "O Death, I will be thy death; O Grave, I will be

† [We shall have occasion, in the paper on the Mozarabic Rite, to observe that "*resurrexit vivus* a mortuis," (and sometimes *victor*,) was a very ancient Spanish reading.]

thy destruction." All these things, then, which were thundered forth of old time by the oracles of faithful Prophets, having been now accomplished, not only the heaven of heavens, with the whole army of blessed angels, but the love of Thy faithful people here in exile, exults together with the Seraphim in the hymn of due praise, saying: *R. Holy, Holy, &c.*

At the risk of wearying our readers, we cannot refrain from quoting the Post-Pride of the same Office, as one of the finest in the Mozarabic ritual.

This doing, Most Holy FATHER, we set forth the death of Thine Only-Begotten SON, by which we are redeemed, as He commanded us, till He Himself shall come. We have proclaimed that He died for our sakes: do Thou bestow on us the dignity of dying together with Him. We believe that He rose again; do Thou grant that we may rise from our daily falls. We believe and proclaim that He will come again to judge the world: do Thou grant us to have such a conversation, that we may merit to find that terrible Advent propitious to us. And we humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldest accept and bless this oblation, as Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous child Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy chief priest Melchisedec offered to Thee. Here, we beseech Thee, let Thy benediction invisibly descend as of old time it descended on the sacrifices of the Fathers. Let the sweet smelling favour ascend in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty from this Thy glorious altar by the hands of Thy angel, and let Thy HOLY SPIRIT come down upon these mysteries, and sanctify both the oblations and the vows of Thy people that offer, that whoever may partake of this Body may receive spiritual medicine to heal the wounds of the heart, to expel every thought of vanity from the mind, to eradicate hatred, to implant perpetual charity, which covers the multitude of sins.

Compare with these lengthened supplications the singularly short, and, to modern apprehension, cold Collects in the Ambrosian rite: this for example at Sexts, on Good Friday:—"Grant, " we beseech Thee, Almighty and merciful GOD, that, as the condemnation of Thy SON was the salvation of all, and the atonement for the rebellious, so, through Thy mercy, a common worship may be paid to it by all that believe. Through," &c.

Or again, at Vespers on the same day:—"Almighty Redeemer, merciful GOD, grant that the temporal death of Thy SON may, through our good works, become eternal life to us. Through," &c.

Or again:—"Almighty, everlasting GOD, Who dost redeem us through the blessed Passion of Thy CHRIST, preserve in us the works of Thy mercy, that through the observance of this mystery we may live in perpetual devotion."

Let the reader now compare with these some of the more striking passages from the Greek Offices. O what an inexhaustible treasury of devotion is laid up in those two quartos, the Triodion and the Pentecostarion! We have often thought that, if

the poor overworked priest, compelled to prepare at odds and ends of time his two expected sermons on Good Friday, with nothing but the old used-up materials, known almost by heart before uttered, would but turn for half-an-hour to the "Office of the Holy Sufferings," or some other of those sublime compositions, what life, what energy, what pathos it would impart to his discourse! Collects, strictly speaking, as we have said, there are none; nor can we say that the following prayer exactly supplies their place:—"GOD and LORD of powers, Artificer of all creation, Who, through the mercies of Thine infinite compassion, didst send forth Thine Only-Begotten SON JESUS CHRIST for the salvation of our race, and by His precious Blood didst blot out the handwriting of our sins that was against us, and didst triumph over the powers of darkness on the Cross: do Thou, O LORD, and Lover of men, receive also from us sinners these our thanksgivings and intercessions, and preserve us from every hurtful and blind fall, and from all that seek to hurt us, our enemies, visible or invisible. Transfix our flesh with Thy fear; and let not our hearts be turned aside to words or thoughts of wickedness, but inflame our souls with Thy love, that we, looking ever more intently to Thee, and led by the light which is with Thee, and beholding Thee, the unapproachable and eternal Splendour, may send up to Thee ceaseless praises and thanksgivings, the Unbegotten FATHER, Thine Only-Begotten SON, and Thine all-holy and good and quickening SPIRIT, now and ever and to ages of ages."

It must be confessed that this prayer, though occurring at Sexts on Good Friday, has nothing at all to distinguish it from any every-day supplication, and is rather unworthy of the place which it holds. But, in point of fact, it is the Odes of the Eastern Church which are its true prayers, though cast in a shape so widely differing from any Western usage.

Easter-eve.—The entire difference of the Roman Office from our own, the benediction of the Font, the twelve prophecies, the anticipatory nature of the whole service, rendered a new Collect here indispensable; the Roman Office contenting itself at Lauds with that for Good Friday. Ours, as is well known, was added at the Savoy Conference: it is partly taken, and very much improved, from that in Laud's book:—"O most gracious GOD, look upon us in mercy, and grant that, now we are baptized into the death of thy SON JESUS CHRIST, so, by our true repentance, all our sins may be buried with Him, and we not fear the grave: that as CHRIST was raised up from the dead by the glory of Thee, O FATHER, so we also may walk in

"newness of life, but our sins never be able to rise up in judgment against us : and that for the merit of JESUS CHRIST, "That died, and was buried, and rose again for us. Amen."

Easter-day.—Mediæval ritualists have inquired what is the connection between the Festival and the thing prayed for in the Collect, "That as by Thy special grace," &c. They generally refer it to those words of our LORD, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," &c., and other the like expressions of His earnest desire to accomplish the work for which He came into the world, compared with the "good effect" to which, on this day, that desire was brought : and this is the least far-fetched of the many explanations which have been given. There is no variation in the Western offices : the Mozarabic Collect is simpler :—"To Thee we ascribe glory, O LORD our GOD ; and we beseech Thy power" [notice the substitution of this word for the more usual *mercy*, with reference to the stupendous miracle of power on this day], "that, as Thou didst vouchsafe to die for us sinners, and didst again appear on the third day, in the glory of Thy resurrection, so we, being absolved by Thee, may in Thee merit to obtain perpetual joy : in like manner as the Example of true resurrection has gone before us."

Easter Monday.—It is a great pity that, instead of a mere repetition of the Collect of Easter-day, the original prayer was not adopted :—"O GOD, Who by the Paschal solemnity hast given the medicine of the world : we beseech Thee to continue Thy celestial gift to Thy people ; that they may both obtain perfect liberty, and advance to eternal life." And so, on the Tuesday, the Collect is,—here with reference to the newly baptized,—"O GOD, Who continually multiplieth Thy Church by a new offspring : grant to Thy servants, that in their lives they may set forth the Sacrament, which by their faith they have received."

The arrangement of the Collects, &c., for Easter Week, in the Mozarabic ritual, is singularly happy. The prophecies are the Epistles to the Seven Churches, from the Revelation, most appropriate (if the reader will think them over) to that season, and acquiring an especial emphasis, for their promises "to him that overcometh." The reference too, on each day, to the especial work or character of that day, (as to the Passion on Friday,) taken in connection with Easter, is especially noteworthy. Take, for example, the *Alia Oratio* :—

Behold, O JESUS CHRIST, Mediator of GOD, and Redeemer and LORD of men, the man whom Thou, our GOD, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, didst on the sixth day make in Thine image, Thou didst also visit in the sixth age by taking his flesh, and didst give him regeneration of heart

by the truth of the Gospel. Wherefore, on this day, we offer to Thee the victim of this most excellent sacrifice, as well for the condition of the human race, as for the redemption which Thou didst bring to pass: on this day, in which Thou wast, for our salvation, nailed to the Cross; hadst vinegar given Thee to drink; in which Thy side was pierced with a spear; in which Thou didst, after death, descend into hell, which, by rising again, Thou didst spoil. For which mysteries and miracles, commending this day to Thy mercy with our sacrifices, we ask of Thee, O merciful Redeemer and LORD, that, calling to mind this day's mystery, and putting off from us the old man with his acts, Thou wouldst clothe us with the new man, which after the LORD is created in righteousness, and holiness of truth. Let the desires of carnal pleasures die in us; let the various passions of vice become extinct. Thou, Who didst bestow Thyself on us as a gift, suffer us no longer to be the cause of our own misery, that we, walking in newness of life, as we have been redeemed by Thy blood, so, being perpetually crucified to Thy Cross, we may both eschew the error which leads to perdition, and may without condemnation hold fast the liberty of that high calling, to which Thou hast called us. Amen.

Crabbed and difficult as this appears, (so do most of the Mozarabic Collects,) the more they are studied the more highly will they be appreciated, constantly reminding us, as they do, of the best parts of S. Leo and S. Fulgentius.

Low Sunday. The original Collect:—"Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, that we, who have accomplished our Paschal Feast, may, through Thy mercy, make good the same, in our conversation and in our life:"—a prayer in no wise remarkable, and certainly not equal to our own. The latter has generally been thought an original composition; but it can hardly be called so. In some of the German Missals, the Collect was as follows:—"Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens sempiternæ DEUS, ut qui nobis unigenitum FILIUM Tuum in Victimam dedisti, ita populo tuo expurgare vetus fermentum, ut nova sit conspersio, tribuas. Per."

The Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter does seem to be perfectly new. That in the Roman Office is:—"O GOD, Who by the humility of Thy Son didst raise the fallen world, grant to thy faithful people perpetual joy; that those whom Thou hast delivered from the misery of everlasting death, Thou mayest cause to have the fruition of everlasting gladness." That in the French Breviaries is the same as ours for the Third Sunday after Easter. One cannot but lament, during this Paschal season, the utter disuse of the Alleluia, which gave so joyous a character to more ancient services. So deeply was this felt among every class of people, that one of the commonest of April flowers still retains, in Suffex, the name of Alleluia. The Farewell to Alleluia, in the Mozarabic rite, is touchingly beautiful. It here takes place on the first Sunday in Lent, the ancient commencement of the Fast. After that noble hymn, the

Alleluia Perenne, the Capitula are as follows :—"Alleluia in heaven and in earth ; it is perpetuated in heaven, it is sung in earth. There it resounds everlastingly ; here sweetly. There happily ; here concordantly. There ineffably ; here earnestly. There without syllables ; here in musical numbers. There from the angels ; here from the people. Which, at the birth of CHRIST the LORD, not only in heaven but the earth, did the angels sing ; while they proclaimed glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." *The Benediction* :—"Let that Alleluia which is ineffably sung in heaven, be more efficaciously declared in your praises. Amen. Unceasingly sung by angels, let it here be uttered brokenly by all faithful people. Amen. That it, as it is called the praise of GOD, and as it imitates you in that praise, may cause you to be enrolled as denizens of the eternal mansion. Amen." *The Lauda* :—"Thou shalt go, O Alleluia ; Thou shalt have a prosperous journey, O Alleluia. *R.* And again with joy thou shalt return to us, O Alleluia. *V.* For in their hands they shall bear thee up ; lest thou hurt thy foot against a stone. *R.* And again thou shalt return to us with joy, O Alleluia." So the French Breviaries, on this second Sunday after Easter, celebrate the return of Alleluia. After the beautiful lesson from S. Augustine, in his exposition of the 110th Psalm—"The days have come for us to sing Alleluia. Now these days come only to pass away, and pass away to come again, and typify the Day which does not come and pass away, to which, when we shall have come, clinging to it, we shall not pass away"—they give for the responses :—

V. Through the streets of Jerusalem, Alleluia shall be sung. Blessed be the LORD Who hath exalted her. Let His Kingdom be for ever and ever. Alleluia, Alleluia.

R. Alleluia : salvation, and glory, and power to our GOD, for true and just are His judgments. Let.

We really beg the reader's pardon for digressing so often from our main subject ; but it is difficult to pass by these less known beauties of mediæval rituals, without stopping for a moment to point them out.

Our Collect for the Third Sunday after Easter is merely translated from the Sarum. The Parisian books, which have recited it on the preceding Sunday, on this employ that which the Roman Missal assigns to that. The Mozarabic Office of the Sundays in Easter-tide, appears very imperfect ; its prayers and responses are almost entirely borrowed from Easter Week, and there is no special service for any Feria.

The Fourth Sunday differs in its Collects from the Sarum

only by the substitution of "Who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men," for "*Qui fidelium mentes unius efficis voluntatis.*" The Collect in the Mozarabic is pretty enough :—"Let all the earth, O LORD, sing to Thee a new song, that earth which has been redeemed by the blood of Thy SON JESUS CHRIST, our LORD ; that we who are buried together into His death, may enter with Him into infinite gladdenings."

The Fifth Sunday after Easter. "Being," as the Commissioners add, "Rogation Sunday."—Our Collect is a mere translation of the Sarum. We cannot help observing how remarkably the Canon on the previous Saturday is chosen in the French Breviaries. It was one of those of the Council of Cologne, in 1536 ; a Council which endeavoured to meet the innovation of Luther, by a true and holy reform, and which has always been held in bad odour by Ultramontanes. "Let not preachers dwell too much on the histories of the saints ; but let the principal part of their discourse be employed in the explanation of the Gospel and Epistle. If the legend of the saint appears fabulous, they should not even allude to it ; if only probable, they may just touch upon it, gathering from it the points principally worthy of imitation. Let them take care, also, not to insist too much on uncertain miracles ; but only on those which are related in Holy Scripture, or by authors of eminent reputation." Is it wonderful that, when a great German Council could speak of sound lessons in the Breviary as allowedly and confessedly false, Quignon, and other enthusiastic reformers, should cut down the beauties, in order to vindicate the exact truth, of the Ecclesiastical Office ?

There can be no doubt that the compilers of the Prayer-book had intended to give to the Rogation Days their own Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, but that the general hurry of the compilation caused this intention not to be carried out. The Roman Collect for the Monday is,—"Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, that we, who in our affliction do put our trust in Thy mercy, may ever be defended by Thy protection against all adversities." In that Missal we have no proper Collect for the Tuesday ; but in the Parisian it is as follows :—"Stir up, O LORD, the wills of Thy faithful people, that, intent on Thy holy doctrine, they may understand that for which they pray, and by perseverance in asking, may obtain the same." The Commissioners rejected Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, for Rogation Sunday, substituting in their place an Office with reference to the fruits of the earth ; and one which might be suitable enough for Rogation Monday. The Epistle was Deut. xxviii. 1—9 ;

the Gospel, S. Matt. vi. 25, to the end. Convocation might surely, without much difficulty, recommend certain Collects for these three days, and might enjoin that the Litany should always be said on the Monday and Tuesday.

Our Prayer-book amplifies a little, and certainly improves, the Collect for Ascension-day, the same in all Breviaries. The Commissioners tried their hands at a new Collect, but seem to have been displeased with their own work, and reverted to the original one.

We will not dwell on the Collects which remain, further than to remark, that the magnificent one for the Sunday after Ascension is merely the Antiphon to Magnificat for Ascension-day, very far superior to the original Collect:—"Almighty, everlasting GOD, grant that we may always devoutly serve Thee with our will, and may worship Thy Majesty with a sincere heart."

We have thus gone through the Collects of half the year: which, as specimens of vernacular translation from originals, the very pithiness of which renders any version of them extremely difficult, can never be surpassed. We can but wish that the number were double what it is; and, above all things, that the *Orationes ad diversa*, or many of them, had found a place in our Prayer-book. Take a few examples. *For Rain*: (and compare that with the clumsy prayer on the same subject in our Book:)—"O GOD, in Whom we live, and move, and have our being, give us, we pray Thee, a sufficient rain; that our temporal necessities being supplied, we may with the more confidence desire Thy eternal promises." Or, again: *For the Murrain among Animals*:—"O GOD, Who hast appointed that even the brute beasts should assist in the labours of men, we beseech Thee that they, without whom our wants cannot be supplied, may not by perishing be lost to our service." One more: *For beloved Friends*:—"O GOD, Who by the grace of the HOLY GHOST didst pour the gifts of love into the hearts of Thy faithful people, bestow upon Thy servants, and on Thy handmaidens, for whom we desire to pray, health, both of body and mind; that they may both love Thee with their whole strength, and may with all love do such things as are agreeable to Thee." Again; for which of the following subjects should we not be thankful to have a form of prayer? For our enemies: for those that travel: that are on a voyage: for the sick: for one in prison: for those that are tempted: against evil thoughts: for love: for patience: for the gift of tears: for continence: in any tribulation. Collects on these subjects, with permission at any time to use them in the Communion Office, would indeed be a great benefit to the English Church.

Let us turn from Collects, properly so called, to those longer Prayers in which the Eastern Church delights, but which have never found much favour in the West. We said, at the beginning, that a Collect might be defined as consisting of the following members :—

O GOD	{	Who, as at this time forasmuch as Who art always
Grant, we beseech Thee,	{	to us Thy servants that we
And to the end that		
Give us		
Through		

And that this is the fullest norm of any ; more frequently some one or more of these clauses being omitted. Thus the longest of these compositions never occupies more than a few lines, eschews all manner of epithets and common-places, and gives in the pithiest and most compressed manner what modern devotion would spin out into pages. The Eastern Church has nothing whatever of this kind. Take, as a very good contrast of the two, the prayers in time of plague. The Roman Missal :—

Grant to us, LORD, to receive the effects of our supplications ; and turn away from us, of Thy goodness, pestilence and famine, that the hearts of men may acknowledge that such chastisements arise from Thy anger, and cease through Thy loving-kindness.

The Eastern Church prays as follows:—

Let us make our supplications to the LORD. Almighty LORD, of long-suffering, of great mercy, easily to be propitiated, Lover of men, All-good, exceeding kind, All-powerful, CHRIST, our GOD : Thou, through the superabundance of Thy goodness alone, didst bring our nature into being from non-existence. Thou didst breathe into us a rational soul and wisdom, and didst honour us with Thine image, and didst vouchsafe to us the delights of Paradise, and divine education, and companionship with the Divinity. Thou, when we had set at nought Thy commandment, and had been brought under the deceit and guile of the devil, and had fallen away from Thy glory, and had changed life for death, and the kingdom for bitter slavery, didst not overlook us, through the ineffableness of Thy long-suffering and goodness, but didst in divers manners, by the Fathers and the Prophets, visit us. Thou didst set over us angels, as guides and guards, teaching us, and leading us by the hand, as if to the discovery of the better state. But when we had shown that all these things were empty and vain by our measureless bias to iniquity, Thou Thyself didst in the latter times of the world ineffably devise the second workmanship and re-creation of our nature, and didst in a fearful manner unite our whole man to Thy whole Divinity, and didst consecrate flesh by flesh, and soul by soul, and didst by death and sufferings free us from

the death and ſufferings which were contrary to our original nature, and did't vouchſafe to us eternal life through the keeping of Thy commandments. But we, again tranſgreſſing Thy commandments, and yielding ourſelves to our own deſires and wills, eagerly purſue all ſin in each luſt, ſlander, blaſphemy, malice, perjury, falſehood, impure words, guile, ſtrife, envy, and every lawleſs and baſe deed, both prompted by nature, and contrary to nature, and which we could not even find in irrational animals; our days are paſſed in vanity: we are ſtripped of Thy help, we are made a deriſion and a laughing-ſtock to all thoſe that are round about us, we have cauſed that Thy moſt holy and adorable Name ſhould through us be blaſphemed among the heathen, &c.

The above, which is not quite a quarter of the whole prayer, is a very fair example of theſe lengthened compoſitions, certainly not without their beauty, but, to Weſtern taſte at leaſt, very lengthy, and open to the charge of tautology. They would appear for the moſt part to have been compoſed between the year 600 and 1000; or, to ſpeak more generally, between the Patriarchate of Thomas I. and that of Michael Cerularius: though ſome are even later than the laſt-named prelate. The length of theſe prayers ſometimes begets a minutenefs which is ſcarcely without poſitive abſurdity. Thus, the "Prayer of the holy Martyr Tryphon, which is ſaid over gardens, vineyards, and plantations," begins in this way:—"When I was in the "village of Lampſacus, and tending and feeding my geefe, the "wrath of GOD came down, not on that place only, but alſo on "all the villages round about." It proceeds:—"GOD, Who "hears them that put their truſt in Him, Himſelf ſends His "Angel out of His prepared dwelling-place, that He may deſtroy "every tribe and race of animals that injure the vines, the olives, "and the gardens of the ſervant of GOD: and knowing clearly "the names of theſe animals, I will thence tell them:—Caterpillar; Worm; Worm-Caterpillar; Scantharus; Wingleſs-Locuſt; Locuſt; Apple-Caterpillar; Caligaris; Longlegs; "Ant; Louſe; Woodlouſe; Flea; Burning-Worm; Mildew; "Cockleworm; Razor-Worm; and if there be any other thing "which deſtroys the fruit or the vine, or of other herbs," &c. Indeed, the titles of the Prayers themſelves ſeem intended to provide for all poſſible diſaſters. Thus, we have a prayer, "If it happens that any filthy thing falls into a jar of wine or honey:" "For a polluted veſſel:" "For polluted corn or barley:" "For the foundation of a houſe:" "On entering a new houſe:" "For a houſe haunted by evil ſpirits:" "Over the ſowing:" "Over ſalt:" "For thoſe that bring the firſt-fruits of autumn:" "For the threſhing-floor:" "Over round cakes:" "Over the young vines:" "Over the ripe grape:" "For bleſſing wine:" "At the change of the grape on the 6th of Auguſt:" "Over a plan-

tation or vineyard which is hurt by caterpillars : ” “ For blessing a flock : ” “ For blessing eatables on Easter Day : ” “ For blessing cheese and eggs : ” “ For blessing nets : ” “ For digging a well.”

It is needless to dwell any longer on this kind of prayer. Modern prayer-writers—those who compose a course of Family Prayers for four weeks, Family Altars, Steps to Family Devotion, the Altar and the Tent, &c. &c.—may plead some kind of palliation for their length, in the forms of prayer to which we have been alluding. But, be this remembered;—the Greek Prayers, however to Western ideas spun out and lengthy, are, nevertheless, not without their beauty, are full of matter, and are at all events of one texture : not like the compositions of our modern authors, a number of Collects strung together with or without connection. In more lengthened prayers we cannot do better than follow the usual Western practice : a series of Collects, without any termination by way of Doxology ; that conclusion being reserved till the termination of the last.

We are bound, however, to acknowledge the very great beauty of some of these longer prayers in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Offices. Take the following as an example :—

By what tears, O LORD JESUS CHRIST, can we reply to Thy Cross ? By what lamentations, to the shedding forth of Thy Blood ? What rewards, what vows can we offer unto Thee ? Behold, Thou art now taken from us to be crucified, with pangs which Thou didst not merit. Thou art taken to be spit upon ; Thou art spit upon to be scourged ; Thou art scourged to be crucified ; Thou art crucified to be derided ; Thou art derided to have vinegar given Thee to drink ; Thou hast vinegar given Thee to drink to accomplish all things ; Thou accomplishest all things to rise again marvellously. Spare us, O CHRIST, our LORD. Spare us, we beseech Thee, by the admirable virtue of Thy holy Passion and Resurrection. And, as Thou didst render the Thief a citizen of Paradise, thus by the Victory of the Cross, free the world from all evil ; and redeem all the creation of man. That us, whom the darkness of our conscience has covered with grief, the brightness of Thy Resurrection may raise to glory.

Hundreds of such examples lie buried in the recesses of these Missals and Breviaries. We wish God-speed to the man who, for the benefit of the English Church, will endeavour to dig out and to offer to her these more than Californian treasures. Take one more example—the *Alia Oratio* for Easter-day :—

Bless the LORD, O my soul ; and let all CHRIST's faithful people rejoice and congratulate each other. Ancient despair hath lost his rebuke, death his sting ; the prisoner is set free from the dungeon, the condemned hath escaped from the chain. Let not our rebel flesh arise against us to injure us ; let not parricidal concupiscence arrogate to itself, by right of its crime, the domination over us. Man it was who lost ; GOD was made man, and He

redeemed. Our calamity, O LORD, hath obtained from Thee greater mercy than the unbridled licence of our first-formed parents had lost. Then it was said that they should be servants; now it is stipulated that they shall be sons. Then immortality was promised to the obedient; now, in addition to immortality, glory. Then a portion was to be possessed in a region of delight; now communion is to be enjoyed with the angels. Then they were to live with the creature; now we are to reign with the Creator. Then the devil was to be avoided; now we know that he is to be subdued. Then there was an admonition for the observance of the commandments; now there is an exhortation concerning the terrors of the judgment. Then fear was proposed, as the safeguard of the law; now the will is touched and influenced. Then paradise was lost through sin; now we may hope for heaven through grace. Better, therefore, far better is the condition which we have obtained after our ruin. Wherefore, most humbly and unceasingly, we beseech that, until Thou shalt have accomplished Thy cure in us, Thou wouldest not withdraw Thy medicine from our wounds. Amen.

We will now proceed to Litanies. There is, as every one knows, but one, authorized for public service,—authorized, we mean, in the fullest sense of the word, by the Roman Church—that on the Feast of S. Mark, on the Rogation Days, and on one or two other occasions. But of those which are partially authorized, the number is almost countless, and the beauty is frequently exquisite. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with a number of these in the *Paradisus Animæ*. Others of nearly equal beauty are given in the *Golden Manual*. First among them is the Litany of the NAME of JESUS, whether the composition of S. Bernard or not. The Litanies of the HOLY GHOST, of the Holy Infancy, of the Passion, (which well deserves to be called the Silver Litany,) are remarkably touching. Few things are more striking than to hear a vernacular Litany recited by a poor congregation in a Continental church. We remember, one stormy June morning, hearing the fishwives at Eu, chanting one,—if it could be called chanting—for their husbands, with the patois response *Piez pour nous*. Some ten or a dozen such scenes we have, hung up in the picture gallery of our ecclesiological recollection. One in a village church in Champagne, on the afternoon of Ascension-day; the girls and boys who had that day made their First Communion, kneeling on the opposite sides of a venerable Romanesque nave, and reciting the Litany of the Infancy: another,—five or six Sisters, the poor remains of a once flourishing Spanish convent, filling the dark dim aisle of a church in Palencia with the Litany of the HOLY GHOST and their plaintive *Ruega por nos-otros*. Another:—a school, coming in procession with their rude banners and crosses up a narrow, rocky lane to a little Castilian church, the western sun just gilding the devices and images, as it shot out from under a heavy storm-cloud, that swept away into the

vast and distant Paramos of Castile ; the Litany of the Blessed Sacrament. Oh, how many beautiful little pictures of this kind may they see in a foreign tour, who have eyes to observe them ! But to return to our subject.—Our Litany has tolerably well preserved the norm of all such compositions. Beginning with the Kyrie Eleison, the quadruple invocation of the Trinity, they proceed to that of the Saints with the *Ora pro nobis*, the deprecations with the *Libera nos*, the Petitions with the *Te rogamus audi nos* ; the triple *Agnus Dei*, the *Pater Noster*, the Psalm, if one be said, the Versicles, and the Collects. That in our Prayer-book recedes from the original pattern by the greater length of its suffrages, by the omission of any Psalm and of one *Agnus Dei*, by the inferior importance and length both of the Responses and Collects. But if we look at the Litanies of the Universal Church, we shall find that they may be conveniently divided into three families :—

1. The Roman Litany, as described above.
2. The Greek Ectene—which seems generally known to English scholars (but ought not to be) under its Slavonic form of *Ectinia*.
3. And the Ambrosian and Mozarabic *Preces* : which, though the name employed by those rituals, must not be used by us : the word *Preces*, according to all English use, applying to the series of Verses and Responses said at the end of Prime and other services.

The norm of the Greek Ectene is as follows : it may safely be attributed to the fourth century :—

In peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.—R. LORD, have mercy. (And so at the end of every suffrage.)

For the peace that is from above, and the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the LORD.

For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the holy Churches of GOD, and the union of all, let—

For this holy habitation, and for them that with peace, piety and fear of GOD enter into it, let—

For our Archbishop, N., the venerable Presbytery, the Diaconate in CHRIST, all the Clergy and Laity, let—

For this holy dwelling, for all the city, and country, and those that dwell in them in faith, let—

For good temperature of the air, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and peaceful times, let—

For them that sail, that travel, that are sick, that are in heaviness, that are in bondage, and their salvation, let—

That we may be delivered from all tribulation, anger, danger, and straits, let—

Affist, preserve, pity and protect us, O GOD, by Thy grace.

Commemorating the all-holy, spotless, excellently laudable and glorious lady, the Mother of GOD, and ever-Virgin Mary, with All Saints, let us com-

mend ourselves and each other and all our life to CHRIST our GOD.—*R.* To Thee, O LORD.

For all glory, worship, and honour befits Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

This, we say, is the general norm of the Eastern Ectene: the proper reciter of which is the Deacon, and not the Priest, who merely gives the final clause. Notice, that the expression "CHRIST our GOD," so constantly occurring in the East, is almost unknown in the West, except in the Mozarabic rite, an indelible stamp of the more tremendous struggle which Arianism there carried on with the Catholic Faith. Every Ectene commences in the same fashion, and then breaks off to its own peculiar subject: as, for example, that of the Bridal Coronation:—

For the servants of GOD, M. and N., now joined together in community of marriage, let—

For a blessing on this marriage as on that of Cana in Galilee, let—

That the gift of modesty may be bestowed on them, and the fruit of the womb, as may be expedient for them, let—

That they may be made glad by the sight of their sons and daughters, let—

And so in all the Offices and rites of the Greek Church, a corresponding Ectene finds its place. That, in a somewhat different form, which occurs in S. James's Liturgy, is well known to all who are acquainted with Bishop Andrewes's Private Devotions.

The Mozarabic Litanies, again, not only differ from those of the Roman and Eastern Churches, but have a much greater variety among themselves. They will be referred to in the next essay.

Here is a Spanish composition which seems to hold a midway place between a Litany and a "Farce:" (our readers may remember that, in a previous page, we entered at some length into the subject of Farces):—

V. Be mindful of us, O CHRIST, in Thy kingdom, and make us worthy of Thy resurrection.—*R.* With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.

V. Go and prepare the Passover for us, that we may eat.—*R.* Before I suffer.

V. Behold, as ye enter into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: him follow into the house whereinto ye shall enter; and say ye to the good man of the house,—*R.* With desire I have desired.

V. The Master saith, My time is at hand: where is the guest-chamber, that I may keep the Passover with my disciples?—*R.* Before I suffer.

V. And he shall show you a large upper-room, furnished: there make ready.—*R.* Before I suffer.

V. And the disciples went into the city, and found as Jesus had told them, and they made ready the Passover.—*R.* With desire I have desired.

V. And when even was come, Jesus sat down and the twelve with Him, and He saith unto them :—*R.* With desire I have desired.

V. For I say unto you, that I will not eat it henceforth, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of GOD.—*R.* With desire I have desired.

And so this curious Prayer, Litany, Recitative, or whatever else it may be called, goes through the Last Supper to its conclusion.

We now come to another branch of our subject, namely, Illations ; or, as they have been variously called, Prefaces, Confessions, or Prayers of the Triumphal Hymn.

It would seem that the Roman Church, at the commencement, possessed a rich storehouse of these. Two hundred and forty, at least, have been preserved ; eleven only are now used. The Mozarabic has one for every Sunday and principal festival ; the Ambrosian additionally for every day of the week. Our own Prefaces, as every one knows, have been reduced to five. And, surely, one of the first improvements that should be made in our Prayer-book would be the addition of others for the more marked seasons, such as Epiphany, Lent, Passion-tide, the Festivals of Martyrs, &c. On the other side, widely differing from, and, in this point, far inferior to, Western ritual, the Eastern Liturgies have, without an exception, only one Preface, let the time of the year be what it may.

The norm of all the Western Prefaces is precisely the same. Commencing from the “It is very meet, right,” &c., glancing at the various events of our LORD’S Life and Passion, and dwelling on the Saint or subject of the day, they close by spiritual union with Angels and Archangels in the Triumphal Hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy !”

Let us now take some examples of these, commencing from the East, and ending with the Gallican and Spanish Churches. We would hope that with those magnificent and ecstatic forms of devotion, the Illations of the great primitive Liturgies, the reader is acquainted. Nothing can be more grand, nothing more truly worthy of an Apostle, than those of S. James, S. Clement, and S. Mark. But even in later times, and among heretical Churches, the same spirit remains : and in those Liturgies of the wonderful mediæval ages of Central Asia,—those ages which we can so little realize,—when from China to the Persian Gulf, from Cape Comorin to Siberia, the great Sacrifice was offered with primitive and apostolic rites, the Illations were not unworthy of the Mysteries which they accompanied. Let us take an example or two which are not so likely to be known to the reader. Here is that of John of Bassora, perhaps of the eleventh or twelfth century :—

It is verily meet and right, and due from every creature, to glorify

Thee, to blefs Thee, to perfevere in perpetual thanksgiving to Thee, as do thofe intellectual powers and incorporeal natures which exceed earthly beauty: thofe fpirits void of matter, who from the antiquity of their exiftence poffefs their dignity, and perpetually, at every hour, ftand before the infinite throne of Thy glory. Their only food is to glorify Thee, to honour Thee, to praife Thee and to magnify Thee in hymns, which cannot be expreffed by the tongue, nor comprehended by the underftanding. But we, children of the earth, are made rich by the miniftry of the Sacraments: but that this material figment, this creature endued with fenfe, might not be deprived of the fame fpiritual fplendour, as if it had nothing in common with it, and would after a fhort time perifh, Thou haft made me a rational being, confifting of an intelligent foul and a material body, mortal and immortal, one undivided nature out of two contraries; to the end that by the fpiritual relationship of the intellectual nature with that heavenly beauty, a path might be opened, even to thofe celeftial habitations, for this figment of clay. Wherefore, hearing in the ears of our heart the hymns of perpetual praife, and beholding with the eyes of our underftanding thofe heavenly legions, that which pertains to Angels and Archangels, the honour and dignity of the Virtues, the array of the Powers, the miniftry of the Principalities, the adoration of the Dominations, the ftability of the Thrones, we approach to the fame hymns which are there fung, to the teachings, ufeul and falutary to fouls, to the bleffed and moft wife tradition of the unceafing and divine worfhip of the Seraphim, which with incorporeal tongues they offer to Thee, O our GOD; to Thee Who art one Beginning, one Nature, and one Substance, Who art acknowledged in three Perfons, by which the whole infinity of GOD is embraced, and without Whom was not anything made that was made: by Whom and by each of Whom, by it and to it, GOD is united in fubftance of nature, as to the LORD, and in very deed, according to the very felf-fame Divinity, not by communication alone nor introduction. For the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, are one fubftance and one nature of Divinity in their operation and according to the truth, not according to the imagination and fiction of the human mind; which nature we diftinguifh trinely, but undividedly, we believe to exift onellily, not by effufion; and the hymn which exceeds human comprehension, we offer to Thee as the testimony of fear, the fame, namely, which all the principalities of the orders of the heavenly hoft, the many-eyed Cherubim and the Seraphim of fix wings, fing to Thee with triumphal voice, glorifying Thee indefinitely:—*R. Holy, &c.*

Or take another example from the Litany of Ignatius Bar-Wahib, patriarch of Antioch, of a ftill later date:—

Thou art worthy of praife, Thou art worthy of thanksgiving, Thou art worthy of adoration from all the celeftial hoft and all men on earth, and all things which Thy effence has created, whether fenfible or infenfible, or between the one and the other: becaufe Thou art to be praifed and glorified with Thy SON and with Thy HOLY SPIRIT. For Thou art He, O LORD, of Whole praifes the heaven and the earth are full, and all that therein is; Who by Thy power prefeverft heaven and earth, which Thy Majefty has created, and ordained to the glory of Thy effence: which although filent in their own nature, yet honour Thee. The Angels who are illuminated by the light of Thine eternity, glorify Thee, through the mediation of the Archangels. The Archangels rejoice before Thee, enlightened by the fplendour of Thine effence, through the mediation of the Principalities. The Principalities honour Thee, irradiated by the glories of Thy hidden

nature, through the mediation of the Powers. The Powers celebrate Thee, kindled by the flame of Thy might, through the mediation of the Thrones. The Thrones exalt Thee, inflamed by the fire of Thy Divinity, through the mediation of the Dominations. The Dominations laud Thee, set on fire by the brightness of Thy power, through the mediation of the Virtues. The Virtues venerate Thee in their hymns, filled with Thy fear, through the mediation of the Cherubim. The Cherubim bless Thee, inspired by the brightness of Thy majesty, through the mediation of the Seraphim. The Seraphim, which, without any intermediation, are illuminated from the very sanctuary of the seat of Thy glory, hallow Thy name: with one triumphal voice, flying the one to the other, alternating the song between the inferior and the superior order, with tongues more polished than sharp swords, with mouths breathing forth burning flame, with tremulous but exulting voices, beyond the comprehension of earthly minds glorify Thy Majesty which hath given existence to all.

Thus much for the florid Illations of the mediæval East: the Arabesque imitations, if one may use the metaphor, of glorious Middle-Pointed compositions, like S. James's and S. Mark's, and the Clementine Liturgies.

Let us now turn to the Gallican ritual. It is very singular that this, which, on the whole, and in its chief peculiarities, symbolises with the East and not with Rome, should, in the matter of Illations, differ from the former more widely than does the latter. The East, as we have reminded the reader, in all its varying Liturgies, knows but one Illation. The Gallican has a different Illation for every principal festival. Here is one, which, without hesitation, we would ascribe to the third or fourth century:—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, O LORD GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, Who being Eternal GOD, vouchsafed to become Man for our salvation. O singular yet manifold mystery of the Saviour! that one and the same perfect GOD and perfect Man, chief High Priest, and most sacred of all Victims, according to His Divine power created all things: according to His human condition gave liberty to man: according to the virtue of His sacrifice expiated sin: according to the right of His Priesthood reconciled offences. O singular and only mystery of redemption! in which a new medicine healed for the LORD those ancient wounds; and the privileges of our salvation cut down the evil inflicted upon us by the first man. The one was frenzied by the goad of concupiscence, the other pierced by the nails of obedience: the one extended, in his lust, his hands to the tree; the other fitted them, in his patience, to the Cross: the one, attracted by pleasure, satisfied his appetite; the other was afflicted by the agony of a misery which He had not deserved. And therefore worthily does the punishment of innocence become the absolution of guilt; and rightly are those debts forgiven to the debtor, for which He Who owed nothing had paid. Which singular mystery not only men in earth, but angels also adore in heaven. To Whom worthily Angels and Archangels ascribe glory and honour, saying,—R. Holy, &c.

Compare the freshness and rough beauty of a preface like the above with the worn-out epithets and gorgeous tinsel of those

Asiatic Illations. Just as with Christian art, so with Christian devotion: the young, rude life of the Church bursting forth in those hitherto uncultivated Gallican regions; the same life, but swamped and choked by luxury, ready to expire in the enervating and luxurious indolence of the East. Here is another, which we are disposed to ascribe to the same date:—

It is meet and right, Almighty FATHER, to render thanks to Thee always, to love Thee above all things, to praise Thee for all things, by whose gifts the dignity of Thy image is given to all men in nature: the enjoyment of eternity is vouchsafed in the soul; freedom of will is bestowed in life: the happiness of baptism is offered in grace: the heritage of the kingdom of heaven is promised in innocence: the benefit of a remedy is preserved in penitence: the pardon of goodness does away with the punishment of iniquity: so that the loving-kindness of GOD abounding to all men, should neither allow them whom it made, to perish in wretchedness; nor them whom it taught, in ignorance; nor them whom it loves, to remain in punishment; nor them whom it has redeemed, to fall short of the kingdom. Before whose presence the Angels cease not to cry and to say,—*R. Holy, &c.*

An Illation of A.D. 176, we shall hereafter have occasion to translate. We will now give an example (so far as we know, it is the only one) of an Illation in verse: the reader must excuse us if our lines are almost as rude as those of the original. They bear a great resemblance to the poem of S. Prosper, and not improbably proceeded from his pen:—

Worthy it is and meet that we should raise
To Thee, Almighty GOD, the hymn of praise;
Who giv'st the omnipotent decree, and straight
Each form is fixed, each creature animate.
Nature at once obeyed the law decreed;
Worlds sprang to light,—Thy voice their only seed:
Thy SPIRIT stretched the sky and decked the pole,
O'er its appointed bed bade ocean roll:
And when Thy image fell, o'erthrown by sin,
And Death and Satan's empire entered in,
Thou, Ruler of the world, didst deign to dwell
Unknown, rejected in that humble cell:
Hence was the fierce decree that Herod spake
Against the infant army for Thy sake,
Who in their tiny limbs had scarcely room
To own the glorious wounds of martyrdom:
Oh new, unheard-of fate, decreed on high!
Thus to be born that they might only die;
And in the first and last of all their days,
Martyrs in deed, not will, to speak His praise.

And so it goes on for a good many verses more, with more religion than poetry.

And now it is worth while to examine a little more closely the two branches into which the Gallican Liturgy divided itself, the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian; so far as their Illations are

concerned. We shall find those of the former by far the longer, generally by far the more beautiful; but sometimes degenerating into wordiness and false antithesis, from which the latter, with its greater brevity and pithiness, is always free. We will give some examples of each.

The Fifth Sunday in Advent. Ambrosian :—

Through **JESUS CHRIST** our **LORD**, the power of whose Divine Nativity was begotten by the unbegotten magnitude of Thine own might. Whom we proclaim to have been ever the **SON**, and generate before all worlds, because, in its fullest and completest sense, the name of Eternal **FATHER** was ever Thine; and Whom we confess in honour, majesty, and power equal to Thee with the **HOLY GHOST**, while we own one equal majesty in the Three Persons whom Angels praise, Archangels venerate, Whom Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, and Powers adore; to Whom Cherubim and Seraphim, &c.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy **LORD**, Eternal **FATHER**, Omnipotent **GOD**, through **JESUS CHRIST**, Thy **SON**, our **LORD**. Whose Incarnation was the salvation of the world, Whose Passion was the redemption of man so long since begotten. May He therefore, we beseech Thee, omnipotent **FATHER**, lead us on to the reward Who redeemed us from the darkness of Hell. He purge our flesh from sin Who assumed it of the Virgin. He restore us unhurt to Thy Majesty, who reconciled us to Thee by His blood. He justify us in the examination of the Second Advent, who bestowed on us the gift of His grace in the first. He come to judge in mercy Who of old time appeared in humility. He in the judgment manifest Himself as most gentle, Who, in former times, came in secrecy; to Whom, as is meet, Angels and Archangels cease not to cry daily, thus saying, &c.

On S. Stephen's Day. Ambrosian :—

Eternal **GOD**: Who hast called Stephen to be the herald of the Levites: he first dedicated to Thee the name of martyrdom: he began first to pour forth his blood: he merited to see the heaven opened, and the **SON** standing at the right hand of the **FATHER**. On earth he adored the Man, and in heaven he proclaimed the **SON** of the **FATHER**. He repeated the words of his Master; for that which **CHRIST** said on the Cross, that Stephen taught in the blood of his death. **CHRIST** on the Cross sowed the seeds of pardon; and Stephen made supplication to the **LORD** for them that stoned him. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right and sufficiently laudable that we should sacrifice to Thee, in the day of Thy holy martyr, Stephen, the circuit of the year having gone about, the oblation of praise, that we should pay our solemn offering. Whom the grace of our **LORD**, Thy **SON**, **JESUS CHRIST**, thus elected, His doctrine thus taught, His power thus confirmed, that among the Levites he should hold the reward, among the disciples the kingdom, among the martyrs the principality. Who confidently opposing the word of truth to those that were in error, endeavoured to prove the truth of that side on which he knew that

the victory lay. That blaming the Jews to their faces for their impiety, if he could not correct them when they erred, he might not fear them when they were enraged. Knowing that either way, the preaching of righteousness would be profitable to him; whether they repenting, should accept the wholesome doctrine set before them, or, excited to fury, should be the means of his own passion. In such a resolve was there the love of CHRIST and of his neighbour; either to hope for joy from the amendment of his countrymen, or to expect a reward from the infliction of his own punishment; he sought not his own honour if purchased by another's crime; but he saw that from either alternative he must reap glory. But if by preaching the truth he himself gathered others into the Church, or was slain for the truth by any persecutor, he knew his place, he remembered his office: for he knew that he himself was an altar, and prepared himself as a sacrifice. Full of the HOLY GHOST, he manifested the sacraments, ready to drink of the cup which he preached to others. He stood among those people who had learnt by the death of the LORD not to spare the servant, or who rather had by the death of the servant advanced even to the death of the LORD. O marvellous desire of the LORD's love! For what else is it to desire to be slain for the LORD, and to confess with fearless devotion the love of Him That was slain, even among His murderers? He knew that by death he would rejoin that LORD from Whom, by surviving Him, he was disjoined. He held fast the precepts of the Master, which he had learnt, that the disciple was not worthy of Him, who did not take up his Cross and follow Him. He desired to arrive where that Master was, who was willing to take up what that Master had commanded: nor was he deceived in his opinion, who was ready for its result. Behold, they who had stumbled at CHRIST as at a stone, rushed upon Stephen with stones. That was thrown by their fury, on which their error had cast them. He Who to them was made a stone of stumbling, to Stephen became the Crown of Martyrdom. To Whom, as is meet, among the glorious Angels and the celestial Virtues he unceasingly proclaims the hymn of due praise, and faith, Holy, &c.

Let us take another beautiful example from the Mozarabic Missal, first giving the corresponding Illation from the Ambrosian—that for the Third Sunday after Easter.

The Ambrosian:—

Through CHRIST, our LORD: Who pitying human error, vouchsafed to be born of a Virgin; and by the passion of death delivered us from eternal death, and by His resurrection hath bestowed eternal life on us: the same CHRIST JESUS, our LORD: Whom, together with Thee, &c.

The Mozarabic:—

It is meet and right, very just and salutary, that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, the Eternal King, and joint Monarch with Thee: Who vouchsafed to bear so much and such grievous sufferings for our salvation. Judged was He by the Jews, Who shall judge the quick and the dead. Before the tribunal of the governor He stood, Whose tribunal is Heaven itself. He condescended that His face should be spit upon, Who, a little while before, had touched with his spittle the eyes of the man born blind. He condescended to be crowned with thorns, by Whom the martyrs merited to be decorated with celestial diadems. He condescended to have vinegar and gall given Him to drink, Who, out of the hard rock, had caused the people to be

satisfied with honey. He endured that His side should be wounded with a spear, by Whose sword hell was conquered. He vouchsafed that His hands and His feet should be pierced with nails, Whose hands made the fabric of the heaven. Taken down from the Cross, He willed to be buried, at Whose word the dead were in a moment raised to life. He gave commandment that He Himself should be offered for us, that no longer the blood of bulls and goats should be poured forth upon the altar. He vouchsafed to be the Priest and the Victim, by Whom all that believe should inherit eternal life. Wherefore, all the Angels and all the Saints cease not to cry to Thee thus, saying : Holy.

Let us now give an example of some of the shorter Illations of the Ambrosian Office. In this ritual, the Sundays after Trinity can, at the outside, only be fifteen in number ; for let Easter fall as early as it may, the sixteenth Sunday must be the first after the Decollation of S. John Baptist. There are, then, five Sundays after Decollation, the last of which does not occur when the Sunday letter is A, B, or C. The first Sunday in October has its own festival of S. Mary ; the second Sunday is that before the Dedication of the great Church ; the third is The Dedication of the great Church, namely, the predecessors of the wonderful cathedral of Milan : after which there may follow three Sundays after Dedication, and then begin the six Sundays of Advent. The first Sunday in Advent is that which immediately follows S. Martin's Day : when the Sunday letter is A, this, in point of fact, involves seven Sundays before Christmas ; but the office of the seventh, which then falls on Dec. 24, is entirely of the Vigil. This is a great improvement on the Mozarabic Calendar, which gives only six Sundays after Trinity, and the rest are made up by repetition, so that more than a third part of the year has no proper Dominical office. With this brief explanation, we will proceed to give the Illation for the Sunday before Dedication :—

Eternal GOD : beseeching Thy clemency that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to direct those who are sustaining the labour of the Divine warfare. And, because it is ordained that of him to whom much is given, of him should the more be required, do Thou of Thy mercy guide our actions : that we may not be enfolded in our own errors, and may be delivered from those of others.

Third Sunday after Decollation :—

Eternal GOD : And humbly to implore Thy Majesty that JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, may protect us and preserve us by His grace : and, because we can do no good thing without Him, that we may receive of His gift the power of pleading Thee for evermore.

We may now take our leave of Illations, merely observing that some of those in the Ambrosian book are comprised in two

or three lines, and that the longest with which we are acquainted is that for the Festival of S. Vincent, in the Mozarabic, which occupies exactly two folio pages.

We have next to consider those so-called Collects, which are indeed addressed to the people rather than to GOD. These principally occur in the Mozarabic Office, where in the Liturgy they have the name of "*Missa*." Take, for example, the following for Easter Saturday :—

Ye, who having been adopted by the grace of the sevenfold SPIRIT, celebrate the solemnity of the Resurrection of CHRIST, it befits you to venerate this seventh day, illustrious for the LORD's rest, by the like obedience. For in this, of old time, GOD Himself, having created and accomplished all things which are contained in the fabric of the universe, rested from His work. He rested when He had accomplished those things which He created; He rested after death in the sepulchre, for the redemption of man. In the one He ceases from work; in the other, being buried, He gives to His work perpetual rest. This is the end of His labours; this is the salvation of His redeemed. This is consecrated by the very number seven; this is commanded to be kept holy by the precept of the ancient law. In this we are commanded to avoid servile works; in this we are also enjoined to keep a Sabbath holy to the LORD. Whence, stirred up by the SPIRIT of the grace which has been imparted to us, let us beseech, beloved brethren, our great and wonderful Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST, so to grant us to avoid the slavery of the work of sin on this day, that, strengthened by the quiet of its holiness, we may rightly celebrate the feast of the LORD's Resurrection by our tears of love, and by our gift of sacrifices.

These, then, prayers though they may be called, are distinct sermons attached to the Eucharistic office. No theological work of the kind could be more valuable than one which should trace these *Missa* back to their original sources, specifying the changes and omissions which have been made in order to fit them for Divine Service. Several of these compositions are extracted from the works of S. Augustin, one or two from S. Fulgentius, three or four from S. Isidore, and others from other Fathers. No doubt a search, specifically directed to this object, would discover the origin of very many more. Probably also the brief sermons actually delivered by the Archbishops of Toledo were, when thought especially excellent, inserted in the Office: for it is to be noticed that, though at some little distance from it, the *Missa* follows the Gospel (the Creed in the Mozarabic ritual is placed, strangely enough, immediately after the Consecration). Thus the *Missa* not only resembles in character, but, to a certain extent, in place responds to, the sermon. Now, take another example from the Office for Whit Sunday :—

Let us, beloved brethren, with as much faith, attention, virtue, joy, exultation, devotion, obedience, purity, as we can, speak of the Gifts of the

HOLY GHOST promised to us by the SON of GOD, and to-day made good. Let our hearts be thrown open; let the minds of them that believe be purged; and let every sense and recess of the soul be spread wide. For no narrow breast can suffice to narrate the praises and the advent of that infinite SPIRIT. For He, consort with the FATHER and the SON; He, of one and the same Substance, the third in Person, but the same in glory; He Whom the heaven of heavens contains not, because it cannot circumscribe nor inclose Him, to-day enters into the narrow tabernacle of our breast. And who of us, beloved brethren, can see in himself one worthy of such a Guest? Who can bestow on Him, when He comes, a meet reception, when He is the life of angels and archangels, and of all the celestial virtues? And therefore, because we acknowledge that we are unworthy of such an inhabitant, let us beseech Him to prepare for Himself an habitation in us.

We now come to the sixth division of our subject, namely, Responses and Versicles: that form of prayer which is called the "*Preces*" in most Western Breviaries. In our own Prayer-book a faint trace of them remains in the Versicles which precede the first Collect. In the Sarum Breviary there is one peculiarity which well deserves attention in the ordinary *Preces* at Prime. The usual Office of most Churches has, after the verse, "Holy GOD, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal," the simple response, "Have mercy upon us." The Sarum gives it thus: "O LAMB of GOD, That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us;" a change which cannot but remind scholars of the alteration made in the Trisagion, by Peter the Fuller, which has given rise to such repeated reclamations on the part of the Eastern Church: "Holy GOD, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, Thou That wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us." The Responses at Prime are virtually the same in all Breviaries; though here and there one or two more or one or two fewer verses of the 57th and 118th Psalms may be employed. For verses and responses on particular occasions, the various monastic uses will afford the richest variety, and these more especially in the Benedictions, which will form our last and concluding head. The verses for the Benediction of the Table usually take this form:—

- V. He hath dispersed abroad, He hath given to the poor.
- R. His righteousness remaineth for ever.
- V. I will bless the LORD at all times.
- R. His praise shall ever be in my mouth.
- V. My soul shall make her boast in the LORD.
- R. The humble shall hear thereof and be glad.
- V. O magnify the LORD with me.
- R. And let us exalt His name together.
- V. Blessed be the Name of the Lord.
- R. From this time forth for evermore.

We have seen, however, singular variations in some of the

German Breviaries. One of the most remarkable of these was in an Erfurdt book. Here, at the conclusion of the above Responses, the Superior, censuring the image of S. Christopher, proceeded with the well-known verse :—

V. Christofori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
R. Illo nempe die nullo languore gravetur.
V. Sancte Martyr Christofore,
R. Memor esto nostri pie.
V. Apud Deum omni horâ
R. Nos tuere sine morâ.

In a Breviary which belonged to the Church of Cavailon, in south-eastern France, we have seen—what we never saw elsewhere—a series of varying Versicles and Responses before and after dinner, for the chief festivals of the year. In the same book, the Preces at Prime varied in a similar manner ; and on some of the most remarkable occasions were forty or fifty in number. An inexorable railway prevented our transcribing what would not have been without its interest to ritualists.

The Preces of the Ambrosian Breviary, though not the same as the Roman, are of the same nature. On ordinary occasions they are as follow :—

V. (*After the Creed.*) The resurrection of the body.
R. And the Life everlasting.
V. O let my soul live, and it shall praise Thee.
R. And Thy judgments shall help me.
V. I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost.
R. O seek Thy servant, for I do not forget Thy commandments.
V. Blessed are they, O LORD, that dwell in Thy house.
R. They shall be praising Thee for ever and ever.
V. O establish my steps according to Thy law.
R. That my feet may not be moved.
V. I cried unto Thee, O GOD, for Thou shalt hear me.
R. Incline Thine ear unto me, and hearken unto my words.
V. From such as resist Thy right hand, O LORD, keep us as the apple of an eye.
R. Protect us under the shadow of Thy wings. Alleluia. Alleluia.

In the Mozarabic Breviary, the Preces appear under several different forms. Thus, the Matutinarium, the Lauda, and the Sono,* have all of them something of the same character ; occupying, as it were, a midway position between the Preces and the short Responses of the usual Roman Hours. Here is the Sono for the Third Sunday in Advent :—

Alleluia. Ye that make mention of the LORD, keep not silence, and take no rest, till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem
R. A praise upon the earth.

* [Notice, even as early as the time of S. Isidore the modern Spanish use of Ablative for Nominative and Accusative.]

V. For as the earth produceth her flowers, and as a garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth : thus the LORD will cause righteousness to spring forth,

R. A praise upon the earth.

V. O Thou that evangelisest to Zion, get thee up into the high mountain ; say unto the cities of Judah,

R. Behold, the LORD GOD will come with strong hand.

V. The LORD, even the most mighty GOD, hath spoken, and called the earth.

R. Behold, the LORD GOD will come with strong hand.

Here is an example of the *Lauda* for Easter Eve :—

V. Alleluia. I am the First and I am the Last, and I was dead,

R. And, behold, I am alive again, for ever and ever. Alleluia.

V. Thou art worthy, O LORD, to receive the book, and to loose the seals thereof, for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to GOD by Thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue.

R. And, behold, I am alive again for ever and ever. Alleluia.

V. Alleluia. The Angel of the LORD descended from heaven.

R. And he came and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre. Alleluia, Alleluia.

V. The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner.

R. And he came, and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre.

V. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow.

R. And he said unto the women, Fear not ye !

V. O give thanks unto the LORD ; for He is gracious : for His mercy endureth for ever.

R. And he came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it.

V. This is the True Bread of GOD, which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world : whosoever eateth of this shall live for ever. And the Bread which I will give, is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

R. He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.

V. Behold, I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me : that ye may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom.

R. He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.

V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

R. He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.

One of the most remarkable series of *Preces*, however, occurs in the same ritual, at the reconciliation of the penitents, on Good Friday.

The Archdeacon saith :—

Silence. Penitents, pray. Bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech our LORD GOD, that He would vouchsafe to give us indulgence of our crimes, and remission of our sins.

Rise. Pray : bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech the LORD GOD that of His clemency He will stretch forth His hand to the fallen, and bestow the safeguard which is requested of Him. Rise : Pray : bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech our LORD GOD, that we, remembering the

transgressions that we have committed, may henceforth avoid the snares of the Enemy : that those whom the allurements of the devil had caused to leave the Altar of GOD, plenteousness of tears, their patrons with Him, may recall. Rise : our prayer is finished. Let us all, with one voice, ask indulgence from the LORD.

We fall on our faces for prayer.

O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O,—*three hundred times.*

R. Thou, O Good Shepherd, dost give Thy life for the sheep—*three times.*

Now the Archdeacon saith:—

V. We pray Thee, LORD, for—R. Indulgence.

V. Let there proceed from the Most High—R. Indulgence.

V. Let us, wretched sinners, be assisted by—R. Indulgence.

V. Let all sins be pardoned by—R. Indulgence.

V. Let there be given to the penitents—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it be the portion of all ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it correct those that err in the faith ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it raise from sin those that are fallen ;—R. Indulgence.

V. We pray Thee, O GOD, for—R. Indulgence.

Then follows a long and beautiful prayer for pardon : and thus ends the "First Indulgence." The "Second Indulgence" is of precisely the same nature, except that here the O, O, O, O, are only said two hundred times. The Preces here are :—

V. We pray Thee, O LORD, for—R. Indulgence.

V. Let us be reconciled to the FATHER by—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it confirm us in the grace of CHRIST ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it conform us to the HOLY GHOST ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it purge away famine and pestilence ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it give healing to the sick ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it restore captives to their country ;—R. Indulgence.

V. Let it temper the changes of the atmosphere ;—R. Indulgence.

V. We beseech Thee, O LORD, for—R. Indulgence.

The "Third Indulgence" is of the same character, the O, O, O, O, being, however, said only one hundred times.

These Preces are among the most curious that any ritual can show ; and, as such, it may not be displeasing to the reader to have had them presented to him.

But we hasten to a more important subject, that of Benedictions ; and here we have chiefly to speak of those in the Mozarabic Offices. In the Liturgy of that Church, every separate mass has its benediction, varying with the occasion, divided into three clauses, as symbolical of the Blessed TRINITY. Thus, for example, on Maundy Thursday :—

CHRIST, the LORD, Who vouchsafed to be betrayed for the salvation of all, Himself* enrich you with the gift of His grace.—R. Amen. And He,

* The peculiar use of *Ipse* in the Mozarabic prayers, in places where it retains in only a very modified sense its original force, reminds one of the similar employment of *αὐτός* in the Greek Liturgies ; where it can hardly be translated.

Who by the morsel of bread betrayed His betrayer, cause you to be well pleasing to Him by the participation of this bread.—Amen. And He, Who vouchsafed to-day to wash the feet of the disciples, cleanse you from all iniquity, and give you a portion among His saints.—Amen. Through thy mercy, O LORD GOD, Who livest and reignest, world without end.

Or take another example, that on Easter-day :—

THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, after He had died for the salvation of the world, rose again from the dead on this day, mortify you by His resurrection from all guilt.—R. Amen. And He Who, by the tree of the Cross, destroyed the dominion of death, give you an inheritance in life eternal.—R. Amen. That ye, who celebrate in the present world the day of His resurrection with great joy, may merit the companionship of the Saints in the heavenly region. Through Thy mercy.

Or again, take the Ascension Benediction :—

JESUS CHRIST the LORD, Who, when about to return to heaven, bequeathed peace to His disciples, preserve that peace whole and undefiled in you.—R. Amen. And give to you to be your guard, the holy angels whom He chose to be His own escort.—R. Amen. That, He being your guide, ye may thither ascend by faith, where ye hope to be carried for your eternal rest.—R. Amen. Through Thy mercy.

There are examples, however, in which the Benediction consists of five, instead of three members. Such is the following for Easter Monday :—

Let GOD arise amidst you, and let all your enemies be scattered.—R. Amen. So that ye, putting off the garment of the old man by the putting away your crimes, may put on newness of spirit with beauty of virtues.—R. Amen. And He Who conquered death by His own death, defend you from the power of the second death.—R. Amen. And He Who by His resurrection gave life to the world, deliver you from present and from future evil.—R. Amen. That ye, who have received the hope of resurrection by CHRIST the Victor, may also inherit, through the gift of the same, an eternity of beatitude.—R. Amen. Through Thy mercy.

The Benedictions in the Mozarabic *Breviary* are of the same form. Take, for example, this,—on Wednesday in the first week of Advent :—

V. Our Redeemer and LORD, Who, by being born in the flesh, took away from us the yoke of the law, accomplish in us the benefits of His goodness.—R. Amen.

V. And He Who took from us that which might agree with His own Divinity, give us, of His own, that which He may reward in us.—R. Amen.

V. That we all, who welcome these joys of His First Advent with happy devotion, may, in the time of His Second Advent, rejoice with all His saints.—R. Amen.

Through Thy mercy, &c.

And now, before we conclude, let us classify the varying Collects of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambrosian, and Gallican Litur-

gies, so far as they are capable of being parallelised with each other. With these we may as well take the other changeable portions of the Service, so as to make our table the more complete.

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Introitus	Ingressa	Ad Missam	Antiphona.
Collect	Oratio super Populum.	Oratio	Prefatio.
Sometimes Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy.	Prophecy.
	Psalmellus	Psallendo	Psalmus Responsorius.
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle.
Gradual, (sometimes Sequence)	Alleluia, or Cantus.		
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel.
	Antiphona post Evangelium		
	Oratio super Sindonem		
	Offertory		
Nicene Creed	Nicene Creed.		
Offertory.	Oratio super Oblata	Sacrificium. Missæ. Alia Oratio.	
Secreta		Post Nomina	Ante Nomina. Post Nomina.
Prefatio	Prefatio	Ad Pacem. Illatio. Post Sanctus Post Prædic.	Confessatio. Post Mysterium.
Communio	Confractorium Transitorium	Ad Orationem Dominicam.	Ante Orationem Dominicam.
Post Communio . . .	Post Communio		Post Orationem Dominicam.
Prayer		Benediction	Benediction.
		Prayer.	

We have thus, according to the best of our ability, given a short account of the theory of Collects, and of the other prayers which form so prominent a part of Church ritual. The reader must remember in this, as in former papers on kindred subjects, that treatises, each of which might well fill a volume, have here to be compressed into the limits of a short paper. The briefest possible notice has to be taken of details which, if pursued at length, would be far more interesting, as well as far more instructive. In fact, we wish rather to point out to the reader what is worth his study, than profess to lay before him the results of our own.

We are bound to acknowledge the great assistance which in this and other papers we have derived from the invaluable library of the Rev. W. J. Blew; without which it had been impossible for us to study many of the rare books which in the course of our investigations it has been necessary for us to quote. The value of the library itself can only be exceeded by the courtesy with which its contents are placed at the disposal of scholars.



III.

THE BOLLANDISTS.*



T was the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, and a glorious autumn afternoon. The fashionable world of Brussels was airing itself in the Rue Royale; the bells of some of the parish churches were chiming for vespers; when the writer of the present article rang—he confesses, with somewhat of a trembling hand,—at the outer door of the Convent of S. Michel, and inquired whether Father Tinnebroek were at home. The answer was in the affirmative; and in another minute he found himself in the Bollandist House.

What theological scholar is there, who, on entering for the first time an ecclesiastical library, does not almost instinctively run his eye along its goodly battalions of folios and quartos, to see if the fifty-seven volumes of the Bollandists find a place among them? What theological scholar is there to whom that quaint frontispiece, the little angel tearing a roll from the mouth of Time, Truth kindling a torch by her mirror, and Erudition pointing upwards to the Church, who smiles as she receives another volume of the Acts of the Saints,—to whom those two rivers of Italic print, divided and meted out by capital margin letters, as by milestones,—to whom the concatenated side notes, as interesting as a history, and as brief as an index, do not recur, when we speak of the Bollandists? What theological scholar is there to whom the names of Papenbroch† and Henschenius, of Stilting and Sollerius, are not familiar as household words?

But how and where that enormous work, that everlasting heritage to the Church, was carried on day after day, year after

* *Etudes sur la Collection des Actes des Saints, par les RR. PP. Jésuites Bollandistes.* Par le R. P. Dom Pitra, Moine Benedictin de la Congregation de France. Paris, 1850.

† Properly Papenbroek: but we follow the usual spelling.

year, century after century, few that have used it have perhaps troubled themselves to inquire : and few that have inquired have been able to obtain any satisfactory answer to their questions.

Dom Pitra, the well-known Benedictine Scholar of Solesme, has given a sketch of the progress of the work in the volume now before us. It is brief indeed, for of the 340 pages which compose his sketch, a third part is taken up with an account of previous hagiographies. Nor are the historical details well arranged or clearly set forth. Still, the importance of the subject, and the learning of the writer give a deep interest to the volume. We propose briefly to relate the annals of the Bollandist undertaking, availing ourselves of our author's labours as we go along.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Heribert Rosweyd, a Priest of the great Company then in the height of its reputation, conceived in the Library of the reformed Monastery of Notre Dame-de-Lieffies the idea of a complete series of the Acts of the Saints. Of an iron constitution both in body and mind, he would just finish a few trifling works on which he was then engaged,—his *Lives of the Fathers*, his *Lives of the Virgins*, his *Hermits of the Thebais*, his editions of Tertullian, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and Arnobius ; not more than four or five folios, and a few octavos ; and when he had completed his controversies with Casaubon, Scaliger, and one or two other literary giants, —then he would really set about his great undertaking. It was to consist of seventeen volumes folio. They showed the prospectus to Bellarmine. "What is the man's age?" asked the Cardinal. "Perhaps forty." "Does he expect to live two hundred years?" was the question that followed. Two hundred and forty-five years have passed since then,—

And still he lives in fame, though not in life :

still he lives in his continuators, those patient monks who, even as we write, are in their library at Brussels, toiling on at the fifty-eighth volume of the *Acta*, and the 24th day of October. Like Columbus, Rosweyd was the discoverer of a new world ; like Columbus, his name is not that by which the region discovered by him is known. He began his gigantic toil in 1629. He had scarcely commenced it when Bois-le-duc was taken by the Dutch army,—the Jesuits expelled,—and their precious library exposed to ruin. Rosweyd flew to the spot. He exposed himself to the autumn malaria, and while weakened in his health was called to assist a sufferer in the last stage of typhus. And thus, instead of writing the Acts of the Saints, he went, as we may piously believe, to share their glory.

The spirit of Elijah rested upon Elisha. John Bollandus, by

birth a Limburger, had earnestly entreated a place in the China Mission, and had aspired to a fellowship in the China Martyrdoms. He was reserved for another toil. In the thirty-fourth year of his age, he was presented by the Company with the materials, and ordered to undertake the work, of Rosweyd. He began to see something more than his predecessor of the magnitude of the undertaking. The enormous mass of correspondence,—the expense of procuring the Proper Offices of every Church of Christendom,—the ransacking the archives of every monastery in Europe. But he was not terrified. “When I have finished the work,” said he, “then I shall give some account of the Doctrine of the Saints.”

He determined, however, to begin with an entirely new plan: to incorporate the original Acts with the notes,—to follow the order of time, not of dignity, and to take the Roman Martyrology as his guide. He laboured singly and courageously for six years: and then he called for help. GOD sent the means. The Jesuits’ House at Antwerp, where Bollandus wrought, was poor. Dom Luytens endowed it with eight hundred florins for the income of a second hagiographer. Bollandus’s choice was soon made. It fell on Godfrey Henschenius, a cool, calm, penetrating Jesuit. Afterwards, as if by inspiration, he induced Daniel Papenbroch, then a lad of fourteen, to enter the same Society, and devote his life to the same purpose.

As January was then thought to be nearly complete, Bollandus requested his coadjutor to commence with the Life of S. Amandus, for the sixth of February. In time it was finished, and its completion is a Bollandist epoch. Eighty-eight folio pages of closely printed double columns; a previous commentary in twenty-two chapters, unravelling the obscure annals of the seventh century with an acuteness almost superhuman, and a labour almost heroic; five original lives, some inedited, collations, and notes, six appendices,—the whole field of each page spotted with dates, as a meadow with daisies, and above all the pleasant stream of marginal notes curling along the side of the page, and refreshing the weary eye,—it was beyond all that Bollandus had conceived possible! What the pupil had done, the master determined to equal. *He recast the whole of January*; an act of humility as well as of labour that rendered him worthy to give his name to the work.

Sixteen years of continued toil, and, in 1643, January appeared, in two volumes. Europe rang with the praises of its 1170 saints. The great Vossius had denied the verity of the acts of S. Antony. He read, and, Protestant as he was, was convinced, and promised to retract in his next volume. And right faithfully and scholarly he kept his word. Christina of

Sweden, still a Lutheran, read of S. Anschar, the Apostle of the North, and was delighted. Cardinal Bona besought GOD to lengthen the life of Bollandus to the extreme limits of human existence. Fifteen years more, and February came forth in three volumes, with 1310 saints. And thenceforward, till the temporary suppression of the Jesuits, through good report, and (as we shall see) through evil report also, the Bollandists held on their way through fifty-one volumes. We give their names in a note,* correcting some obvious errors of Dom Pitra.

In the meantime, as if almost by inspiration, Bollandus had

* FIRST SERIES.

NAMES.	Birth.	Commencement of Labours.	Cessation from Labour and Death.	Collaboration. Years.	Vols.
JOHN van BOLLAND . .	1596	1631	+ 1665	34	8
GODFREY HENSCHEN . .	1600	1635	+ 1681	46	24
DANIEL van PAPENBROEK .	1628	1659	+ 1714	55	19
Daniel Janninck . . .	1650	1679	+ 1723	44	13
Francis Baerts . . .	1651	1681	+ 1719	38	10
JOHN BAPTIST du SOLLIER	1669	1702	+ 1740	38	12
John Pien . . .	1678	1714	+ 1749	35	14
William Cuypers . . .	1686	1720	+ 1741	21	11
Peter van den Bosch . .	1689	1721	+ 1736	15	7
JOHN STILTINCK . . .	1703	1737	+ 1762	25	11
John Limpen . . .	1709	1741	1750, + ?	9	3
John van de Velde . . .	?	1742	+ 1747	5	2
Constantine Suykens . .	1714	1745	+ 1771	26	11
John Perier . . .	1711	1747	+ 1762	15	7
Urban Stycker . . .	1717	1751	+ 1753	2	1
John Clé . . .	1722	1753	1760 + 1800	7	3
Cornelius de Bye . . .	1727	1772	1789 + 1801	17	6
Ignatius Huben . . .	1737	1772	+ 1782	10	4
James de Bue . . .	1728	1776	1794 + 1808	18	6
Joseph Ghesquiere . . .	1731	1792	1794 + 1802	2	6

SECOND SERIES.

John Baptist Fonfon
Can. Reg.
 Anselm Berthod
Benedict.
 Siard van Dyck
Præmonst.
 Cyprian van de Goor
Præmonst.
 Mathias Stalz
Præmonst.

Work suspended in 1794.

THIRD SERIES.

Joseph van der Moere—Retires 1847.
 Joseph van Hecke
 Benjamin Bossue
 Victor de Buch
 Antony Tinnebroek

fixed his eyes on Daniel Papenbroch, who thenceforth gave up himself and his whole property, which was considerable, to the work. Bollandus himself laboured at it for thirty-four years; Henschen for forty-six; Papenbroch for fifty-five. And with the latter it was that the travels, correspondence, controversies, and persecutions of the Bollandists began. For the complete formation of the whole agency by means of which every monastery in Europe sent up its own legends, Papenbroch may claim the chief praise; and in this sense the verse is true—

Quod Rosweydeus prepararat,
Quod Bollandus inchoarat,
Quod Henschenius formarat,
Perfecit Papenbrochius.

Let us describe the present Bollandist Library as we saw it on that Sunday afternoon. There were three not very large rooms, of which the central one contained the greatest treasures and formed the chief workshop. Round the walls, every known biography of a Saint; hundreds of the rarest missals and breviaries, hymnals, and martyrologies. Then in the centre of the room a large counter-like erection, serving as a table, but also fitted with drawers, each drawer numbered with one day of the then unfinished Bollandist year, beginning from October 17. When any of the Bollandists happens to meet with a passage which may be useful in the history of a future Saint, he makes a reference on a separate piece of paper, and puts it into the drawer of the day on which that Saint will occur. Thus we remember that, while we were running over a proof-sheet of the fifty-sixth volume with Father Tinnebroek, a reference to Saint Cecilia occurred. Immediately he took one from the file of papers provided for the purpose, made a reference to the page, and put it into the drawer for Nov. 22. Twenty years hence the then Bollandists will make use of it.

In 1660, Henschenius and Papenbroch set forth on their first literary journey. Catholic and Protestant librarians vied in doing them honour. They gleaned a life here, a sequence there, a proper office in this church, a passion in that: at Wurzburg they beheld the Gospel tinged with the blood of the martyr S. Kilian; at Bamberg they venerated S. Henry of Germany, and his Virgin Empress S. Cunegunda; at Eichstadt, they listened to the legend of the Irish S. Walpurga, at Augsburg to that of the glorious penitent, S. Afra; at Eiligen they visited the tomb of S. Hildegard; at Munich, Peutinger the librarian, welcomed them as brothers; at Aschaffenburg, they revelled eight days in the three halls full of charters which Father Garmaus had heaped together: at Saint Goar, and Bamberg, and Worms, they supped at the

electoral table. Papenbroch in his letters gives the most perfect picture of enjoyment conceivable, (the fiery trial was for after years ;) he luxuriates, he revels, he runs riot in his description ;—nothing comes amiss ; he tells how proud the Sacristan of Mayence is of the dust of the Cathedral, because it was older than the Reformation ; how they dined with a very apostolical dean, where there were thirty-six covers, and twelve men servants, and where they drank Bollandus's health in hock 120 years old ; how they teased Henschenius by making him sleep in Luther's bed at Worms ; how very surprisingly venerable Papenbroch looked in the chafuble of S. Witegîsus at Mayence ; how Henschenius, who had never seen a mountain, was frightened out of his wits in the descent of the Alps, and lay like a heap at the bottom of the carriage.

And at last they came to Italy. They revelled, by turns, in the libraries of Verona, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna ; and so they advanced on their pilgrimage to Rome. Alexander VII. received them as brothers. Orders and briefs opened every door, and unrolled every MS. Shortly after their arrival, one who had the greatest means and the best will to help them, Luke Holstein, librarian of the Vatican, was called from the world. Short as had been his intimacy with Henschenius, he it was whom the venerable scholar chose to receive his confession, and to assist him in his agony ; and his last words were, *Padre Henschenio !* But the other chiefs of ecclesiastical literature, Kircher, and Ughelli, and Ciampini, supplied his place. For nine months they employed six amanuenses. Papenbroch sometimes pursued his task from two in the morning till nightfall. Ughelli gave the Bollandists two folio volumes of notes, destined for his *Italia Sacra*. The Oratorians entrusted them with the MSS. of Baronius. Ecchelenis translated the Syriac Acts of the Saints. The Abbé Albani, afterwards Pope Clement XI, played the part of a humble copyist ; better so employed than in the composition of the Unigenitus. The same triumphal progress attended them everywhere. To Naples, to Monte Cassino, the Abbey of Abbeys, to Florence. Thence over the Alps to the Grande Chartreuse, Cluny, Cîteaux, Dijon, Paris, and so to Antwerp. That was the first hagiological journey of the Bollandists. Janning and Baerts afterwards in Austria and Hungary, Cuypers in Spain, laboured in the same cause, and with the same success.

Yes,—it was all for that noble library,—the glory of the Latin Church. There is a view of the façade in the first volume of March. There were then twelve cases, each in thirty subdivisions, the former the months, the latter the days. These were for the

acts, printed or MSS ; the rest was for general history. There, as a century rolled by, came in the great works of the historians of the Church, Baronius and Raynaldus and the Calvinistic tomes of the Magdeburg Centuriators ; and Ughelli's Italia, and Henry Warton's Anglia Sacra ; and the Gallia Christiana of the Sammarthani, and the Germania Sacra of Hanfz ; and the Franciscan Annals of Luke Wadding, and the Benedictine History of Yepez, and the Origins of the Canons Regular of Pennotti, and Castillo's Dominican Order, and the countless Histories of Abbeys, of Bishoprics, of hospitals. But more glorious still was the collection of Missals and Breviaries, of Hymnals and Passionals, of Martyrologies and Lectionaries, of Sacramentaries and Rituals, of Graduals and Sequentiaries, of Antiphonaries and Sanctorals. There were those glorious folios ; rough in their yellow hogskin, and clamped and knobbed with wrought iron, and dotted down the face with the well-thumbed finger-holds ; with their illuminated initials, and flowing margins, their quaint abbreviations and lovely letters : there were the scarcely less valuable *incunabula*—as the Germans call the printed books of the fifteenth century ;—there were the productions of printers such as John Scheffer at Mayence, or Peter Lichtenstein at Venice, or Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster, or Constantine Fradin at Narbonne, or William Merlin at the sign of the Savage Man at Paris, or George Stuchs at Nuremberg. Europe poured in her treasures from every primatial use : Toledo for Spain, Vienne for France, Braga for Portugal, Sarum for England, Aberdeen for Scotland, Spalato for Dalmatia, Cracow for Poland, Cologne and Salzburg for Germany, Upsala for Sweden : the Ambrosian rite and the Milanese commentators,—the Mozarabic office and its Spanish rubricians, all hastened as into a treasury for the glory of the Saints, all went to swell the twelve thousand volumes of the Bollandine Library. There Bollandus, after correcting a proof, was struck with palsy ;—there Henschenius died in the midst of his labours : there Papenbroch, blind, and in the eighty-fifth year of his age, still prayed and laboured and directed.

But the Bollandists had been unworthy to write of the glory, had they not been called to a share in the suffering, of the Saints. Of all their controversies, that with the Carmelites was the most dangerous : it perilled their honour, it impugned their veracity, it threatened their very existence. Papenbroch wrote, and proved, that the Prophet Elijah was not the founder of the Carmelite religion. The order flew to arms. The Acts were denounced at Rome. Papenbroch combated by learning, Janing by his presence in the Papal Court. In 1695, the Spanish

Inquisition condemned the whole work : and earnestly as Papenbroch prayed and laboured for its reversal, there, on the very doors of the Bollandist library, hung the decree, declaring the *Acta* offensive to pious ears, suspected of heresy, and even heretical. Clement XI. was appealed to by the memory of his early labours in the Vatican to interfere. He did interfere, but too late. Papenbroch died, stigmatized by the inquisition as a heretic, in 1714, and the condemnation was retracted in 1715.

Yes, and the later Bollandists had a glorious revenge : such a revenge as befitted the Annalists of the Saints. The Carmelites had cruelly persecuted them, and they, in the 54th volume, the first of the New Series (1847) devoted six hundred folio pages to the glory of the Carmelites, S. Theresa. Van de Moere began and ended his labours on that one Saint.

Henschenius and Papenbroch slept with their fathers ; and for sixty years after the death of the latter, the Bollandists pursued their labours. It cannot be denied that the plan increased and altered as it went on. For example, the thirty-one days of January had been comprised in two volumes ; in the latter part of the series, three or four days were frequently found enough for one. Again, fresh discoveries and more extended researches detected mistakes, new collaborators brought new opinions ; and on some points of no small importance, for example, the foundation of the See of Antioch, the *Acta* twice altered their sentiments. And now the work had reached the fifty-first volume, and the beginning of October, when on the 20th of September, 1773, it was put an end to by the Bull of Clement XIV. for the suppression of the Jesuits. Clé, the retired leader of the Bollandists, was confined for two years.

A committee was appointed to discuss the question of the continuance of the work. At length, Maria Theresa accepted the offer of the Abbat of Caudenberg, and the persecuted historians of the Saints transferred themselves and their precious library thither. But an Imperial Order forbade them to add any commentary to the *Acts*, compelled the publication of a volume yearly, and commanded the completion of the work in ten years. The Abbey of Caudenberg was suppressed in 1780, by the Eraastian Joseph ; and the survivors of the Bollandists were transferred to Brussels. Finally, Buæus, with the poor relics of the library, was received in the Abbey of Tongerlo ;—and there he formed five new Hagiographers, Fonson, Berthon, Van Dyck, Van de Goor, and Stalz : one a Canon Regular, one a Benedictine, three Præmonstratensians. The French Revolution broke out ; infidelity was poured over Europe : but this, the second series of Bollandists, pursued its labours for seven

years, and produced two volumes. The fifty-third appeared in May, 1794; and on Dec. 6, 1796, the Abbey of Tongerlo was suppressed. The five hagiographers were driven forth like their brethren, and, to human eyes, the work seemed at an end.

In 1800, Napoleon set on foot a commission to inquire into the possibility of continuing the *Acta*. In 1810 a report appeared, stating the desirableness of the continuation, but naming two slight difficulties;—the want of Acts, and the want of Hagiographers. It was supposed that the unique library had perished, and that the printed portion and MS. of the fifty-fourth volume were irreparably lost. It was not so. The peasants of Tongerlo had been their faithful guardians; and in 1825, William I. King of Holland, discovered and seized them. Here again we trace the finger of God. The King divided the library in two; the printed works, which, however valuable, might be replaced, went to the Protestant Hague: the MS., inestimable, and unique, remained in Catholic Brussels.

The Belgian revolution broke out. Belgium became independent. The chambers voted the *Acta* a national work; decreed them to the re-established Jesuits; and in January, 1837, the company accepted the charge. It is pleasant to think that one of the ancient Bollandists, Cyprian van der Goor, lived to see the work re-undertaken and prospering, before he uttered his *Nunc dimittis*. It took ten years to create the library, and the correspondence, and in fact, the science. The fifty-fifth volume, containing the fifteenth and sixteenth days of October, appeared in 1847, two hundred and two years after the publication of the first. It contains, as we have already said, the most elaborate biography that has yet appeared in the *Acta*, the life of S. Theresa.

The present Bollandists are fathers Joseph van Hecke, Benjamin Bossue, Victor de Buch, and Antony Tinnebroek; father Joseph van de Moere, the author of the life of S. Theresa, having retired. The last volume which they have published is the 58th—the 10th for October. This is the fourth volume issued by the New Bollandists.

There, then, we leave these pious historians to their labour. Sixty-eight days still remain for them. We may trust that now, unrestricted by war and revolution, the work will proceed to its close; but the grandfathers, say the Bollandists, are not yet born of the men who shall see the final completion of the *Acta Sanctorum*.



IV.

KALENDARS.



WE are about to speak of Church Kalendars ; as we have lately done of the greatest commentators on the Kalendar. Now we propose to enumerate the different divisions of Festivals in various branches of the Church, and we will begin with the East.

In the Constantinopolitan Church, Festivals are divided into three classes—Great, Middle, and Little.

Great Festivals are divided into three sections—

1. Easter, which stands by itself.
2. Twelve principal Feasts ; namely, Christmas Day, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration, Repose of the Mother of GOD, Nativity of the Mother of GOD, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Presentation of the Mother of GOD.

3. Festivals called Adodecata, or, in Slavonic, Nedvna-desiatia, as not being equal in honour to *the* Twelve. These are : Circumcision, Nativity of S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Decollation of S. John Baptist. All these are marked with ⊕.

Festivals of the Second Class are divided into two sections—

1. Those in which the Office is not entirely of the day, but which have at Lauds an additional canon, in honour of the Mother of GOD. These days are—January 30, SS. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom ; April 23, S. George ; May 6, S. John the Divine ; November 13, S. John Chrysostom ; Dec. 5. S. Sabbas ; Dec. 6, S. Nicolas of Myra. These are marked ⊕.

2. Middle Festivals of the Second Class have the *Polyeleos* (Psalms cxxxvi.) at Lauds. These are the days of the Apostles, except as above: great doctors or wonder-workers, and certain "God-bearing" fathers, as S. Simeon Stylites. They are marked +.

3. Little Festivals have two classes.

1. Those which have the Great Doxology (as have all the preceding) at Lauds, and are called *Doxologised Feasts*. They are marked .·.) in red ink.

2. Those which have not the Doxology: they are marked thus, .·.) in black ink.

It is not necessary to dwell at any length on the Armenian Division of Festivals. Briefly, it consists of four classes—

1. Easter and Epiphany. It is well known that the Armenian Church has no such Festival as Christmas.

2. Those which form the remainder of great Festivals in the Orthodox Church, together with the days of S. Gregory the Illuminator, the Apparition of the ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON at Etchmiadzine; the Martyrdom of S. Hripsime; that of S. Gaiane; and perhaps one or two others.

3. This is almost the same as the second Eastern Class; and,

4. As the Third.

But we must remember that the various Saints of the Constantinopolitan Fasti are named, not in the mere formal prose of the west, but each in a *stichos* of two or more verses; and these usually contain "a pun, punnet, or pundigion," to adopt Southey's classification of *paronomasiæ*. They are to be found in the *Menæa*, after the Sixth Ode of the Canon for the Day, and before its *Menology*. In the year 1727, it pleased a Leipzig scholar, by name Urban Godfrey Siberus, to make a collection of these *stichoi*, and to accompany them with a most barbarous Latin version. The book, which is not very common, makes a convenient *Breviate* of Eastern Saints, for those who are not desirous of going very deeply into the subject.

Little as such punning verses seem to promise, they are frequently not without their beauty. It is difficult, from their very nature, to translate them in a way which should be intelligible to any but to him who can equally well comprehend the original Greek. But, in some instances, such a version may be possible. Let us take an example or two—

CHRIST came that He might kindle fire on earth :
And in that fire was Xene's heavenly birth. (Jan. 18.)

That Maysimas, in Syrian hymns who sung,
Now sings with Angels in the Angels' tongue. (Jan. 23.)

Thy *Polycarp*, O WORD, who dies by fire,
Brings forth *much fruit* to Thee upon the pyre. (Jan. 26.)

The tyrant, Chares, may cut off thy feet:
But not the less thou hast'ft thy LORD to meet. (Jan. 28.)

Amid the sheepecotes Blafius dwelt of old:
His home is now within the heavenly fold. (Feb. 3.)

Lo! Baptus and Porphyrius yield their life,
Baptized with *purple* in the Martyrs' strife. (Feb. 10.)

Eulogius finds the Monarch of the skies,
And greets Him with the Martyr's *eulogies*. (Feb. 13.)

Not water doth Eudocia,* as of yore,
To Thee, O SAVIOUR!—but her life-blood pour! (Mar. 1.)

This may suffice as a specimen; but many of these compositions are of a yet far inferior kind. That our LORD, for example, was Ruler of the *πόλος*, while He vouchsafed to ride on the *πῶλος*. (The English reader may conceive the wretchedness of the pun, by a like play on the words *pole* and *foal*.)

We now proceed to the Western arrangement of Feasts.

The Roman classification of Festivals is this:—

Double of the First Class.	Double.
Double of the Second.	Semi-double.
Greater Double.	Simple.

The Parisian disposition is as follows:—

Annals.	Lesser Doubles.
Greater Solemnns.	Semi-doubles.
Lesser Solemnns.	Simples.
Greater Doubles.	

Thus adding another class to the Roman.

Of different Mediæval arrangements we may principally notice these:—

A. That which prevailed in many early Kalendars of Religious Orders, though afterwards by the same Orders dropped.

Triple.	Lesser Double.
Lesser Triple.	Simple.
Double.	

In which, Triple nearly answered to the Roman Double of the First Class, and Lesser Triple was somewhat more confined than Double of the Second. We have seen this arrangement in early Cistercian, Carthusian, and Præmonstratensian books. One of the most glorious Kalendars we ever saw, at Nantes, which had belonged to Premontre, was thus arranged.

* The woman of Samaria.

B. Again, and this seems to have been usual in Northern Churches, the following :—

Principale.
Majus Duplex.

Minus Duplex.
IX. Lectionum.

III. Lectionum.

C. And some Kalendars of this kind inserted Triplex between the Principale and the Majus Duplex.

D. A favourite German division was as follows (thus we have seen books of Cologne, Ratibon, Würzburg, Freiburg, Magdeburg, Salzburg, and others) :—

Summum (others call it Dominicale).
Duplex.

Simplex IX. Lectionum.
Officium.

Collecta.

The two latter titles meaning that on the day specified by them in the one case, Collect, Introit, and Post Communion, in the other Collect alone, were of the Festival.

Before we proceed, we cannot but express our surprise that no work has ever yet been devoted to a Classification of Mediæval Missals and Breviaries after their families. Now that every part of Europe is so easily accessible, ten or fifteen years' labour might accomplish that which, in former centuries, could hardly have been brought to pass by the devotion of a life.

Now, taking the Parisian and Roman Kalendars as our model, let us examine which Saints' Days form their highest classes.

Roman.

Paris.

DOUBLES OF THE FIRST CLASS.

ANNUALS.

Christmas.
Epiphany.
Easter Day.
(Maundy Thursday till Easter
Tuesday inclusive).
Ascension.
Whitsun Day.
Whitsun Monday.
Whitsun Tuesday.
Corpus Christi.
S. John Baptist.
SS. Peter and Paul.
Assumption.
All Saints.
Dedication of the Church.
Feast of the Patron Saint.

Easter.
Whitsun Day.
Christmas.
Assumption.
Patron Saint.

GREATER SOLEMNS.

Ascension.
Corpus Christi.
Dedication.
Epiphany.
Purification.
Annunciation.
Nativity B. V. M.
All Saints.
SS. Dionysius and Rusticus.

DOUBLES OF THE SECOND CLASS.

Every Festival of an Apostle.
S. Mark.
S. Luke.

Purification.
Annunciation.
Nativity.
Conception.
Visitation.
Circumcision.
Name of JESUS.
S. Stephen.
Holy Innocents.
S. Joseph.
Holy Trinity.
Invention of the Cross.
S. Lawrence.
S. Michael.

LESSER SOLEMNS.

Trinity Sunday.
The Secondary Patron.
Circumcision.
S. John Baptist.
SS. Peter and Paul.

GREATER DOUBLES.

Easter Monday.
Easter Tuesday.
Whitsun Monday.
Whitsun Tuesday.
Low Sunday.
Octave of Ascension.
Corpus Christi.
Festivals of Apostles and Evan-
gelists
S. Michael.

It will be proper to make some observations on these Saints' Days.

And, in the first place, the Roman comes nearer to the Primitive Calendar than even the Parisian, in excluding Candlemas, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Annunciation from the highest class of Festivals; for (manifestly) the Parisian *Annals* and *Greater Solemns* together make up the Roman Doubles of the First Class. In the latter, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, and All Saints, are the only festivals of saints which occupy so high a place.

S. John Baptist. Let us compare the various offices of this Great Saint. In the Gregorian Missal, there were two Masses on this Festival; * and, it seemed, in the former of these *Alleluia* was not sung, with reference to the Nativity having taken place under the old law; in the second Mass it was employed to signify the commencement of the new Kingdom by the Saint. The Roman Epistle is Isaiah xlix. 1—7. They point out how “sharp” a “sword” John indeed was, when he uttered that proclamation, “O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?” And then, “That hath formed me from the womb to be thy Servant,” well agrees with the sanctification of John, even from his mother’s womb. But several of the German Missals had the Gospel of our own Prayer-book, “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people;” and this was the Gallican usage. The Mozarabic Prophecy is the Roman Epistle: *its* Epistle we do not so well understand—Galat. i. 11—24—

* Durand. lib. iii. cap. 38. S. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. 30. Hug. de S. Viſt. lib. iii. de Offic. Eccles. cap. 6.

unless it be from the mere phrase, "GOD, who separated me from my mother's womb." The Gospel is everywhere the same: the historical narrative from S. Luke. The Creed is not said; and that with the beautiful symbolical reason, "He that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he."

If we turn to the Breviary, we find the first three Roman lessons from Jeremiah i. 1 to end; the second three from the homily of S. Augustine (20) on the same Festival; the third three, from the commentary of S. Ambrose on the Gospel. The first six, in the greater part of the German Breviaries, are from a homily of S. Maximus: the last three from the commentary of V. Bede on the Gospel. The first six in the Aberdeen from a homily, we know not of what saint; the last three as the Roman. In the Parisian, the first three from "the occurring Scripture;" the next three, a sermon of S. Augustine (not that in the Roman); the last three as the Roman.

Now we think that we can scarcely give a more useful praxis on the various theories of Response, than by a comparison of those from the lessons.

ROMAN AND GERMAN
(generally).

1. R. There was a man sent from GOD, whose name was John; * the same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that he might prepare a perfect people for the LORD. V. John was preaching in the wilderness the baptism of repentance. The same.

2. R. Elizabeth, the wife of Zachariah, bare a mighty man, John Baptist, forerunner of the LORD, * who prepared for the LORD a way in the desert. V. There was a man sent from GOD, whose name was John. Who prepared.

3. R. Before I formed thee in the womb I knew thee, and before thou camest out of the belly I sanctified thee, * and gave thee for a prophet to the Gentiles. V. A man beloved by GOD, and honourable among men. And gave. Glory. And gave.

ABERDEEN.

1. As Roman.

2. R. The Angel Gabriel appeared to Zachariah, saying: A son shall be born to thee: his name shall be called John. * And many shall rejoice at his birth. V. For he shall be great in the sight of the LORD, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink. And many.

3. R. Thou, Child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the LORD * to prepare His ways. V. To give knowledge of salvation unto His people for the remission of their sins. To prepare. Glory. To prepare.

PARIS (modern).

1. R. Elizabeth conceived and hid herself three months, saying: * Thus hath the LORD dealt with me in the days wherein He looked upon me, and took away my reproach from among men. V. My age shall be exalted in rich loving kindness. Thus hath.

2. R. Mary entered into the house of Zachariah, and saluted Elizabeth, * and when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. V. Thou didst prevent them, O LORD, with the blessings of goodness. And when.

3. R. Elizabeth was filled with the HOLY GHOST, and cried with a loud voice, Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my LORD should come unto me? * Behold, † the babe leaped in my womb. V. Now I know that GOD hath blessed me for thy sake. Behold. Glory. The babe.

NANTES.

R. 1. The LORD * formed me from the womb to be His servant, that I might bring back Jacob to Him. V. GOD that maketh things that are not, as though they were. Formed.

R. 2. I am glorified in the eyes of the LORD, and * my GOD is my strength.

V. When Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. My God.

R. 3. Let me find grace in Thy sight : * now I know that the LORD hath blessed thee for my sake. *V.* Elizabeth cried : When I heard the voice of thy salutation, the babe leaped in my womb. Now I know. Glory. Let me find.

ROMAN AND GERMAN
(generally).

4. *R.* The Angel of the LORD came to Zachariah and said, Receive a son in thine old age. * And he shall be called John. *V.* This child shall be great in the sight of the LORD; for the Lord also is with him. And he.

5. *R.* This is the beloved Forerunner and the Light that shone before the LORD. * This is John, who both prepared the way of the LORD in the desert, and also preached of the Lamb of GOD, and illuminated the eyes of men. *V.* He shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias. This is John.

6. *R.* They made signs to his father how he would have him called : and he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, * His Name is John. *V.* The mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he prophesied, saying, His Name. Glory. His Name.

ABERDEEN.

4. *R.* His name shall be called John; he shall drink neither wine nor strong drink. * And many shall rejoice in his birth. *V.* He shall go before the LORD in the spirit and power of Elias. And many.

5. *R.* He shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias, * that he may convert the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the unbelieving to the wisdom of the just, to make ready for the LORD a perfect people. *V.* He shall be great before the LORD, and shall be filled with the HOLY GHOST. To make ready.

6. As in Roman.

PARISIAN.

4. *R.* They made signs to his father, how he would have him called. And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, * His name is John : and they marvelled all. *V.* He shall be called by a name which the mouth of the LORD shall name. His name.

5. *R.* And immediately the mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he was filled with the HOLY GHOST, and prophesied, saying, Thou, Child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest, for * thou shalt go before the face of the LORD to prepare His ways. *V.* Say not, I am a Child, faith the LORD, for whithersoever I shall send thee thou shalt go. Thou shalt go.

6. *R.* The child increased, and waxed strong in spirit, * and † he was in the desert until the day of his showing to Israel. *V.* And the child grew, and the LORD blessed him, and the SPIRIT of the LORD began to move him. And he was. Glory. He was.

NANTES.

R. 4. I will give thee hidden things and concealed treasures *, that thou mayest know that I the LORD who call thy name am the Holy One of Israel. *V.* They beckoned to his father how he would have him called, and he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John. That thou mayest.

R. 5. The LORD declared His salvation *. He hath remembered His mercy and truth towards the house of Israel. *V.* And immediately the mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he spake and blessed GOD. He hath remembered.

R. 6. I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people *, even a marvellous work and a wonder. *V.* And all they that heard it laid it up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be?—And the hand of the LORD was with him. Even a marvellous. Glory. I will proceed.

ROMAN.

R. 7. The LORD's Forerunner cometh, of whom He Himself testifieth : * Among them that are born of women there is not a greater than John Baptist. *V.* This is the Prophet, of whom the more than Prophet, of whom the SAVIOUR saith. Among.

ABERDEEN.

R. 7. They made signs to his father how he would have him called, and he called for a writing table, and wrote, saying, * His name is John. *V.* The mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he prophesied, saying, His name.

PARIS.

R. 7. There was a man sent from GOD whose name was John. * He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light, that all might believe through him. *V.* He stood up as fire, and his word burned like a lamp. He was not.

ROME.

R. S. Gabriel the Angel appeared to Zachariah, and said, A son shall be born to thee, and his name shall be called John * and many shall rejoice in his birth. V. He shall be great in the sight of the LORD, and he shall drink neither wine nor strong drink. And many. Glory. And many.

ABERDEEN.

R. S. As Roman 7.

R. 9. Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist, * who prepared the way of the LORD in the desert. V. There was a man sent from GOD whose name was John. Who. Glory. Who.

PARIS.

R. S. John bare testimony, and cried, saying: He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for He was before me, * and of His fulness have all we received. V. I awakened up last of all, as one that gathered after the grape gatherers. And of His.

R. 9. He that sent me, the same said to me, * Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and resting, † He it is that baptizeth with the HOLY GHOST. V. The LORD that formed me from the womb to be His servant faith. Upon. Glory. He it is.

Let us now take another example: it shall be the Feast of All Saints.

And first, let us observe what Durandus says as to this Festival. After relating how, on the dedication of the Pantheon, by Pope Boniface, into the Church of All Martyrs, the first of May was fixed as the Festival of *Santa Maria ad Martyres*, and that this solemnity was afterwards removed to the other half year, the first of November, when the harvest had been got in,—he continues thus:—

Now, however, this Festival is general to All Saints—its office is accordingly varied. For the first Antiphon and the first Lesson, and the first Responsory, are of the Trinity, because this is the Feast of the Trinity; the second of S. Mary, the third of the Angels, the fourth of the Prophets, the fifth of the Apostles, the sixth of the Martyrs, the seventh of the Confessors, the eighth of the Virgins, the ninth of all together. Therefore, the greatest person in the Church reads the first lesson, the Bishop, if he is present, or the Dean, or anyhow a priest; and so, by gradual degrees, down to the boys. One of the boys always reads the eighth lesson concerning the Virgin; the last is read by the greatest person again. In many Churches, the eighth responsory is sung by five boys having candles in their hands, before the altar of S. Mary, to represent the five prudent Virgins, who went forth to meet the Bridegroom.

Sicardus tells us the same thing, only adding that in some Churches, the first lesson is that from Isaiah, “I saw the LORD sitting upon His throne”—which it is in the Roman Church at this day. We will now give some examples of the Lessons and Responsories; and it will be found that English Rituals stood, as always, most faithful to the mediæval pattern.

In the Lessons, the Aberdeen Breviary appears to retain the old form, and gives a short homily, first on the Blessed Trinity; secondly on S. Mary, &c.; and so down to the end. The Benedictions also accord to this; we give them here:—

- I. In caritate perfecta confirmet nos Trinitas Sancta. *Leſſio Prima de Trinitate: et legatur ab excellentiori perſona.*
- II. Per interceſſionem ſuæ matris benedicat nos Filius Dei Patris.
- III. Ad Societatem Civium Supernorum producet nos Rex Angelorum.
- IV. Patriarcharum merita nos ducant ad regna celeſtia.
- V. Apoſtolorum interceſſio nos jungat angelorum confortio.
- VI. Martyrum conſtantia nos ducat ad regna celeſtia.
- VII. Sancti Evangelii Leſſio ſit nobis ſalus et proteſſio.
- VIII. Chorus Sanctarum Virginum intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum.
[And then follows the rubric: Let this Leſſion be read by one boy only in a ſurplice. And, in the meanwhile, let five boys go forth from the veſtry in ſurplices, with covered heads and albs, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands, and let them ſing the Reſponſe.]
- IX. Sanctorum meritis mereamur gaudia lucis.

The Mediæval German Breviaries, while they agree with the Aberdeen in their leſſions, have no ſuch arrangement of Reſponſes. We may obſerve that the obſervation of Durandus, with reſpect to the ninth Reſponſory of the Roman rite, ſhows that at that time it had not been obliterated by the Te Deum. Now let us give the Reſponſes according to different rites, taking the Aberdeen as our pattern:—

ABERDEEN. (1)

R. 1. To the Supreme Trinity One GOD, be one Divinity, equal Glory, coeternal Majeſty, to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, * who ſubdueth the whole world to His laws. V. The Bleſſed Deity of FATHER, and SON, and Kind SPIRIT, give us grace. Who.

(1) Theſe Aberdeen Reſponſes are nearly, but not verbally, the ſame as thoſe in the Reſponſoriale, publiſhed by Thomasius. (Tom. iv. p. 276.)

R. 2. For Bleſſed art thou, holy Virgin Mary, and moſt worthy of all praiſe. * Since out of Thee hath ariſen the Sun of Righteouſneſs, CHRIST our GOD. V. Pray for the people, propitiate for the Clergy, intercede for the devout female ſex: let all feel thy help, who celebrate thy celebrity. Since.

R. 3. Thee, Holy LORD, all the Angels praiſe on high, ſaying, * Praiſe and honour be to Thee, O LORD. V. Cherubim and Seraphim, cry, Holy, and all the heavenly orders ſing, Praiſe. Glory. Praiſe.

ROMAN.

R. 1. I ſaw the LORD ſitting upon the throne, high and lifted up, * and His train filled the Temple. V. The Seraphim ſtood above it, each one had fix wings. And His train.

R. 2. Bleſſed art thou, Virgin Mary, Mother of God, who diſt believe in the LORD: the things are accompliſhed in thee which were ſaid of thee: behold, thou art exalted above the Choirs of the Angels. * Intercede for us to the LORD our GOD. V. Hail, Mary, full of grace, the LORD is with thee. Intercede.

R. 3. Before the gods will I ſing praiſe unto Thee, * and I will worſhip toward Thy holy Temple, and will praiſe Thy name, O LORD. V. Becauſe of Thy mercy and loving-kindneſs and truth, for Thou haſt magnified Thy name and Thy word above all things. And I will. Glory. And I will.

PARISIAN.

R. 1. We render Thee thanks, LORD GOD Almighty, which is and was and is to come, * Becauſe Thou haſt taken to Thee Thy great power, and haſt given reward to the Saints. V. All Thy works ſhall praiſe Thee, O LORD, and Thy Saints ſhall give thanks unto Thee. Becauſe.

R. 2. Then was given unto the Angel much incenſe, that he ſhould offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. * And the ſmoke of the incenſe aſcended up before GOD out of the Angel's hand. V. The eyes of the LORD are over the righteous, and His ears are open unto their prayers. And the ſmoke.

R. 3. Sing praiſes unto our GOD, all ye His ſervants, and ye who fear GOD, both ſmall and great. * For the LORD GOD omnipotent reigneth. † Rejoice in the LORD, O ye righteous, for it becometh well the juſt to be thankful. For. Glory. Rejoice.

ABERDEEN.

ROMAN.

PARISIAN.

R. 4. Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist, who prepared the way of the LORD in the desert. V. There was a man sent from GOD whose name was John. Who.

R. 4. The forerunner of the LORD cometh, of whom He Himself testifieth. * (1) Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist. V. This is the prophet, and the more than prophet, of whom the Saviour faith. Among.

R. 4. All these attained a good report through faith. * Wherefore we also being compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us. V. All these were honoured in their generations, merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten Wherefore.

(1) Observe, while both the Aberdeen and Roman keep up the symbolism of Durandus, and make the fourth Response typical of the prophets, and of John Baptist as their head, how much finer is the Roman Response, introducing him, as it were, in a procession; the idea is nobly followed out in that hymn, *Spemus Christi quæ per orbem*: as indeed by the Aberdeen, in R. 5.

R. 5. These the fellow-citizens of the Apostles, and the domestic servants of GOD, advance to-day, * carrying torches in their hands, and illuminating their country to give peace to the Gentiles, and to set free the people of the LORD. V. Hear the prayers of us supplicants, who ask the rewards of eternal life, ye who bear in your hands the sheaves of righteousness, and who joyously come forward to-day. Carrying.

R. 5. These are they who, living in the flesh, planted the Church in their blood. * They drank the cup of the LORD, and became the friends of GOD. V. Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world. (1) They drank.

R. 5. There was given unto them white raiment, and it was said unto them, that they should yet wait a little time * until their fellow-servants and brethren should be fulfilled. V. Bring my soul out of prison that I may give thanks unto Thy name, which thing if Thou wilt grant me, then shall the righteous resort unto my company. Until.

(1) It is this verse which fixes the whole Responsory as belonging to the Apostles, rather than, which might have been the case with the former part, to any other Saints.

R. 6. O laudable constancy of the Martyrs, O inextinguishable love, O invincible patience, which, although it seemed despicable among the tortures of the persecutors, * should be found to praise and glory and honour + in the time of retribution. V. We pray, therefore, that they, thus honoured by our FATHER, which is in Heaven, may help us, and that their merits. Should be found. Glory. In the time.

R. 6. O ye my Saints, who, while ye were in the flesh, fought the good fight, * I will render to you the reward of your labour. V. Come, ye blessed of my FATHER, inherit the kingdom. I will. Glory. I will.

R. 6. The LORD GOD shall call His servants by another name, * for the former miseries shall have passed away. V. There shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying. For. Glory. For.

R. 7. Let your loins be girded, and burning lamps in your hands, * and ye yourselves like men that wait for their LORD, when He shall return from the wedding. V. Watch, therefore, for ye know not at what time your LORD shall come. And ye yourselves.

R. 7. The same as Aberdeen.

R. 7. GOD, who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He has loved us, hath quickened us, * and hath made us fit together in CHRIST JESUS, that He might show us the abundant riches of His grace. V. The meek also shall increase their joy in the LORD, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the HOLY ONE of Israel. And hath made.

R. 8. I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Come to Me, O ye wife virgins. * Lay up oil in your vessels until the Bridegroom shall come. V. At midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Lay up.

R. 8. At midnight there was a cry made, * Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. V. O ye prudent Virgins, trim your lamps. Behold. Glory. Behold.

R. 8. We have been filled with Thy mercy, O LORD, and we have been glad and rejoice in Thy salvation. * We have been comforted for the days wherein Thou hast plagued us, and for the years wherein we have suffered adversity. V. Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. We have been.

ABERDEEN.

R. 9. Grant to us, O LORD, pardon of our sins, and at the intercession of the Saints, whose solemnity to-day we celebrate, * give us such devotion * that we may merit to attain to their society. V. May their merits assist us, whom our own sins fetter: may their intercession excuse us, whom our own actions accuse. Grant. Glory. That.

ROMAN.

R. 9. None.

PARISIAN.

R. 9. Thou hast redeemed us to GOD by Thy Blood, out of every kindred and tongue and nation. * And † Thou hast made us a kingdom and a priesthood to our GOD, and we shall reign. V. Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of Thine inheritance. And. Glory. Thou hast made.

Thus we have gone through one of the most remarkable series of the Responsories in the Western Offices. The Aberdeen, as we said, keeps close to the original theory; but, probably, there are very few who will not think that the partial change in the Roman is a great improvement; and we ourselves are not ashamed to confess that the Parisian is yet more to our taste.

We must remember that it was a long time, even in the West, before any were admitted to the title of Confessors, except those who had actually confessed Christ in torture, and come off with life. While, at the present time, all those Saints in the Western Church who are not Martyrs, are dignified with the title of Confessors, S. Martin being the first who obtained this honour, the Homologites of the East is much more nearly confined to its original signification. At the same time, the various classes of Saints in the Oriental Church are far more minutely characterized than those in the West. Here, for example, we have *Isapostle* as well as *Apostle*. This title is given to bishops of Apostolic consecration; to holy women, fellow-labourers with the Apostles, as S. Mary Magdalene and S. Priscilla; to the first preachers of the faith in any country—as we speak of the Apostle of Bavaria, or Belgium, or Northumberland; and to the Princes, like Constantine or Vladimir, under whose auspices Christianity became established in their country. Then we have the *megalo-martyr*, for those who were more especially illustrious by their sufferings; the *hieromartyr*, for those who were priests as well as martyrs; the *hosio-martyr*, for the religious of both sexes who obtained that crown; and the *thaumaturgos* or wonder-worker, attributed to Saints of all descriptions who were more especially conspicuous for the gift of miracles.

On such a subject as that on which we are speaking, nay, on each branch of it, whole volumes might be written. But we must next turn our attention to the occurrence and concurrence of one Festival with another; the treatment of which difficulty forms one of the most striking advantages possessed by the Western over the Eastern Church.

In case any of our readers should be unacquainted with these

technical terms, he must observe: one Festival *occurs* with another when the two feasts fall on the same day; as if Holy Thursday happened on May 1, SS. Philip and James. One Festival *concur*s with another, when its vigil falls on that other; S. Mark would concur with Easter, if Easter were on the 24th of April.

Every such difficulty is arranged by means of two little tables: but this is a late invention; and the earlier missals, such as the Incunabula, and those of the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, have very long and laborious rules for explaining what service is to be said in case of occurrences. At the longest, however, they were nothing to compare for length with the *typicon* of the Greek, the *oustaff* of the Russian Church.

Each of these is comprised in a thick folio volume; and nothing can be more puzzling than the directions so given. But here we may observe the greater flexibility of the West. The Western Church, when two important Festivals occur, can translate the one: the Eastern knows no such arrangement; neither in the Oriental Church is a Festival ever omitted. Take, therefore, such an extreme case as the Annunciation occurring with Good Friday; the service is of both; and to a Western student the effect is extremely jarring and unpleasant. Eastern ritualists, however, admire the junction of the two, as one of the chief beauties of their Office Book; and all one can say is, that great allowance must be made for use on both sides. The earlier Western custom had much more resemblance to the East than has the present. Thus, according to modern Roman use, if Lady Day falls in Holy Week, it is transferred to the Monday after Low Sunday. But according to Sarum use, if it fell on the Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday in Holy Week, it was celebrated on that day.

Now this question of occurrences assumes great importance with respect to our own Prayer-book. No doubt, had tables been the custom at that time, the Reformers would have adopted them, and so left us a certain rule. But as the rubrics on the subject were then so very lengthy, for the sake of that brevity on which the compilers of the Prayer-book so much prided themselves, they were no doubt passed by. And here arises our great difficulty; we cannot in this respect follow the Sarum Use, because we have no power to translate a Festival. That is to say, though we have known instances in which, on their own authority, individual clergymen have done so, it seems doubtful how far they might not be contravening the Act of Uniformity by such a practice. The question then arises, whether it is better for that year to omit entirely a Festival which

would have been translated, or irregularly to commemorate it. Our own practice has always been the former : but if it is to be commemorated at all, it should be in the simplest way, merely by the addition of the Collect. Yet to our minds there is something extremely displeasing, on such a great Feast as the Ascension, to commemorate additionally SS. Philip and James ; or, on Easter Day, the Annunciation, or S. Mark.

There was a curious occurrence in the last century between a State- and a Church-Festival. George II. succeeded to the crown on the 11th of June. The Accession Service was printed with a special notice that the Feast of S. Barnabas was to be entirely ignored ; and accordingly for twenty-six years that Apostle had no commemoration in the English Church. Then came the change of Kalendar ; and Archbishop Herring exerted himself to procure an alteration. A fresh rubric thenceforward fixed the king's accession to the 22nd of June.

The idea entertained by the bishops of Charles II.'s time as to occurrences, may be seen by the rubric prefixed to the now abrogated service for the Restoration. If the day happened to be Ascension Day or Whitsun Day, the State Collect only was added ; if it were Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun-week, or Trinity Sunday, the State Psalms also were said ; but if it fell on any other Sunday, the whole State Service took precedence of the Sunday Office. But even on Whitsun Day the proper hymn supplanted the Venite. In the rubric for our present Accession Service, that office is ordered to be said on Sundays, without any notice of the fact that the 20th of June might just fall on Trinity Sunday ; in which case, surely no one would be so Eraftian as to obey the rubric literally.

In many of the Gallican Breviaries, a further difficulty arises with respect to those Festivals which, though inferior in the Church's estimation, are kept as holy days by the people. It might, for example, happen that a local bishop who, as the phrase goes, was "festivated," might occur with such a day as Whitsun Tuesday, or the octave of the Ascension, which was not festivated. The lesser feast ought in that case to have been translated ; but it is very hard to translate a popular holiday ; and the State also discouraged it, on account of money becoming due, or leases falling in—as was so often the case—on such a Saint's day. If the Church allowed the day to be translated, there might arise all kind of legal questions as to whether the original day to which the deed referred, still held good, or altered in consequence of the translation. There are, therefore, in the Churches where occurrences like these are likely or possible, as in that of S. Brieuc, Quimper, (or, as it is generally called,

Cornouailles,) and Mende, another set of rubrics which refer to such cases. Generally, the superior Feast is allowed for the nonce to be translated. And in case the holiday fell in Holy Week, although the office was translated, the festivation that year was abolished.

It is well known that something of the same kind occurred in the Concordat of 1801, at the instance of Napoleon: the transference of the holiday and procession of Corpus Christi to the following Sunday. Those who have been in France or Belgium on the *Fête-Dieu* itself, know that it is scarcely observed at all: that not even in country places, do larger congregations than usual attend.

We will now give a table of occurrences, such as might be recommended by some future convocation for the use of the English Church.

OCCURRENCES.

Double of the First Clafs.	4	6	2	8	4	4	1
Double of the Second Clafs	4	6	8	1	4	1	1
Within the Octave	3	7	5	5	3	3	3
The Octave	7	4	3	3	4	3	3
	The Octave.	Within the Octave.	Double of the Second Clafs.	Double of the First Clafs.	Ordinary Sunday.	Sunday of the Second Clafs.	Sunday of the First Clafs.

1. Translation of the first; office of the second.
2. Office of the first; translation of the second.
3. Commemoration of the first; office of the second.
4. Office of the first; commemoration of the second.
5. Nothing of the first; office of the second.
6. Office of the first; nothing of the second.
7. Office of the more worthy; commemoration of the less worthy.
8. Office of the more worthy; translation of the less worthy.

CONCURRENCES.

<i>Second Vespers of</i>	Sundays of the First or Second Cl.	4	3	3	3	0	<i>First Vespers.</i>
	Ordinary Sundays.	4	3	1	1	0	
	Double of the First Clafs	2	4	4	6	4	
	Double of the Second Clafs. . .	4	4	6	3	4	
	Octave.	4	6	3	1	4	
	Within the Octave	6	3	1	1	3	
		Within the Octave.	Octave.	Double of the Second Clafs.	Double of the First Clafs.	Any Sunday.	

1. All of the following ; nothing of the preceding.
2. All of the preceding ; nothing of the following.
3. Office of the following ; commemoration of the preceding.
4. Office of the preceding ; commemoration of the following.
5. Office of the more worthy ; commemoration of the less worthy.

To make the table complete, we must add that—

Sundays of the First Clafs are : I. of Advent, I. of Lent, Passion, Palm, Easter, Low, Pentecost, Trinity. Sundays of the Second Clafs are : the others of Advent, the others of Septuagesima.

And that the following are Greater Feriæ, which are always commemorated by the addition of the preceding Sunday Collect : Advent, Lent, Ember Days, Rogation Monday. Let us now apply these rules to the anniversaries which will take place during the remainder of this year—[1859].

Sept. 29th, S. Michael and All Angels, the 30th being the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. Thus by the table of concurrences : (S. Michael being a Festival of the Second Clafs ; the Seventeenth after Trinity an ordinary Sunday :) the intersecting square gives 4 ; 4 is explained to be the whole of the preceding, with commemoration of the following. Therefore on that Saturday evening the Lessons and First Collect are of S. Michael, the Second Collect of the Sunday.

O^r. 28, SS. Simon and Jude, occurs with the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity. SS. Simon and Jude is a Festival of the Second Class, the Sunday an ordinary Sunday. The intersecting square gives 4; 4 is explained, office of the first, commemoration of the second, the first being here the feast, the second being the Sunday. The whole service will then be of the Saint's Day, with the addition of the Sunday Collects. And the rule which governs the feast governs the vigil: therefore on Saturday, O^r. 27, the first Collect is of the Festival, the Second is of the Sunday. These are all the occurrences, &c. which take place during this year.

Only one other observation we may make. Suppose that the Second Vespers of an ordinary Sunday were to concur with the First Vespers of a Festival of the First or Second Class, as if the 27th of October were the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity; then the First Lesson at Vespers is not the proper Lesson for the Sunday, but for the day of the month; as in the instance we have given, it would not be Ezekiel xxiv. but Ecclesiasticus ix.

It seems necessary, too, to say a few words as to the selection of Apocryphal Lessons for the greater part of Saints' Days. The vulgar opinion seems to be that the compilers of the Prayer-book refused to have Sunday Lessons from the Apocryphal Books, as not thinking them worthy of the solemnity of that day. The truth is just the opposite, as any one may convince himself who will study the Office drawn up by Jeremy Taylor in the necessities of the Great Rebellion. Just because, in their opinion, an ordinary Saint's Day stood above an ordinary Sunday, the Reformers selected chapters from the Sapiential Books, whether Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, Proverbs, or Ecclesiastes, which they thought the most distinctly and strikingly useful. We may be quite certain that, had they entertained the same ideas regarding the relative sanctity of the days which vulgar Protestants of the present time entertain, our First Sunday-Lessons would have been from the Apocrypha, and those for the Saints' Days would have been selected from the less striking and less generally useful of the historical or prophetic books. Never let this be forgotten, that a far greater proportion of the Apocrypha is read by us yearly than is read of the rest of the Old Testament. The two Books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasses, properly speaking, cannot claim that title, and are in no sense canonical. Of the rest, we omit the two Books of Maccabees, but hardly a chapter in the remaining Books; while, on the other hand, fully one-third of the Old Testament is utterly omitted, and we have but two or three chapters of the Apocalypse.

To turn to another subject: it may be well to say something

as to the various epochs at which the Saints commemorated in various Kalendars flourished. We have been at the pains to reckon up those who have a place in the Parisian Breviary, according to their centuries; and the result is as follows :—

In Century I. there are	36.	In Century IX. there are	1.
II.	12.	X.	1.
III.	35.	XI.	1.
IV.	33.	XII.	5.
V.	19.	XIII.	13.
VI.	25.	XIV.	4.
VII.	23.	XV.	0.
VIII.	10.	XVI.	4.
In Century XVII. there are		4.	

And from this skeleton of a tabular view, we get a very fair idea of the history of the Church of France. The first century is, of course, occupied by Apostolic and Isapostolic festivals, pretty equally common to the whole Church; in the second, while we lose these, France was not yet sufficiently evangelised to give us many saints; the third and fourth ages form the epoch of her glory; in the fifth there is a remarkable fall, to be accounted for from the anarchical breaking up of the Roman Empire, which has left its impress on the table; in the sixth and seventh centuries, again, the Gallican Church shone forth brightly; in the eighth, she began to grow dim; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh were days of darkness, and give us between them but three saints; in the twelfth, the monastic reformation began to tell; the thirteenth was the second spring of the Gallican Church; the fourteenth began well, but the miseries of English invasion soon overwhelmed it. Every one acquainted with French history would call the fifteenth, next to the eighteenth, its worst age, and it made no addition to its Hagiology. The sixteenth and seventeenth have each four Saints, S. Vincent de Paul and S. Francis de Sales being the brightest stars of that little constellation.

We are fond of speaking of the England of Saints. But how many more Saints have the French Sees added to the Kalendar of the Church than any of our own! This, of course, arises partly from the fact, that the earlier French Bishoprics had already existed five hundred years when our own were formed; but still, even with this excuse, we fear that the difference is not entirely accounted for. We will now take a few Gallican Breviaries, and notice the Saints peculiar to each See which they commemorate; and they shall be the Parisian, that of Metz, and that of Nantes. By way of contrast with this,

we will then do the same thing for the Toledo and other Breviaries.

Jan.	PARIS.	NANTES.	METZ.
3	S. Genovefa, V. 512.	S. Genovefa, V. 512.	
4	Rigobert, Bishop of Rheims, 743.		Genovefa, V. 512.
14	Hilary, Bishop of Poitou, 368.	The same.	The same.
15	Maurus, Abbat of Glanfeuil, VI. Century.	The same.	
	Bonitus, Bishop of Clermont, 710.		
16	William, Bishop of Bourges, 1209.		
19	Sulpicius Pius, Bishop of Bourges, 644.		
	S. Launomar, near Chartres, Abbat, 594.		
27	Julian, first Bishop of Le Mans, III. or IV. Cent.	The same.	
30	Bathildis, Queen, 680.		
	Radegund, V. 680.		Radegund, V. 680.
Feb.			
6	Vedastus, B. of Arras, 539.		Vedastus, B. of Arras, 539.
10	S. William de Mala Valle, Hermit, 1157.		
March			
1	Albinus, B. of Angers, 549.	The same.	
3		Guingalous, Abbat near Quimper, 532.	
6			Chrodegang, B. of Metz, 767.
10	Droctovus, 1st Abbat of S. Vincent at Paris, 578.		
12		Paul, 1 B. of S. Pol de Léon, 573.	
30	Regulus, 1 B. of Senlis, 320.		
April			
16		Paternus, 1 B. of Vannes, 448.	
22	Invention of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, 630.		
	Opportuna, V. 770.		
30	Eutropius, B. of Saintes and M. III. Cent.	Eutropius, B. of Saintes and M. III. Cent.	
May			
2			Translation of S. Clement, 1 B. of Metz, 1090.
4		Briocus, 1 B. of S. Brieuc, 502.	
11	Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.	Gildas, Abbat, VI. Cent.	
13		Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.	Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.
16	Honoratus, B. of Amiens, 600.		
19	Ivo, P. of Quimper, 1303.	Ivo, P. of Quimper, 1303.	
24	Donatian and Rogatian, M.M. 287	DONATIAN and ROGATIAN, M. M. 287.	
		(Greater Solemn.)	
28	Germanus, B. of Paris, 576.		
June			
1	Pothinus, B. of Lyons, Blandina, V. and 46 other Martyrs, 177.	As Paris.	As Paris.
3	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.
6			Claudius, Archbp. of Betançon, 581.
7		Mereadoc, B. of Vannes, 600.	
8	Medardus, B. of Noyon, 525.	As Paris.	As Paris.
10	Landeric, B. of Paris, 656.		
16		Similianus, B. of Nantes, IV. Century.	
18		Hervacius, Monk, near S. Pol de Léon, VI. Cent.	
21		Merennus, Abbat, near S. Maclou, 617.	

June	PARIS.	NANTES.	METZ.
25	Gohardus, Aglibertus, and their companions, Martyrs, III. Cent.	Gohardus, B. of Nantes, 843.	
28	Irenæus, B. of Lyons, and Doctor of the Church, M. 202.	As in Paris.	As in Paris.
30	S. Theobald, Hermit—Normandy, 1066.		

These six months will afford a very good example of local saints, since, with the exception of S. Hilary, S. Mamertus, S. Pothinus, and S. Irenæus, none of the holy men here commemorated have been received into the general Kalendar of the Church. Let us make another selection of the same kind; and this time, instead of comparing three Churches of the same nation, let us take three illustrious Churches of different nations. They shall be: Aberdeen for Scotland; Toledo for Spain; Cologne for Germany:—

Jan.	ABERDEEN.	COLOGNE.	TOLEDO.
7	Kentigerna, Matron.		
8	Nathalanus, Bish.		
9	Felanus, Abbot.		
11		Death of the Third King.	
16	Furse, Abbot.		
21			Fruosufus, Martyr.
23			ILDEFONSO, Archbp. of Toledo: Double of the Second Class, with an Octave.
24			Descent of the B. V. into the Cathedral of Toledo.
28			Julian, B. of Concha: Double of the Second Class.
29	Voloc, Bishop.		
30	Glaician, Bishop.		
Feb.			Valerius, B. of Saragossa: Octave of S. Ildefonso.
1			Cæcilius, B. and M.
5	Modanus, Abbot.		
12			First translation of S. Eugenius, Archbp. of Toledo.
17	Finnanus, B.		
18	Colmannus, B.		
March			
1	Monan, Confessor.	Huicbert, B.	Helladius, Archbp. of Toledo.
	Mornan, B.		
6	Baldric, B.		
8	Duthac, B.		
10	Keffog.		
11			Julian, Archbp. of Toledo.
			Eulogius, Presbyter and Martyr.
12	Constantine, King & Martyr.		
14	Kevoca, V.		
16		Heribert, B.	
18	Finian, B.		
26		Ludger, B.	

These three months may suffice as an example of the above fees. Now let us turn to another subject.

Besides the commemoration of Saints, there are in certain local Kalendars notices of national events, connected with the well-being of the Church. Thus, in the Parisian Breviary, we have on the 18th of August a commemoration of the victory of

Philip the Fair in Flanders, A.D. 1304. It is worth while to give the Lessons which refer to this event. In the first nocturn, the lessons of the occurring Scripture. In the second nocturn :—

FOURTH LESSON.

Philip the Fair, King of the French, in the year 1304, about the Feast of S. Mary Magdalene, having set forth with his brothers Charles and Louis, and a large army, into Flanders, pitched his tents near Mons, where was the camp of the rebel Flemings. But when, on the 18th of August, which was the Tuesday after the Assumption of S. Mary, the French had from morning till evening stood on the defence, and were resting themselves at nightfall : the enemy, by a sudden attack, rushed on the camp of the King with such fury, that the body-guard had scarce time to defend him.

R. Come from Lebanon, my Spouse, * come and thou shalt be crowned.† The odour of thy sweet ointments is above all perfumes. V. The Righteous Judge shall give a crown of Righteousness. Come. Glory. The odour.

FIFTH LESSON.

At the beginning of the fight, the life of the King was in great danger. But shortly after, his troops crowding together from all quarters to his tent, where the battle was sharpest, obtained an illustrious victory over the enemy. The pious King immediately understood that this had been won by no human hand, but from GOD, at the intercession of the Mother of GOD ; whence, with all humility, he ascribed the whole praise of the victory to Him Who had shown Himself the defender of the most righteous cause.

R. Thou art all fair, My Love, * there is no spot in thee : come from Lebanon, † the odour of thy garments is as the odour of incense. R. They that have not defiled their garments, they shall walk with Me in white, for they are worthy. There is no. Glory. The odour.

SIXTH LESSON.

But that the memory of such a benefit should be transmitted to posterity, and that due honour should be paid to the Virgin Mary for this celestial help, Philip, by a deed, dated in the Camp near Lille, in the month of September, gave to the Church of Paris an annual revenue of a hundred francs for ever for the use of the Dean and Chapter, on this condition, that this revenue should be distributed among those only who attend at the First Vespers, at Matins, and at Mass, on this day.

R. Righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the LORD shall be thy reward ; * the LORD shall fill thy mind with glory. V. An entrance shall be abundantly administered into the eternal kingdom. And the glory. Glory. The LORD.

This may serve as an example of so very undesirable a mixture of politics and religion. The great Triumph of the Cross, celebrated in all the Spanish Breviaries, on the 14th of July, stands on a very different footing, because it was that victory which crushed the Saracen power in Spain, and made that nation a part of the Christian republic of States. We will not trouble the reader with Responses ; but they are not unworthy of the subject : and the Lessons, from the various parts of the New Testament which treat of the Cross, are singularly beautiful. In

the Churches of Sardinia a most offensive service was in vogue till the end of the last century, in which the defeat of the French at Saffari was commemorated ; the hymns, to excite the popular passion to the utmost, were vernacular, and began thus :—

Muiran, muiran los Francesos,
 Ils trahidors de Saffarefos,
 Qui han fit la trahicio
 Al molt alt rey de Arago.

We ought now to speak of the various *memoria technica* which are to be found in most Kalendars. No doubt the ordinary run of uneducated priests in the Middle Ages found considerable difficulty in remembering the succession of Lessons which made up the Church's year. The barbarous verses in which they are set forth can only remind one of the *Memoria Technica* for the order of the Epistles, itself, we believe, of the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Rom. Cor. Cor. Gal. Ephes. Phil. Col. Thes. Theffalo. Tim. Tim.
 Tit. Phil. Hebrews, James, Pet. Pet. 3 John, Jude, Revelation.

Take, for example, these, which are from the Aberdeen Breviary :—

Post Tres Personas librum regum dare debes.

(It is scarcely necessary to observe that the *poet* would teach us that the Book of Kings is to be commenced after Trinity,—as we commence it now. He then goes on to tell us which Vigils are also Fasts.)

Nat. Domini, Penthe, Johan. Paul. sumptio sancta :
 Istis vigiliis jejunemus luceque Marci.
 Petrus et Andreas, Paulus, cum Simone, Judas,
 Ut jejunemus nos admonet, atque Matheus.

For July we have the following :—

Et post Sampsonem sapientem da Salomonem.

(That is, after the Feast of S. Sampson—some of our readers may remember his church at York—on July 28, the Wisdom of Solomon is begun.)

For August we have :—

Post Augustinum doctorem Job lege justum.

(That is, after S. Augustine's Day.)

In September :—

Tobiam dictum post Protum atque Jacintum :
 Subjungas Judith post vigiliamque Mathei :
 Post Sanctum Cofinam dabis historiam Macabeo.

(That is, Tobit is begun after the 11th of September, the Feast of SS. Protus and Jacinthus : Judith after the Vigil of S. Matthew : the Maccabees after S. Cosmas, Sept. 27.)

For October :—

Post Judam Simonem subjungas Ezekielem.

For November we have a very neat line :—

Adventus Domini sequitur solemnia Lini.

(That is, the first Sunday after the Feast of S. Linus, Nov. 26th, is Advent Sunday.)

Some such practical *memoriæ* have kept their place in village recitations ; thus :—

First comes David, then comes Chad,
Then comes Winnold as if he were mad.

Or again—and any one in the habit of daily service at the most usual time must often have admired its truth :—

S. Matthew, get candlesticks new :
S. Matthei, lay candlesticks by.

And so the well-known dread which mediæval ages had of the occurrence of Good Friday with the Annunciation, was expressed by :—

When our Lady falls in our LORD's lap,
Then let England look for mishap.

We had occasion to speak in a former paper of the tendency that existed, during the later period of the Middle Ages, to substitute, for the long Ferial Psalms, Saints'-day offices wherever it was practicable. We were not aware, when we wrote that article, of a singular rubric in some of the early German Breviaries ; we quote it from the Cologne :—

Et ideo nemo ascribat feriis in Calendario vacantibus sanctum aut sanctos, nisi Patronos ipsius legentis. Aliqui ex pigritiâ requirentes sanctum aut sanctos ex aliis Kalendariis, volentes illum aut illos servare ubi in Calendario predictæ ecclesiæ Feria vacat, ut non legantur Nocturni : illi errant. Quia debent servare id quod est debitum et institutum secundum majorem ecclesiam suæ diocesis et non quod est eis placitum ; secundum dictum beati Hieronymi qui dicit : Ingratum est Spiritui Sancto quidquid obtuleris, neglecto eo ad quod teneris.

We might also speak at some length of the Mediæval Festivals which later times have dispensed with altogether. Such, for example, were :—The Feast of the Invention of the Child, on the Friday after Sexagesima, for which several elegant hymns were written in German Breviaries ; the Feast of the Face of our LORD—a very pretty simple hymn may be seen on this day

in the Meissen Breviary; it was on the 15th of January; the Feast of the Blood of our LORD—this, in early Breviaries, is marked for the 26th of March. And the reason is, that to the 25th of March is attributed, in most Mediæval Kalendars, the Passion, and to the 27th the Resurrection. In Venice, this commemoration takes place on the first Friday in March; in the diocese of Linz on the Monday after Trinity. The Feast of the Passion is marked in many Breviaries for the 15th of November. The Feast of the Hair of our LORD was celebrated on the Thursday before Trinity Sunday, in some Churches where this relic was venerated. The Feast of the Milk of our Lady was not a very uncommon commemoration in Germany, and especially in the province of Salzburg, where a noted relic of this kind was kept: it was on the octave of the Nativity of S. Mary: and hence, no doubt, the title *Liebfrauenmilch* to the excellent German wine of that name. Again, there was the Feast of the Afs, which was celebrated at Rouen with such singular pomp, and in which, instead of Amen, the response to all the prayers was Hinhan. The Feast of the Division of the Apostles was a most celebrated one in Germany for the 15th of July, and has given rise to some of the finest early sequences which we possess. Many of the Gallican Breviaries occupy the Fridays of Lent with various commemorations of our LORD. For example: First Friday, the Feast of His Tears; Second, of the LORD'S Prayer; Third, of the LORD'S Discourses; Fourth, of the LORD'S Parables; Fifth, of the LORD'S Sufferings. These last-named commemorations, it need hardly be said, are among the very latest developments.

Among the curiosities of Mediæval Kalendars must be reckoned those half-religious, half-medical, verses which are to be found at the end of each month. Take, for example, the following, which occur in most of the Breviaries in North Italy. For January:—

In Jano claris calidisque cibis potiaris,
Atque decens potus tibi sit post fercula notus.
Sedet enim medo potatus ut bene credo;
Balnea tutus intres et venam findere cures.

We will give only one specimen more:—

Nascitur occulta febris Febuario multa:
Potibus et escis si caute minuere velis.
Tunc cave frigora, tunc de pollice funde cruorem:
Suge favum mellis; pectoris morbosque curabit.

One of the peculiarities of Mediæval Breviaries was the poetical character of Responsories and Antiphons for local Saints. Let us take a few examples from the Aberdeen book. The Antiphons on the Feast of S. Magnus, April 16, ran thus:—

1. Magnus ex profapia
Magnâ percreatus,
Actu, vitâ, moribus,
Major est probatus.

Beatus vir.

2. Prædis vacans promitur
Pravorum instinctu,
Et Paulus convertitur
In viæ procinctu.

Quare fremuerunt.

3. Saulus ecce Paulus fit;
Prædo fit patronus;
Persecutor factus est
Plebis Pastor bonus.

Domine quid.

Sometimes we have them in hexameters, as in the Feast of
S. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins :—

1. Purpureos flores cælesti rore madentes
Decreto Domini famosa Britannia misit.

Domine Dominus.

2. In cunis positæ Baptismi fonte renatæ
Et fidei veræ sunt legibus initiatæ.

Cæli enarrant.

3. Has pietatis amor sibi fœderat ordine miro;
Dum retrahit mundo festinat reddere cælo.

Domini est terra.

And sometimes the miracles of the Saints are related in a
way which to us has rather a ludicrous effect. Thus, at Lauds,
on S. Macharius's Day :—

1. Nullum dedit otio
Tempus: vel orabat
Semper, vel colloquiis
Divinis vacabat.

Dominus regnavit.

2. Fixo piscis gutture
Dron offe vexatur;
Sed ad Sancti subito
Preces liberatur.

Jubilare.

Now, remember that this feast was a *duplex principale* at
Aberdeen: the great day of the year, in fact: (many of our
readers will recollect the Cathedral of Old Machar.) And then
judge how greatly that Breviary stood in need of a thorough
Reformation, when Lauds, on one of its highest festivals, began
thus :—

Ant. 1. Never did he rest a whit:
 Either he was praying,
 Or in reading holy writ
 Pains and zeal displaying.

The Lord is King.

Ant. 2. In his throat a fish-bone lay;
 Dron was troubled greatly:
 But the Saint began to pray,
 And relieved him straightly.

O be joyful.

These rhyming verses are much more common in English and Scotch, than in Continental Breviaries. But Hexameters are also usual in German Offices. Take, for example, this specimen from the Cologne Breviary, on S. Lambert's Day. The Invitatory is:—

Eternum Trinumque Deum laudemus et Unum,
 Qui sibi Lambertum transvexit ad æthera sanctum.

The Antiphons to the first Nocturn are:—

1. Orbita solaris præsentia gaudia confert;
 Præfulis eximii Lamberti gesta revolvens. *Beatus vir.*
2. Hic fuit ad tempus Hildrici regis in aula:
 Dilectus cunctis et vocis fame dulcis. *Quare fremuerunt.*
3. Sed post ut fidei devotus dogmata sumpfit,
 Doctrinæ cumulos illi sapientia vexit. *Domine quid.*

But both in our own and the German Breviaries the Responses are frequently in that singular half-dactylic measure, which was so great a favourite with Mediæval writers. For example, take those on the Feast of S. Blaanus, the Patron of Dumblane, and a *duplex principale* in that Church:—

1. *R.* Adolescens Supremo placuit,
 Et se cunctis pium exhibuit;
 •Unde cælum ingredi meruit.
- V.* Vitæ verbum multis aperuit,
 Atque vitâ beatâ claruit.
 Unde.
2. *R.* Domat carnis motus illicitos:
 Vincit mundi conatus noxios.
 •Terit hostis antiqui tribulos.
- V.* Manus mentem cordis et oculos
 Pie tendens semper ad superos.
 Terit.

- 3 R. O res mira! sceptrum despicitur;
Atque mundi decus contempnitur;
• Et paupertas gratis eligitur.

V. Et totâ mente Christus diligitur,
Ac pro Christo Corpus affligitur.
Et.

It would be, as we have already hinted, an interesting inquiry which should investigate the different Breviaries which, since the invention of printing, have been employed in the Church. We have often wondered that no such attempt has been made. We know that each of the following countries had its own family: (1.) Portugal, with perhaps seven different Breviaries; the chief, Lisbon, Evora, Braga, Santa Cruz de Coimbra. All these we have studied. (2.) Spain, with twenty-two which we could count up, and probably as many more which we could not; the chief, Toledo, Seville, Santiago de Compostella, Oviedo, Valença, Salamanca, and, in later times, Granada and Cordova. (3.) France, with more than a hundred and fifty different rites, each of these to be divided into the Mediæval and Reformed arrangements. Of the Reformed arrangement, its three chief families are Paris, Amiens, and Rouen. Then again, (4.) Germany, of the offices of which we do not pretend to an equal knowledge, but should divide them into the principal families of Cologne, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Cracow, Ratisbon. Next (5.) Denmark, of which perhaps Roskild and Sleswig are the only two remarkable rites. Then (6.) Norway, with its one Breviary, Trondjem; (7.) Sweden, with its four; (8.) Lapland, with its one Åbo; (9.) that which is now Prussia, with five or six. Going southward—(10.) Italy; north, with five or six completely different families (we say nothing of Milan); Venice; Ravenna; Görz; Turin; also Switzerland, with the Genevan and Chur Uses. Of the south of Italy and Sicily, we say—for we are sorry to say we know—nothing; but that there must have been several families here we can have no doubt. Add together the rites we have already counted up, and then remember that they simply represent the secular aspect of the Church. We should, after this, have to enter not only into the various religious orders, themselves differing very widely from each other, as all from the secular Breviary, but into the national ramifications of those orders, which would make, for example, a Polish Premonstratensian Breviary utterly different from a Gallican Book of the same order; and then see what an enormous scope is open for Liturgical study, and that in a field in which absolutely nothing has been effected. We believe that the series of papers, of which this is one, is the only attempt which has been made, not only in England, but in

Europe, at a commencement, however poor and imperfect—miserably poor and imperfect it is—of the science of Comparative Liturgiology (if we may borrow a term from anatomy). At all events, if there are any such European attempts, they have excited little interest and produced no result. But that this science will be pursued, and to an extent of which we at present have little idea, we cannot doubt. We are sure that, in due time, given a Festival, and one or two of its leading points—say gradual, collect, and post-communion—and the genus and class of its Liturgical family will at once be pointed out. For, while we look forward to almost inconceivable progress in this study, we cannot close our eyes to what has been already done. Fifty years ago, it would have seemed incredible that, were a hymn which he had never before seen laid before a practised hymnologist, he would be able to tell you the nation of its writer, and the date, to say the least, within twenty years on one side or the other. Knowing what has been done in the past, we may, for the future—(and we use the words in no irreverent sense)—“thank GOD, and take courage.”





V.

THE MOZARABIC LITURGY.*



MIDST all the branches of the Catholic Church, the Spanish is that of which the history is the least intelligible. In other nations, the brighter, or obscurer phases of religion seem to be in connection with each other; there is a sequence in the progress of their ecclesiastical annals;—

one part explains the other, and we may obtain a practical lesson from the whole. But in Spain all seems out of joint. The five great epochs of the Church,—her annals before the Arian invasion—under the Arians—her restoration—the Mahometan conquest—her final victory,—bear no mutual correspondence; they are rather separate pieces of history, which have a forced and accidental connection, but no essential unity. There are, indeed, two keynotes which, unhappily, characterize the whole history of the Peninsular Church—laxity of morals, and violence in the propagation of the faith. She never appears as the uncorrupted Bride of CHRIST in the midst of an adulterous and sinful generation; she never appears as the tender, loving mother, the winner of Arian heretics or apostates. Faith is too often made to serve instead of purity;—and fire and sword are the means of propagating that faith.

How it was that Spain and Aquitaine were plunged into such an excess of licentiousness at the time of the Visigothic invasion, is one of those mysteries of ecclesiastical history that cannot be solved. The testimony of Salvian is no less fearful than decisive.

* Lateinische und Griechische Messen, aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert. Herausgegeben von Franz Joseph Mone, Archivdirector in Karlsruhe. Frankfurt am Main. 1850. [Latin and Greek Liturgies, from the second to the sixth century. Edited by F. J. Mone, Librarian at Karlsruhe.]

He imputes to his fellow Catholics, as open, as undenied, as notorious, as abounding in every city, crimes of which it is impossible to think without shuddering; and with these he contrasts the purity, the devotion, and the high morals of the Arian conquerors. Vandals in Africa, Suevi in Portugal, Visigoths in Spain, all found the same corruption, all won for themselves the same praise;—but Spain is the country that is branded with the deepest imputation of vice.* One of the few victories which Roman troops gained over the invaders, was won by a surprise on Sunday, when the heretics were at their devotions. Doubtless, the Arian domination purified the lives of the Catholics. The scum of the old, drifted off into the new establishment: pollution changed places, and GOD gave His Church another time of probation. The preaching of S. Martin of Dume, and the splendid career of S. Martin of Tours, touched the heart of Charraric, King of the Suevi: Gallicia returned to the faith. About twenty-five years later, the martyrdom of S. Hermenigild won his father, King Levigild, to an acknowledgment, if not to the profession, of the truth; and Recared, the brother and successor of the martyr, confessed the Consubstantial in the Third Council of Toledo. It is worth while to notice, that neither in this Synod, nor in that of Braga (A. D. 561), which reconciled Gallicia, is any hint given that immorality had widely spread among the laity: a melancholy contrast with the Canons afterwards passed when the establishment was Catholic.

A hundred and forty years brought back all, and more than, its old corruptions to the Church of Spain. The Moslems passed the strait. The empire of the Visigoths was dashed to pieces on the banks of the Guadalete. Emerging from a tumultuous conflict of civil war, Abderraham-ben-Moaviah establishes an independent emirate at Cordova. Six of his descendants succeed him in his title and in his power:—the seventh, Abderrahman III. takes the name of Khalif. Follow the long and weary struggles of the Ommiadæ and the Edrisites; till Spain falls into independent emirates, and the entry of the Almoravides in the eleventh century raises, for a while, the sinking fortunes of the Mussulmans, and gives them a further existence of four hundred years.

This is the history of more than three centuries. But in all that time, how little is there in the Church on which the annalist can dwell with pleasure! Valour everywhere displayed: city after city recovered to the faith: mosque after mosque reconciled:

* “*Quid ? Hispanias nonne vel eadem vel majora forsitan crimina perdidērunt ?*” is Salvian’s expression.

but of holiness, of purity, of love, little enough. Alfonso VI, the great monarch of Castile and Leon, the recoverer of Toledo, and the prop of the Spanish Church, had two concubines, besides his legitimate wives. As the Cross went on triumphing over the Crescent, though it be the golden age of Spain, S. Ferdinand is the one great and bright character of its mediæval annals.

Granada was taken : and then began that remarkable phase of religion which culminated in Philip II. Gloomy, morose, austere ; shutting out, like its churches, light and cheerfulness :—finding its palace in the Escorial, its architect in Herrera, its painter in Velasquez, its poet in Calderon, its life in Madrid, its funeral in the *Panteon de los Infantes*. Very grand it was and solemn : very moral and full of etiquette : as grave as the funeral saloon at Galapagar, and as pitiless as the Inquisition. And yet this system produced a Ximenes, and a S. Theresa.

Its externals remained after the War of Succession, but its life was gone. Plunging deeper and deeper, during the dynasty of the Bourbons, into sensuality and pollution, her monasteries spreading day by day, and day by day relaxing in fervour, the Spanish Church was dashed against the terrific onset of French infidelity. A Catholic people saw so-called Catholics exceed Mahometans in lust and sacrilege ; and so-called Protestants the guardians of their churches, the respecters of their property, the defenders of their honour. They saw a Soult worshipping one day the miraculous image of Bouças, and the next, massacring monks, polluting altars, and insulting nuns. They saw a sink of degradation and vice, like Ferdinand, expend his piety in embroidering a petticoat for S. Mary. And they saw honour, and courage, and moral conduct, among those alone whom they were taught to call heretics.

What wonder that the miserable result is Spain as we now see it ! A Clergy impoverished, but not holy ;—a middle class, when not utterly careless, utterly infidel : a peasantry, with all the seeds of faith yet strong in their hearts, but finding no other nourishment for it than the wildest excesses of Mariolatry ;—expending all their devotion on the *Corte de Maria en sus mas celebres imagines*, and worked up to such horrid blasphemies as *Viva la Santissima, y muerte a todos los Dios ! **

* The urging the most extreme worship of S. Mary, as the remedy for a corrupt age, is remarkably exemplified by a sermon of the great Portuguese divine, Antonio Vieira, a preacher whose eloquence ranks him with Massillon or Bossuet, and whose practical inculcation of duties sets him above them. Preaching at Maranhão, in Brazil, in the year 1657, a city at that time rivalling Sodom in wickedness, and taking for his subject *Our Lady of Light*, he draws a parallel between our Lady as the Light, and our LORD as the Sun. And his sermon turns on these four heads :—that the light has higher

But it is even more curious to trace from the very earliest times that headstrong violence which is the great characteristic of the Spanish Church. The persecution of Priscillian by Idacius and Ithacius, set the first example of death for heresy. The unauthorized introduction of single assuision into the Ritual, and of the *Filioque* into the Creed, opened the door for the disastrous schism of East and West. Even the martyrs were not free from the needless provocation of their persecutors. S. Eulalia under Diocletian;—the Martyrs of Cordova and S. Eugenius himself, under the Moslems, did their utmost to bring on themselves the sword of their tyrant. Seven centuries of a war for the propagation of the faith,—seven centuries of partial intermixture with a people that had spread the Koran by the sword,—a perpetual crusade, and such victories as Navas de Tolosa, Campo d' Ourique, and the river Salado, could not but foster this warlike spirit. The intermixture of Moors and Jews, when Spain became a Christian monarchy, found an easier cure in the Inquisition than

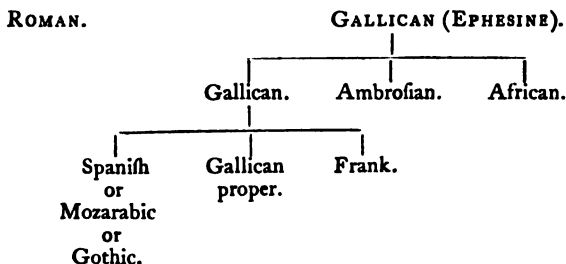
privileges than the sun : is more benignant : is more universal : is more ready to hasten to our relief. ("Primeyra razão : porque a Luz he mais privilegiada que o Sol. Segunda : porque he mais benigna. Terceyra : porque he mais universal. Quarto : porque he mais apressada para nosso bem.") It is no wonder that the sermon should draw to its conclusion thus : (the quotation will be new to most of our readers, and we make no apology for giving it) :—"Having thee,"—he is addressing S. Mary,—“on one side, and thy Son on the other, that great servant and lover of both said : *Positus in medio, quo me vertam nescio*. And when Augustine confesses that he knows not, ignorance is pardonable. *Ut minus sapiens dico*, I speak as one that is ignorant, Most Holy Virgin, (let thy Son pardon me or not,) I, for my part, would rather turn to thee. He once left His Father for His mother, He will not think it strange if I do the same. Let him that will have the prerogative of Esau, I prefer the good luck of Jacob. Esau was more loved and more favoured by his father : Jacob was more favoured and more loved by his mother : and Jacob carried off the blessing. And why? From the cause of which we have already spoken ;—because the exertions of his mother were more prompt than those of his father . . . The mother of Jacob represented, in this occurrence, the most holy Mother, and he that has on his side the exertions of this Mother, always has on his side the will of God. Esau had the exertions of his father ; but when he arrived, he arrived late, because, *notwithstanding all the exertions that the Sun can make, those of the Light arrive sooner*. . . . This is that glorious difference which Saint Anselm dared to say once, and all have repeated after him so many times,—‘Salvation is sometimes more speedy by calling on the name of Mary, than by invoking the name of Jesus.’ Sometimes, said the saint, *and I could wish that he had said always, or almost always*.” This last sentence is an excellent illustration of the manner in which an oratorical passage of an early or mediæval writer is brought forward as the groundwork of an enormous superstructure of dogmatic teaching, and how recklessly a clear rank forgery is attributed to a father like S. Augustine. We would not have done Vieira the dishonour of quoting the above passage, did we not hope for another opportunity of doing justice to that most eloquent preacher and devoted missionary.

in Missionaries ; just as Ximenes carried the standard of the Cross, like an earthly warrior, into the empire of Morocco, and Mexico was dragooned by Spanish adventurers into the love of Christ.

But it is with the Liturgy, rather than with the history, of the Spanish Church that we are now concerned ;—and to that let us direct our attention.

The Spanish writers, influenced by a strange kind of national pride, are wedded to two assertions : the first, that their Liturgy emanated from S. Peter, and was, therefore, the same as the original Roman Mass ; the second, that while the Peninsula stuck fast to the early rite, Rome, by successive developments, departed from it. We shall see, by-and-bye, how impossible is this hypothesis. Pinius, the learned Bollandist, who, to the thirty-second volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, beginning with the 6th of July, prefixed a Dissertation on the Hispanic Liturgy, maintains that it was introduced by the Goths at their conquest of the country, and was thus derived, as their Church was, from Constantinople. This also, we shall see, from its structure, to have been impossible : while, even were other circumstances in favour of the hypothesis, it is incredible that Catholic Bishops would have surrendered their own national formulæ, for the purpose of accepting the office of invaders and heretics.

But the truth is, as it has generally been confessed since the investigations of Ruinart and Mabillon, that the Mozarabic is simply an order of the two great classes of Western Liturgies. If exhibited in a tabular form, they would stand thus :—



The names, however, of these are extremely ill-contrived ; the great generic term Gallican, as opposed to Roman, and signifying that form of Liturgy which was apparently derived from Asia Minor, (and so from S. John,) and which received its earliest development in the Church of Lyons ;—this term, we say, is exceedingly inapplicable, and yet none other has been proposed in its stead. So again the title of Gothic, as applied to the Spanish

mass, which is not in any sense Gothic, is absurd; while the name of Mozarabic, given to an office which was used long before the Arabic invasion, is not less contrary to common sense. None proposes the name of Celtic, which would, at all events, be an improvement on the other titles.

We shall find, as we advance, ample cause to conclude, that the groundwork of the present Mozarabic Liturgy is coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Spain, but that the Goths may possibly have added, and S. Leander certainly did introduce, some approximations to the Oriental rite. From the re-establishment of the Catholic faith our way becomes comparatively clear.

In the first place, it appears that when Galicia returned to the fold of the Church, the National Office was so deeply corrupted both by Priscillianism and by Arianism, that the Roman Liturgy was adopted in its stead. "It was agreed," says the fourth Canon of Braga, "that masses should be celebrated by all according to the same rite which Profuturus, formerly Bishop of this Metropolitan Church, received in writing from the authority itself of the Apostolic see:" that is, from Pope Vigilius, in his letter of March 1, 538. Thus the Spanish rite was in that province thenceforth at an end.*

The Council of Toledo, however, in 589, pursued a different course. The national rite was here examined and made uniform. S. Leander of Seville, the life and soul of that Synod, and the intimate friend of S. Gregory the Great, seems to have reformed and digested it: and he, no doubt, who had been on a mission to Constantinople, introduced some of the Orientalisms which are still to be found in the office. From him it passed on to S. Isidore of Seville, who so much improved, and so largely developed it, as to be called by some its author. John of Saragossa, S. Conantius of Palencia, S. Eugenius, and S. Ildefonso, all added to the Spanish offices;—the latter especially composed a large number of those that now stand in the Ximenian books;—and thus the rite came down to the Mahometan invasion. It then assumes the name of the Mozarabic office; a title which has strangely puzzled scholars, and given rise to the most absurd derivations: without adverting to such explanations as have been by some seriously adduced, that it was a rite suited for the common worship of Christians and Mahometans. Some will have it to be properly the Mixto-arabic or Mixtarabic rite; that

* Leslie, in the fourteenth section of his dissertation *De Liturgiâ Gallicanâ*, endeavours to explain away the Canon of Braga; but, as it seems to us, very unsuccessfully.

is, the rite of those Christians who lived mixed among the Arabs. Others have invented a word "Musa," which, according to them, means a Christian. But this derivation rests on about the same authority which good old Durandus gives for the word *blasphemy*: from *blas*, a woman, and *pheme*, to talk : because women generally talk folly. Others* will have Musa, one of the original conquerors of Spain, to have been a principal friend to the Christians, who, out of gratitude to him, prefixed his name to the Sacramentary. A thing utterly contrary to common sense : besides that they would surely have compounded, in that case, the word *Muso-Christians*, not *Muso-Arabs*. The real derivation is simple enough : *Arab Arabe* signifying an Arab by descent (like a Hebrew of the Hebrews), *Arab Most-Arabe*, an Arab by adoption, and the latter term gradually having been softened into *Mozarabet*, and applied to the Liturgy.

We may well conceive with what corruptions the office must have become vitiated, from the mere course of centuries passed in an infidel population. But another circumstance occurred which not only brought it into suspicion, but actually infected many of its copies with heresy. Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, introduced, in the year 783, his new teaching concerning the Filiation of the SON of GOD. His dogma, that our LORD, in so far as Man, was not the SON of GOD by nature, but by adoption, was clearly diluted Nestorianism; and as such met with the most determined opposition from Alcuin, and the orthodox prelates of France, and was finally condemned in the great Council of Frankfort. Elipandus, in order to support his teaching, had either falsified various passages in the Mozarabic Office, or had found them corrupted to his hand by the negligence of transcribers; and thus he produced such expressions as these : *Qui per adoptivi hominis Passionem dum suo non pepercit corpori*; and again, *Hodie Salvator noster, post adoptionem carnis, sedem repetiit Deitatis*. The Fathers of Frankfort, without inquiring whether the quotations were genuine or not, reply :—"It is better to believe the testimony of GOD the FATHER concerning His SON, than that of your Ildefonso, who composed such prayers for you in the Office of Mass, as the holy and uni-

* P. Florez, in discussing the origin of the word, makes an admission which certainly one would not have expected from the first ecclesiastical writer of Spain. "Yo no entiendo el Arabigo, pero hallo en el *vocabulista* que Christo entre los Arabes se nombre Macih : y si esto no basta para el asunto, me remito a los inteligentes de este idioma." This is as bad as for a writer on the Anglo-Saxon Church to be ignorant of Anglo-Saxon.

† Hercolano very well observes (tom. i. p. 54) : "A denominação *mos-arabes* prevaleceu : mas é notavel que ainda no foral de Toledo, dado por Afonso VI, no principio do seculo xii., sejam chamados *mosfarabes*."

“verſal Church of GOD never heard ;”—and they even attribute the yoke of the Muſſulmans to the impiety of ſuch a ritual. But Alcuin ſaw more clearly, and boldly reproached Elipandus with having changed *affumpti* and *affumptionem* into *adoptivi* and *adoptionem*. Still, it is eaſier to give a bad name than to remove it. The heresy of Elipandus fell ; but an opinion got afloat that there was ſomething not altogether right about the office which he had quoted in its ſupport. It was formally approved, however, by John X. about A.D. 920, and ſeemed then to bid fair to remain the national uſe of Spain.

But Rome, with that intolerance of other rites which has ſo incalculably injured eccleſiaſtical antiquity, had her eye fixed on the Spaniſh Liturgy. The troublous pontificate of Alexander II. did not hinder him from determining to effect its abolition. Cardinal Hugo Candidus was charged as Legate with this affair : but the Spaniſh Biſhops preſſed him ſo convincingly with the names of S. Leander, S. Iſidore, and S. Ildeſonſo, and with the formal approbation of Pope John X, that he returned to Rome without accompliſhing his object. The Biſhops of Calahorra, Oca, and Alava, were deſpatched to Italy to defend the national rite ; and they found the Pope engaged in the Council of Mantua. The Breviary, Miſſal, and Ritual were expoſed to a rigorous examination of nineteen days, and were not only declared exempt from all ſuſpicion of heresy, but pronounced worthy of the higheſt praiſe.

The continual efforts of Rome, however, were at laſt ſucceſſful. In Aragon, the Roman office was firſt introduced in the moſtatory of S. Juan de la Peña, on March 22, 1071, being the Tueſday of the ſecond week in Lent. Its introduction into the kingdom of Caſtile is more curious. Affonſo VI, after various negotiations with Pope S. Gregory VII. and S. Hugh, Abbat of Cluny, both of whom threw a great deal of miſtaken zeal into the matter, determined on denationaliſing the Church of Toledo. In ſome parts of his kingdom he experienced little reſiſtance ; in others the diſſatisfaction was extreme. The fate of the two offices was committed, as a truly Spaniſh *ratio ultima*, to the trial of arms. Juan Ruiz, a native of Matanza del Rio Piſuerga, was champion of the Mozarabic office ; the name of the knight who ſupported the Roman is not recorded. Whoever he were, he had the worſe cauſe and the weaker arm, and paid for his raſhneſs with his life. The King was unconvinced, and reſorted to another trial. A fire was kindled, and the two miſſals were thrown together into the flames. That of Rome was conſumed ; that of Toledo leaped forth unhurt. Affonſo then interpoſed his ſimple authority ; and commanded the abolition of

the Spanish rite. This was done : but not without great difficulty ; and the proverb was made on the occasion :—

Quo volunt Reges
Vadunt leges ;

in Spanish :—

Donde quieren Reyes,
Ali van leyes ;

or, in English :—

Laws muft
Where Kings luft.

When Toledo, however, was reconquered by Affonso, the Christians rose as one man against the abolition of their rite in this its mother city. The matter was finally compromised by a royal decree, that, while the Roman use should be introduced in the new churches, the national rite should remain in those of ancient foundation ; and it thus continued in the churches of S. Mary, S. Mark, S. Eulalia, S. Torquatus, SS. Justa and Rufina, S. Luke, and S. Sebastian.* To these churches various privileges were given from time to time by different Spanish sovereigns ; especially by Affonso the Wise, by Peter the Cruel, and by Ferdinand and Isabella. Notwithstanding these favours, the Roman use gradually insinuated itself even into the Mozarabic foundations ; and, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the national rite was said only on high festivals, and even then in a corrupted form, and from uncritical MSS. An attempt was made to restore it in 1436, by Juan de Tordesillas, Bishop of Segovia. He, in that year, founded the College of S. Maria de Aniago, at the junction of the Pisuerga with the Duero, for thirteen clerks, who should be bound by "Gothic" Rite ; but it lasted only five years, and then became a Carthusian foundation.

It remained for the great Cardinal Ximenes to renew this venerable office. His was a career which shows the corruption of the times, in nearly as strong characters as it proves the excellence of the man. Thrown into prison for the firmness with which he maintained his pretensions to an expectative obtained

* Mr. Ford, in his account of the Mozarabic Rite, is as incorrect as he usually is, when touching on matters of religion. "The features," says he, "of this Ritual are its simplicity,"—it is about the most complicated use that exists,—and absence of auricular confession (!). The prayers and collects are so beautiful, that many have been adopted into our Prayer-book." It is scarcely necessary to say, that not one prayer, distinctively Mozarabic, has been so adopted.

from the Pope, he finally triumphed over the Archbishop of Toledo, though both justice and worldly power were on the side of the latter ; and then, not feeling himself safe in that diocese, changed his benefice for a cure at Sigüenza. Made Vicar-general, he was so oppressed by business that he sought refuge among the Franciscans. From the solitary convent, where he led a life of primitive austerity, he was drawn forth to be Confessor to Queen Isabella. To that office he was soon compelled to add the dignity of Provincial of his order, and commenced that reform which was no less hated than necessary. Elevated against his will to the Metropolitan See of Toledo, then the first station for ecclesiastical wealth and influence in Europe, he carried on his reformation ; and the laxity which it superseded is shown by the fact that more than a thousand religious passed into Africa, and there apostatized, rather than embrace it. The Archbishop's gentleness to the Moors, whose kingdom of Granada had just fallen, drew multitudes to the Church. His zeal, however, was not altogether according to knowledge, when he caused foldstul to be baptized at once by aspersion, and by one name.

He had hardly been consecrated to Toledo, when he determined on restoring the Mozarabic Office, then in the very last stage of decay. His first step was to print the office books. He entrusted the collation of MSS. to the Doctor Alfonso Ortiz, a man of considerable learning, and to three Priests of Mozarabic churches. The Missal appeared in 1500, and the Breviary in 1502. We shall have occasion hereafter to notice how far the work, with all its excellences, falls short of representing the original and uncorrupted Mozarabic Rite. The Archbishop next erected the Mozarabic chapel, which still exists, at the west end of the cathedral of Toledo, and endowed it for the maintenance of thirteen chaplains ; and he obtained the confirmation of this foundation in two Bulls of Julius II. The office, as seen in the struggling light of a grey morning,—the black silent figures kneeling on the floor,—the five unequal arches that divide the chapel from the cathedral,—the tapers here and there showing like the virtues of a good man in a naughty world,—all has a most striking effect. The chapel itself is in plain Italian taste, and has nothing remarkable, but a Mosaic Madonna, after Guido, over the altar. The example of Ximenes was followed by the foundation (1517) of a similar chapel in the cathedral of Salamanca, where fifty-five Mozarabic masses were said in the year : and of another (1567) attached to the parish church of S. Mary Magdalene, at Valladolid, for two masses every month. When Florez wrote, (that volume was published in 1748,) all these foundations were flourishing ; and in the Mozarabic churches of

Toledo, the office of the Titular Saints was said according to the national use; while in that of S. Justa, the Feast of the Samaritan Woman was observed according to that ritual, on the first Sunday in Lent, and a sermon preached on the subject.

The present state of the Mozarabic Rite is this. It continued, theoretically at least, both in the Ximénian chapel, and in the seven churches of Toledo (with the exception of that of S. Mary, which disappeared, we know not how, some centuries ago), till 1842. In that year the government suppressed a large number of parishes throughout the country. Four of the then existing Mozarabic churches of Toledo shared the same fate, and their parishioners, eight or nine hundred in number, were aggregated to the two remaining ones, S. Justa and S. Mark. The Clergy of the Mozarabic parishes have formed, since the time of Ximenes, one body with the chaplains of his foundation. The latter are by the Concordat reduced from thirteen to nine: by the same document the continuance of the two Mozarabic parishes, as such, is guaranteed, and the parochial mass in the latter is now *always* Mozarabic. The foundation at S. Mary Magdalene, at Valladolid, is extinct. That at Salamanca at present remains, but no provision is made for its continuance in the Concordat. Pope Julius III, in 1553, regulated the question of mixed marriages between Roman and Mozarabic Christians. The children belong to the rite of the father; but there is an exception in favour of the eldest daughter of a Mozarabic family. Though she marry a Roman Christian, she and her husband are at liberty, at their marriage, to choose the rite to which she and her children will belong,—and becoming a widow, she is again permitted to make her choice.

Even in the middle of the sixteenth century, the price of a Missal had amounted to thirty doubloons; and Paul III. actually sent an envoy to Toledo, in order that he might procure a copy for the Vatican Library. In the time of Florez, a copy was unattainable; and it so remained till Alexander Leslie published at Rome, in 1755, his valuable and laborious edition. The manner in which he speaks of the Mozarabic Office shows how little it was then known even to the learned of that day. In 1775, the great and good Cardinal Lorenzana reprinted the Breviary at Madrid.* In 1804, the Missal appeared at Rome, after the death of that prelate, but at his expense; Faustinus Arevalus was the editor. And this is not only the most pro-

* Lorenzana had, while Archbishop of Mexico, reprinted the Ordinary of the Liturgy, and the French Office, at *Puebla de los Angeles*, in 1760.

curable, but the most valuable edition, and that to which we shall refer.*

We will now examine the structure of the Office itself, and compare it with the Gallican and African Uses as we go along.

But as we have just considered the various editions of the Mozarabic Office, it will be well to particularize what has been done for the Gallican Liturgy. Cardinal Thomassius edited, at Rome, in 1680, three Missals of that rite, which had belonged to the monastery of Florens, and when that was sacked by the Huguenots in 1563, found their way to the Vatican. Mabillon, in 1685, re-edited these, together with a Gallican Lectionary, which he discovered in the monastery of Luxieu. He afterwards discovered a Gallican Missal in the monastery of Bobio,† and published it in his "*Museum Italicum*." Still later, Martene and Durand printed, in their "*Thesaurus Novus*," a MS. from the monastery of S. Martin, at Autun, containing two epistles on the subject of the Gallican rite, which they attributed—whether correctly or not—to S. Germanus, of Paris. But one of the most important Liturgical discoveries of modern times is contained in the work which stands at the head of this paper. M. Mone, who is Librarian at Karlsruhe, is engaged in collecting the original writers of the History of Baden. In the library there exists a Commentary of S. Jerome on S. Matthew, the first leaves being of the seventh, the rest of the eighth century. It came from the Abbey of Reichenau, and contains, in a later hand, and in blacker ink, at the end, *Benedicat Deus Johanni Episcopo et congregationi nostræ*. This points out John II. Bishop of Constance, and Abbat of Reichenau, (A.D. 760—781.) Hence, the *later* part of the MS. is coeval with S. Pirmin, the founder of Reichenau, who died in A. D. 754. It is not, then, unnatural to conclude, as the former part of the MS. is earlier than the foundation of the Abbey, that S. Pirmin brought it with him from his native Austrasia. But the MS. is clearly palimpsest. M. Mone, anxious to examine it for his historical Collection, ascertained that the old ink only was metallic, and by the application of suitable chemical agents, he was thus enabled to restore the first MS. without destroying the second. He there discovered fragments of eleven Gallican Masses, written on forty-five leaves, but sadly cut about to suit the formation of the new work. The variable

* [The Ordinary has been reprinted by Dr. Daniel, in his "*Codex Liturgicus Eccl. Catholicæ*," and by myself in my "*Tetralogia Liturgica*." I have also translated it in my "*Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church*."]

† The MS. Bobiense is not strictly Gallican, but rather an amalgamation of that with the Roman Use.

parts only of the Masses are given, and M. Mone devotes a learned dissertation to the discovery of their age. He proves incontestably that the Mass, No. 5, is at least as old as A.D. 305. He renders it highly probable that it is contemporary with the persecution at Lyons, A. D. 177. We shall use these, as well as Mabillon's Masses, in illustrating the Mozarabic.

Passing by the *Præparatio Missæ*, in which it is almost impossible to distinguish what may have been of ancient use, what received from the mediæval Church of Toledo, and what the additions of Cardinal Ximenes,—we will commence with the OMNIUM OFFERENTIUM, or Lesser Missal; that is, the common of every Mass. It has received this name, either from its being necessarily used by all priests that offered that sacrifice; or because the oblation of the chalice concluded with the words, *et omnium offerentium, et eorum, pro quibus offertur, peccata indulget*. The Confession having been made in the Roman manner, the genuine office commences with the *Ad Missam Officium*, which answers to the Roman *Introit*, the Ambrosian *Ingressa*, the Gallican *Antiphona*, or the *Antiphona ad prælegendum*. The name *Officium* is just as usual in mediæval Missals, as the better known *Introit*. The original Gregorian form of the Introit, and the modern Roman Use, will be best shown in parallel columns. We give that for the first Sunday in Advent:—

GREGORIAN.

Antiphona ad Introitum. To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up my soul: my GOD, I have put my trust in Thee: O let me not be confounded: neither let mine enemies triumph over me. For all they that trust in Thee shall not be confounded.

To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.

Psalms. xxiv. Shew me Thy ways, O LORD; teach me Thy paths.

To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.

Glory be to the FATHER, &c.

To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.

Vers. ad repetendum. Lead me forth in Thy truth, and learn me: for Thou art the GOD of my salvation: in Thee hath been my hope all the day.

MODERN ROMAN.

Introitus. To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up be confounded.

Psalms. Shew me Thy ways, O LORD: teach me Thy paths.

Glory be to the FATHER, &c.

To Thee, O LORD, have be confounded.

The triple repetition of the Antiphon seems to have been

abolished at Rome about 1480, but is retained in our own printed Sarum books.

The Mozarabic *Officium* for the same Sunday is as follows :—

Off. Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that preacheth glad tidings of peace, Alleluia : and telleth good things, Alleluia : celebrate, O Judah, thy feasts, Alleluia : and pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.

V. The LORD gave the word : great was the company of the preachers.

*Pfalm.** And pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.

V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, unto ages of ages. Amen.

Pfalm. And pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.

Priest. Always, unto all ages of ages.

R. Amen.

The *Officium*, however, is not always from the Psalms, nor always even from Scripture. That on the Epiphany is exceedingly remarkable, as proving the great age of the Mass. It runs thus :—

Ye that have been baptized into CHRIST have put on CHRIST ; Alleluia.

V. Ye are the blessed of the LORD, who hath made heaven and earth.

Now these words clearly refer to the custom of a public baptism of Catechumens at the Epiphany, as on Easter and Whit Sunday ; but this was complained of as an abuse by S. Himerius of Tarragona, to S. Damasus, about 380, and abolished by S. Siricius ; and therefore we cannot conceive this *Officium* to have a later date than the middle of the fourth century, while it may be much earlier. The “glory and honour” of the Doxology is a Spanish use, sanctioned under pain of anathema by the fourth (sixth) Council of Toledo, and grounded on the ascriptions of praise by David, and in the Apocalypse.

The *Gloria in Excelsis* follows, which is so beautifully mentioned by the Fathers of the same Council, as having been begun in heaven and ended on earth ; and at its conclusion, the Priest repeats the words, *Always, for all ages of ages. Amen.* According to the ancient Use of the Gotho-Hispanic Church, the *Gloria in Excelsis* was said daily ; as we learn from Etherius and Beatus ; it is now omitted, after the Roman Use, in Advent and Lent.

Next comes a Collect which, though it occupies the place of the Collect for the Day in the Roman Liturgy, is not, as we shall see, the same thing. This answers to the Ambrosian

* This word, in Mozarabic MSS, is always written *ps*. Arevalus decides that it means *Psalmus*, and we follow him because of his unrivalled experience : else we should have been disposed, with others, to interpret the contraction *Prefbyter*.

Oratio super Populum, though that precedes the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and to the Gallican *Collectio post Prophetiam*. The Mozarabic prayer, in this place, is not, strictly speaking, proper to the day. For example :—the same *Oratio* here occurs throughout Advent ; the same through Easter-tide ; the same, for the most part, as the festivals of Martyrs. We give that for Easter : the commencement without *Oremus*, and the double ending, is common to all the Mozarabic Collects :—

To Thee we ascribe praise, O LORD our GOD ; and we beseech Thy power that, as Thou didst vouchsafe to die for us sinners, and didst again, after the third day, appear illustriously in the glory of Resurrection ; so we, absolved by Thee, may merit to have in Thee perpetual joy : in like manner as Thou hast given us an example of true Resurrection.

R. Amen.

Priest. Through Thy mercy, O our GOD, Who art blessed, and livest, and governest all things unto ages of ages.

R. Amen.

This prayer having been ended, the Priest continues : “ The LORD be ever with you. R. And with thy spirit.” And then follows the Prophecy. More of that presently. We will first parallelize the Mozarabic with the Gallican form, for the sake of making our remarks clearer :—

MOZARABIC.

Oratio.

Leſſio Veteris Testamenti.

Pſallendo.

Epistola.

Evangelium.

GALLICAN.

Benedictus.

Oratio post Prophetiam (= *Collectio*).

Leſſio Veteris Testamenti (vel *Passio Sanctorum*).

Pſalmus responsorius.

Epistola.

Evangelium.

Now, it was formerly thought, and Mabillon* and Ruinart† expressly say, that the *Collectio* of the Gallican Office followed the reading of the Lesson from the Old Testament. The reason is, that it is usually named in the Gallican Missals *Collectio post Prophetiam*, or simply *Post Prophetiam* ; and as the Old Testament Lesson was generally called the Prophecy, it seemed to ensue that the *Collectio* followed that Lesson. The mistake was natural and almost necessary in those two great scholars, to speak slightly of whom could prove nothing but the writer's

* Liturg. Gall. i. 5. 4.

† In Appendice ad S. Gregor. Turon. Opp. p. 1357.

own folly. But when Martene and Durand published the *The-saurus Novus*, the sermons of S. Germanus proved clearly enough that the *Prophetia* meant the *Benedictus*, which was sung antiphonally after the *Præfatio*; and that the *Collectio post Prophe-tiam* followed *that*, but preceded the Lesson from the Old Testa-ment. This was plainly seen by Vezzosi,* and, therefore, there is the less excuse for Daniel and Mone, who have fallen back into the old error. The *Collectio* of the Fourth Mass of Thomajus clearly refers to the *Benedictus* :—

Ortus es nobis verus Sol justitiæ, Jesu Christe, venisti de cœlo humani generis Redemptor. *Erexisti nobis cornu salutis*, et cœli Genitoris Proles per-petua, *genitus in domo David propter priscorum oracula vatum*.

The reference is not less manifest in Mone's Fourth Mass :—

Dum profetica dicta nostræ devotionis comitamur obsequiis, et benedic-tionem reddimus gratias, et vicissitudinem *pro visitatione desolvemus*, et quia Omnipotens *plebi suæ fecit in domo David cornu erectionis*, et gaudio afflig-nans, post spacia temporum, *vaticinia profetarum gressusque nostros* et [sed potius in] *via pacis dirigens* et salutis p. d. n.m. Jhm. Xpm.

Benedictus, however, formed no part of the Mozarabic Rite; which proceeded, after the *Oratio*, to the Lesson of the Old Testament, prefaced by the Priest with, "The Lord be ever with you. *R.* And with thy spirit." The use of the Prophecy was shared by the Mozarabic in common with the African, Gallican, and Ambrosian Offices. The references in S. Augustine clearly prove the Use of Africa. The sermons of S. Germanus, and the allusions of S. Gregory of Tours, make it manifest as regards Gaul. The Ambrosian Rite had formerly a Prophecy in every Mass; that Lesson is now confined to Lent, and to a few festivals. The Roman Church only adopted† the Prophecy on certain occasions, as the Ember seasons; and here is the first great difference that we find between that Ritual and the Mozarabic. The Prophecies of the latter call for no particular remark. In

* Thomas. Opp. tom. vi. p. 204, note (2).

† The present Roman Use on the Ember days, is this :—On the Wed-nesday, the Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel; on the Friday, Epistle and Gospel; on the Saturday, five Prophecies, Epistle and Gospel. It has been asked why the Friday has no Prophecy? We doubt if any better reason can be given than that of Berno: "In quart feri duæ lectiones leguntur, ut hi, qui in Sabbato sunt consecrandi, admoneantur ut notitiam legis et prophetarum habeant, quæ maxime in quartâ ætate vigeat. [And so V. Bede: *Hebrea gens Davidico Regno refulsit incluta Ætate pandens actuum Quarta jubar sublimium.*] Sexta feria una tantum legitur, quia Lex et Pro-phetia in uno Evangelio recapitulantur, quod nunc in sextâ mundi ætate præ-dicatur ac legitur.

Easter-week the Epistles to the Seven Churches supply their place, and through Easter-tide other parts of the Apocalypse.

The Prophecy is concluded with the *Amen* of the People; and the Priest reiterates, "The Lord be ever with you. *R.* And with thy spirit." On certain festivals, the Hymn of the Three Children, or rather a cento from it, is here sung. This was the universal use in Spain, and is enjoined by the Fourth Council of Toledo in every Mass. It was also the custom in the Gallican Office, as we are expressly told by S. Germanus in his explanation of that rite.

Follows the *Pfallendo*, or *Pfalterium*. This is to the Prophecy what the Roman Gradual is to the Epistle; and exactly answers to the Ambrosian *Pfalmellus*, and to the Gallican *Pfalmus responsorius*: another similarity between the Uses. The form is always this: the *Pfallendo* for the Fourth Sunday in Advent:—

Pfallendo. Then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the LORD, for He shall come. *V.* O sing unto the LORD a new song: sing unto the LORD, all the whole earth. *P.* For He shall come.

Or this, for the Eighth Sunday after Epiphany:—

Pfall. GOD is a righteous Judge, strong and patient: and GOD is provoked every day. *V.* I will give thanks unto the LORD, according to His righteousness: yea, I will praise the name of the LORD Most High. *Ps.* Every day.

The *Pfallendo* is always from the Psalms, except in Ximenian additions, and so it would seem to have been in the Gallican Office.

On the first five Sundays in Lent, the *Pfallendo* is followed by a Missal Litany, which is closely connected with the Ectene of the Greeks, and also existed in the Gallican and Ambrosian, perhaps in the African, Church. At Milan, it is still said on the Sundays in Lent. The Mozarabic Litanies are, on the first, second, and third Sundays, addressed to our LORD: they are, more remarkably, on the fourth and fifth, put into His mouth.

But we now wish to draw the reader's attention to a very remarkable fact, which, so far as we know, has not yet been noticed by ritualists: that the Mozarabic ectenæ are metrical. They are printed as prose, and have contracted various errors, which make them read like prose; but their metrical character is clear enough when once pointed out. And we think we shall be doing a service to ritualists if we print them here for the first time as

they ought to be. We confeſs that, if we ſhall perſuade the reader to think with us, we ſhall feel a little natural pride at having obſerved an important peculiarity, which had eſcaped the notice of Lorenzana, of Leſlie, and even of Arevalus. Here, then, they follow :—

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A 1. Jeſu Unigenite
Dei Patris Fili, qui
Es univerſæ
Bonitatis Dominus :
<i>Placare et miſerere.</i></p> <p>A 2. Cuncti te gemitibus
Exorantes poſcimus :
Cunctique ſimul
Deprecantes quæſumus.
<i>Placare.</i></p> <p>B 1. Tua jam clementia
Mala noſtra ſuperet :
Tuo jam ſereno
Vultu in nos reſpice.
<i>Placare.</i></p> <p>B 2. Remove perpetuo
Tuam iracundiam :</p> | <p>Da peccatis finem :
Da laboris requiem.
<i>Placare.</i></p> <p>C 1. Tranquillitatem temporum,
Rerum abundantiam,
Pacis quietem, et ſalutis copiam.
<i>Placare.</i></p> <p>C 2. Illius * Pontificis
Porrige præſidium :
Ac † univerſo ſupplicanti populo.
<i>Placare.</i></p> <p>C 3. Remiſſionem omnium
Peccatorum quæſumus :
Indulge clemens mala quæ comiſimus, <i>Placare.</i></p> |
|---|--|

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT.

- A 1. Proſtrati omnes lacrymas producimus :
Et pandimus † occulta, quæ admifimus :
A te, Deus, veniam depoſcimus. §
Quia peccavimus tibi.
- A 2. Orationes ſacerdotum accipe :
Et quæque poſcunt, || affluenter tribue :
Ac tuæ plebi miſerere, Domine.
Quia.
- B 1. Furorem tuum adduxiſti ſuper nos :
Noſtra delicta dira ¶ curvaverunt nos :
Et abſque ulla ſpe defecimus.
Quia.

* Illius being the mere “M. or N.” of our own offices.

† So read for *atque*.

‡ The book gives *pandentes tibi*, which is inadmiſſible. We ſhould not wonder if the true reading were *pandentes te* : the ablative, in the Mozarabic offices, being ſo often uſed for other caſes.

§ A ſyllable (ſuch as *et* before *a te*) is wanting.

|| The book, *poſtulant*.

¶ Who does not ſee that in mere proſe ſuch a collocation and ſuch a phraſe would be intolerable ?

- B 2. Traditi fumus malis, quæ nescimus :
Et omne malum cecidit super nos :
Et invocamus, et non audimur.
Quia.
- A 3. Omnes clamamus : omnes te requirimus :
Te poenitentes lacrymis prosequimur :
Cujusque * iram ipsi provocavimus.
Quia.
- A 4. Te, deprecantes, te, gementes, poscimus ;
Te, Jesu Christe, prosternati petimus :
Tua potestas jam sublevet miseros.
Quia.
- A 5. Confessionem tuæ plebis accipe,
Quam lamentantes coram te effundimus :
Et pro admittis corde ingemiscimus.
Quia.
- A 6. Pacem rogamus, pacem nobis tribue ;
Amove bella, et nos omnes erue ;
Humili prece postulamus, Domine.
Quia.
- A 7. Inclina aurem, Deus clementissime ;
Jam abluantur delictorum maculæ ;
Et a periculis † nos benignus erue.
Quia peccavimus tibi.

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT.

- Rogamus te, Rex sæculorum, Deus Sancte,
Jam miserere, peccavimus tibi.
- A 1. Audi clamantes, Deus altissime :
Et quæ precamur, clemens attribue :
Exaudi nos, Domine.
Jam miserere.
- A 2. Bone Redemptor, supplices quæsumus,
De toto corde flentes requirimus :
Assiste propitius.
Jam miserere.
- A 3. Discedant hostes, accedant bona ;
Pessima incumbent clades inopiâ :
Tu, Christe, nos libera.
Jam miserere.

* Notice the *que*, which seems only inserted for the sake of the metre.

† The book, *periculis*.

Missal Litanies.

A 4. Emitte manum, Deus omnipotens,
Et invocantes potenter protege
Ex alto, piissime.
Jam miserere.

A 5. Fertilitatem et pacem tribue :
Remove bella, et famem cohibe,
Redemptor sanctissime :
Jam miserere.

A 6. Gemitus vide ; fletus intellige :
Extende manum : peccantes redime
* * * * *
Jam miserere.

A 7. Hanc nostram, Deus, hanc precem suscipe :
Supplicum voces pacatus rescipe :
Et parce, piissime.
Jam miserere.

A 8. Indulge lapsis : indulge perditis :
Dimitte noxia ; ablue crimina :
Acclives tu libera
Jam miserere.

Now, there are several peculiarities about this singular Litany. The first, that it is undoubtedly A. B. C. Darian. We have ventured, in order to bring this out, to make one or two alterations of arrangement. In the original, the verses stand in this way :—1, 2, 6, 3, 4, 7, 8, 5. Also the third verse, as we give it, stands in the original :—*Assistant bona, discedant hostes* : but, as all the other verses rhyme assonantly, if not consonantly, an alteration is necessary here even on that ground only. The verse that begins with C. is lost.

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT.

A 1. A Patre missus, veni
Perditos require :
Et hoste captivos
Sanguine redimere :
Plebs dira abiecit me.
*Miserere, Pater juxta, et omnibus
indulgentiam da.*

A 2. Prædictus a Prophetis
Natus sum ex Virgine :
Assumpsi formam servi
Perditos colligere :
Venantes ceperunt me.
Miserere.

A 3. Mihi pro bonis mala
Reddita sunt plurima :
Adversum me dederunt
Iniqua consilia,
Venditum pecunia.
Miserere.

B. Spineam coronam
Posuerunt capiti
Sputis sordidato :
Illuserunt impii
Afflictum crudeliter.
Miserere.

A 4. Cum noxiis latronibus*
Suspendum patibulo,
Amaro cibo pastum,
Et acerbo poculo
Traditum supplicio.

Miserere.

A 5. Quos veni liberare,
Hi accusaverunt me :
Flagellis verberatum
Cruci affixerunt me :
Lanceâ† percusserunt me.

Miserere.

A 6. Qui impio latroni
Dimisisti scelera,
Tu solve vincula‡ nostra

Et relaxa crimina :
Salva nos cruce tua.
Miserere.

A 7. Traditus sum sepulchro :
Fregi portas inferi
Ejeci vinculatos
Et reduxi ad superos
Ostendi in victima.
Miserere.

C Pater clementissime,
Dimitte illis noxia,
Cuncta dele peccata,
Et relaxa crimina :
Ignorant quid faciunt.
Miserere.

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT.

Insidiati sunt adversarii mei gratis.

Tu, Pater Sancte, miserere, et libera me.

A 1. Portatus sum, ut Agnus
Innocens in Victimam.
Captus ab inimicis
Ut avis in muscipulam,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 5. In latere confossus
Gladio horrifico :
Illico fuit latex
Cum sanguine innoxio,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 2. Aperuerunt omnes
Ora sua contra me ;
Dentibus fremuerunt,
Querentes deglutire me,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 6. Omnes inundaverunt
Quasi aquæ super me,
Dimissum in sepulchro :
Aposuerunt lapidem,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 3. Sibilantes, clamabant,
Et movebant capita ;
Tractantes de me falsa
Proferre testimonia,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 7. Confusa palluerunt
Cuncta cœli sidera :
Dies obtenebratur
Cum vidit pati Dominum,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 4. Suspendum cruci damnant
Fixum clavis ferreis :
Venditum a Judæis
Pro triginta argenteis,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 8. Sic Judæorum turba
Cæcâ diffidentiâ
Deposcut a Pilato
Milites pro custodiâ :
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

* We have little doubt that this ought to be *latronis*, from the barbarous *latronus*.

† The last two syllables of such words coalesce in Mozarabic hymns, as in modern Portuguese and Spanish, and must be taken to do so here.

‡ The book, *vincula*.

A 9. Tunc milites dividunt
Vestem meam fortibus:
Cernentes* in me flagra
Injusta et sævissima,
Magis gratis.

Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 10. Intende, pie Pater,
Et succurre miseris,
Pro quibus tam acerbis
Afficior suppliciis,
Magis gratis.

Tu, Pater Sancte.

There is some, but a very slight and corrupted, trace of these Litanies in the Sacramentarium Gallicanum published by Mabillon, and reprinted by Migne. Those which the Mozarabic Ritual gives for the fourth and fifth Sundays in Lent are, but in a very fragmentary state, attributed to Easter Eve.

On Palm Sunday, instead of this *ecône*, that most ancient and venerable rite, the *Tradition of the Creed* to the Competents, is still kept up. Here, again, the Mozarabic agrees with the Gallican and Milanese Churches; whereas Rome celebrated it on the Wednesday in the fourth week of Lent; Africa, on the Saturday before the fourth Sunday in Lent; Constantinople, on Good Friday. In the Gotho-Hispanic Church, however, the Creed was given to the competents likewise on the Sunday *Mediante*, the fourth in Lent. The Tradition, now of course, a mere form, is thus performed in the modern Mozarabic Rite. After the *Pfallendo*, the Priest proceeds:—

Beloved, receive the rule of faith, which is called the Symbol. And when ye shall have received it, write it in your hearts, and say it daily to yourselves. Before ye sleep, before ye go forth, fortify yourselves with your Symbol. The Symbol is written by none, so that it can be read. But in going it over, lest forgetfulness should erase that which reading does not hand down, let your memory be your book. That which ye are to hear, ye are also to believe; and that which ye are to believe, ye are to confess with your tongue. For the Apostle saith: "With the heart man believeth to justification; and with the tongue confession is made unto salvation." This, then, is the Creed which ye are to retain and to believe. Sign yourselves therefore, with the Cross, and repeat. *The Faith.* I believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty; and in JESUS CHRIST, His only SON, our LORD: born of the HOLY GHOST from the womb of the Virgin Mary. He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, and buried: the third day He rose alive from the dead. He ascended into Heaven. He sitteth on the right hand of GOD the FATHER Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the HOLY GHOST, the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the Remission of all sins; the Resurrection of the flesh; and the Life everlasting. Amen. That the things which have been said may be the more readily fixed in your memory, let us repeat the text and the order of the symbol. [*The Creed is repeated.*] Let us a third time go through the text of the Symbol, to the end that, as the symbol contains in itself the faith of the Divine TRINITY, so the number of its repetitions may agree with the mystery of the TRINITY. [*The Creed is again repeated.*] Retain with the firmest belief of your mind this rule of the Holy Faith, which Holy Mother Church hath now committed to you; lest at any time any scruple of doubt should arise in your hearts. For if, which

* For *decernentes*.

GOD forbid, there is but the least doubt concerning this matter, all the foundation of faith is overthrown, and hurt accrues to the soul. And, therefore, if anything of this kind should move any of you, let him think with himself, that he cannot understand the matter. Yet let him believe all things that he hath heard to be true. And Almighty GOD so enlighten your hearts that, by understanding and believing the things which we have spoken, ye may both hold fast the right faith, and shine with holy works, so that by these means ye may attain to the blessed life. R. Amen. Pr. He granting and assisting you, Who liveth and governeth all things for ever and ever. Amen.

The larger part of this Tradition is clearly of the greatest antiquity. The assertion that the Creed is unwritten is contained more than once in the Gallican Masses* and in the Gelasian Sacramentary.† The Creed itself is, in this Office, and in the Gallican, the Apostles'; whereas at Rome, the Constantinopolitan Symbol (of course without the *Filioque*) was employed. There are some peculiarities in the Gotho-Hispanic Creed which deserve attention. The omission of the clause, *Maker of heaven and earth*, proves it of earlier date than the Gallican, which inserts that addition: the same thing may be said of the simpler phrase, *Born of the Holy Ghost*. The addition *from the womb* of the Virgin Mary, is strictly Spanish, and has been supposed to be directed against the dreams of the Priscillianists. The omission of *dead after crucified*, is an argument of extreme antiquity: the Gallican books insert it; but neither the most ancient of them, nor our Creed, have the Aquileian addition, *He descended into Hell*. The "*alive from the dead*" is Spanish. One of the Gallican books has, in the next clause, "*He ascended Victor into Heaven:*" with that exception, and the Spanish "*the remission of all sins,*" the French and the Mozarabic Use agree, in all that follows, with the modern reading. In the Acts of S. Stephen, where a Baptism is described, the *omnium* is retained.

We must now, however, pass on. On ordinary days, the *Psalendo* is immediately followed by the *Epistle*, in which all Churches coincide. It is preceded in the Mozarabic by the deacon's saying "*Keep silence,*" and is concluded by "*Amen.*" The Gallican and Ambrosian Offices agree with the Roman in affixing a Psalm to the Epistle,—the same which, in later times, took the form of the present *gradual*: the Gotho-Hispanic Office rejected it. For when a custom was introduced of saying the *Lauda* (of which presently) before the Gospel, the Fourth Council of Toledo expressly forbade the change, and ordered that it should never be sung till the Gospel had been said. The

* E. g. In that numbered XI. by Mabillon. "Symbolum non in tabulis scribitur, sed in corde susceptum memoriter retinetur."

† "Symbolum quod vobis, sicut accepimus tradidimus, non alicui materię quę corrumpi potest, sed paginis vestri cordis inscribite."

Epistle then ended—and the Priest having said, “The LORD be ever with you. R. And with thy spirit”—the Gospel is given out; and its announcement received with the “Glory be to Thee, O LORD,” of the people: it is concluded with “Amen.”* Then, after another salutation of the Priest, followed the *Lauda*, which was always in this form: “Alleluia. Remember us, O LORD, with the favour Thou bearest unto Thy people. O visit us with Thy salvation. Alleluia.” This is also in use in the Ambrosian Rite, where it is called the *Antiphona post Evangelium*.

In the present Mozarabic Use, the Priest now offers the bread and wine, with certain prayers of which we need not speak; because the Gotho-Hispanic Office postponed the rite. The sermon over, the *Sacrificium* is sung by the choir; its form, generally speaking, is the following:—

All they from Sheba shall come, offering gold, and incense, and precious stones; they evangelized the salvation of the LORD: Alleluia, Alleluia. V. Every great man shall pass over to thee, and shall be thy servant, and shall follow thee, bound in chains, and shall bow down before thee, because in thee is GOD, and beside thee there is none other. Be ye renewed, O ye children of Israel, and be ye saved by the LORD with an everlasting salvation. P. They evangelized the salvation of the LORD. Alleluia.

It was while the *Sacrificium* was singing, that the people offered; and the prayers of oblation said by the priest are still given in that place, though the rite itself has long since ceased in Spain. But in the cathedral of Milan it is still kept up, ten aged men, and the same number of women, being maintained under the title of *Vecchioni*, to offer when the Priest has said the *Oratio super Sindonem*, which follows the *Antiphona post Evangelium*. Mr. Webb thus describes the Use:† “After the sermon, “some members of a confraternity, or sidesmen, two men and two “women, in black and white mantles, brought in an oblation of “the elements.” This is the only relic, we believe, in all Europe, of the ancient and once universal use of the *Omnium Offerentium*. But an offertory of other things, for the use of the Priest or the Church, was very frequent during the last century in Spain, and is even now not obsolete.

With the *Sacrificium* began the second part of the Liturgy, the *Missa Fidelium*; after which the Priest, as usual, after washing his hands, and saying the prayer of access, commenced, “The LORD be ever with you. R. And with thy spirit.” We will

* While the Gospel is sung, the *Missale Offerentium*, with its book desk, is carried round to the Epistle side of the altar; for there are two books in use in the Mozarabic Rite,—this and the lesser Missal;—and therefore two acolytes.

† Continental Ecclesiology, p. 204.

here put down, in a tabular form, its seven prayers, so famous in early Spanish writers, with their names.

- I. *MISSA*, or *Oratio Missæ*: in the Gallican sometimes *nat' k'p'x'm Collectio*, as we say, *the Collect* for the day: sometimes *Præfatio*.
- II. *ALIA (oratio)*. Generally, in the Gallican, simply *Collectio*: sometimes *Collectio ante nomina*.
- III. *POST NOMINA*. The same, or *Collectio post nomina*, in the Gallican.
- IV. *AD PACEM*. The same in the Gallican.
- V. *ILLATIO*: called in the Gallican *Immolatio*, or *Contestatio*,—in the Roman and Ambrosian, *Præfatio*:
and the
POST SANCTUS, called by the same name in the Gallican.
- VI. *POST PRIDIE*: called in the Gallican *Post Secreta*:—or *Post Mysterium*.
- VII. *AD ORATIONEM DOMINICAM*.

We may now proceed.

The Mozarabic *Missa* is generally rather an address to the people than to God. Let us take an example from the Wednesday of the first week in Lent.

Perceiving, beloved brethren, that the solemn days have come which are consecrated by the reverence of the LORD's Passion, let us walk in humility, and observe continence. Let none be fed by the pleasure of this world, nor, on the other hand, be crushed by its adversity. That when we have begun to despise temporal good and temporal evil, then we may in truth be able to fast forty days and forty nights, and may, after accomplishing the Lent of this life, receive the life that is perpetual. Now, therefore, let us beseech God, with the whole devotion of our minds, that He may so prevent us with His grace and protect us with His mercy, that we may always hasten to the obtaining of the celestial promises. Amen.

Or, again, for Easter Tuesday:—

Let us hasten, beloved brethren, we who rejoice to be free from the dominion of death, that we may follow the triumph of CHRIST after death. Behold, having descended into hell, He hath returned again to that flesh, which by His resurrection He made immortal. The violence of inflicted passion hath nothing injured Him: yet the glorious virtue of His Resurrection hath bestowed all things on us. He none the worse in assumed humanity: us He hath mercifully made better by collated Divinity. Let us, therefore, all rejoice with Christian gladness; and let us not be buried in vain pleasures. Let our festivity, beloved brethren, have nothing unseemly. The multitude of faithful people must proceed from the sepulchres of vices; must appear to the eyes of the regenerate, whitened by grace; must set a pattern of virtues to their infants. For then is the Paschal oblation without leaven of wickedness, when religious devotion banquets on the Azymes of sincerity and truth. R. Amen.

Compare with this the *Præfatio*, or *Missa*, of the Gallican Church; and take an example given in the Collection of Thomasmasius, for the Festival of S. Agnes:—

Exulting, beloved brethren, in the birthday of Blessed Agnes, let us ap-

proach the LORD with a devout heart. Her birthday is indeed to be honoured, because she was so generated to this world as to be regenerated for heaven. So was she produced under the law of death as to crush the author of death: so framed in the weaker sex, as to despise torments formidable to brave men. O true nobility! which so proceeded by earthly generation, as to attain the companionship of Divinity. Let us pray, therefore, that she may assist us with her prayers, who stands worthy in the sight of GOD. Which He vouchsafe to grant who with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST liveth and reigneth.

Those in Mone are much shorter, and not very remarkable. We give an example from the poetical Mass, No. 8, in his collection:—

Siderea de fede nitens bone conditor orbis,
Te pietate probans non nostra hic crimina pensas,
Expositas admitte preces et iudice libra,
Mitior æquali non reddens pondere poenam,
Errores ignosce gregis, pastorque fidelis
Ereptis ovibus paradisi pabula reddas. p. d. n.

Any scholar, accustomed to Hymnology, will instantly fix these verses at about A.D. 400.

After the *Missa*, the Priest concludes with the usual formula:—

Through Thy mercy, our GOD, who art blessed, and livest and governest all things for ever and ever. R. Amen.

He continues:—

Let us pray. Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, LORD GOD Everlasting: praise and thanks be to Thee.

And then he begins the *Preces*, which, in the Mozarabic Office, are very short:—

Let us bear the Holy Catholic Church in our minds: that the merciful LORD would vouchsafe to increase its faith, its hope, and charity. Let us bear in mind all them that are fallen, that are captive, that are sick, that are strangers: that the merciful LORD would vouchsafe to look upon them, to redeem, to heal, and to comfort them. R. Grant it, Almighty Everlasting GOD.

This is immediately followed by the prayer that, for want of a better title, is usually called the *Alia Oratio*. Here is an example from the fourth Sunday after Epiphany:—

We bear, O LORD, the yoke of our iniquities with a hard neck, a downcast countenance, a contrite heart. And scarcely have we at length learned by our punishment to repent, who before it would not recognize our guilt. But Thou, O LORD, who hast made tame wild beasts in the den, and hast made cool the flames in the heat of the furnace, lift up Thy hand to help us, and grant us the most safe support of Thy defence in affliction. That us, whom the weight of sins bows down, the virtue of Thy long-suffering may lift up: and that, since by our iniquities we have fallen to the ground, we

may be mercifully raised by Thine ineffable goodness. That us, whom the actions of divers transgressions convict, the indulgence of Thy mercy may acquit. R. Amen.

This prayer is usually directed to GOD ; but it sometimes takes the form of an address to the people, as, for example, on Quinquagesima Sunday, when it thus begins :—*Quantum nos divina clementia, fratres carissimi, expectat ad pœnitentiam, &c.*

The Gallican Church had the *Preces* in the same place : the prayer that answered to the *Alia Oratio* is sometimes called the *Collectio post Preces*, sometimes the *Collectio ante Nomina*, sometimes, there seems ground for believing, the *Præfatio*, but generally the *Collectio* only. Take a specimen of the latter from Mone :—

GOD, whose goodness is as unbounded as Thy power, grant to the righteous to obtain that which Thou dost promise ; to the guilty, to escape that which Thou dost threaten : to believe in Thee truly, to confess Thee reasonably, to have our conversation in this life healthfully. If tranquillity * favours us, to worship Thee ; if temptations assail us, not to deny Thee ; to abound in the necessities of the life that is, and not to come short of eternal felicity.

The *Alia Oratio* always ends in this form :—

R. Amen. *Priest.* Through Thy mercy, our GOD, in whose sight the names of the holy Apostles and Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins, are recited. R. Amen.

And this introduces the DIPTYCHS. The Mozarabic agrees with the Gallican in reading these before consecration ; the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries read the diptychs of the living before, of the dead after, consecration. The Constantinopolitan Liturgies formerly agreed with the Gallican : they now have the diptychs after the words of Institution and Invocation. S. Mark, the Copto-Jacobite, and Syro-Jacobite, insert them between the two latter.

The Mozarabic diptychs are as follow :—

Our Priests offer the oblation to the LORD GOD : the Pope of Rome and the rest for themselves and for all the Clergy and people of the Church committed to them, and for all the fraternity ; also all the priests, deacons, clerks, and surrounding people offer it in honour of the Saints, for themselves and theirs.

R. They offer it for themselves and all the fraternity.

Priest. Commemorating the most blessed Apostles and Martyrs, the glorious holy Virgin Mary, Zacharias, John, the Innocents, Peter, Paul, John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Simon and Jude, Matthias, Mark, and Luke.

* Here is an example of Mone's occasional carelessness, notwithstanding the great explanatory parade of his notes. He prints without any comment, "*si quies adideat, te colere ; si temptatio ingruat, non negare.*"

R. And all Martyrs.

Priest. Also for the souls of them that rest: Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidore, David, Julian, Julian, Peter, Peter, John, &c., &c. Stephen, John, John, Felix.

R. And of all that rest.

The Gallican form was very similar to this. It was immediately preceded by the oblation, of which this was the formula:—

Come, Omnipotent Sanctifier, Eternal GOD, and bless this sacrifice prepared to Thy name: through CHRIST our LORD.

It must be remembered that the above diptychs are strictly Toledan; and if they were used after the Ximenian restoration at Salamanca and Valladolid, it was by an absurd archaism. The order is this: first, the four great defenders of the Catholic faith against the Arians—SS. Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose; then S. Augustine, as having, besides his world-wide reputation, a particular connection with the Spanish Church; then S. Fulgentius of Astorga, a celebrated Spanish confessor; then SS. Leander and Isidore, the great arrangers of the Mozarabic Office; then six Archbishops of Toledo, before its capture, with four other Spanish prelates, David of Seville, John of Gerona, Servus Dei of Calabria, Dominic of Iria; then three benefactors to the Church of Toledo; then, beginning with Bernard, eleven Archbishops after the recapture of that city, and then seven benefactors subsequently to that event.

The Diptychs are followed by the POST NOMINA, which had the same name in the Gallican Church. Let the fifth Sunday in Advent furnish an example:—

We beseech Thee, LORD JESUS, our GOD, that we, who faithfully wait for Thine Advent, may not incur everlasting punishment; by which Thine Advent grant pardon to them that offer, and rest eternal to them that are departed.

And Pentecost:—

LORD, Who by the virtue of Thy HOLY SPIRIT didst both confound the hearing of them that built the tower of the ancient confusion of crime, and didst multiply Thy new* and rising Church by the diffusion of tongues, so that the thing which had been for a condemnation should be for a reward, and that Thou shouldst by the same means build up faith by which Thou hadst destroyed vanity: grant upon this congregation of Thy family the advent of Thy HOLY GHOST, Whom Thou didst promise, and Whom Thou didst bestow. And grant that He may at the same time scatter all endeavours after such things as are contrary to Thee, and accumulate the merit of sanctification. And that Thou mayest be the Rewarder in the promise,

* We read *novitatem* for *novitate*.

Who wait the Promiser in the reward. That Thy Church, kindled by His fire, may in Him hold the true faith, from Whom she hath received all truth. And that He may inscribe in the heavenly pages the names of them that offer, and may vouchsafe to grant rest to the departed, Who in the unity of Deity remaineth ever equal to Thee.

The petition for the offerers and for the departed faithful is almost always expressed in this prayer. So it is in the Gallican Use: though in the latter the petition for the departed is not invariably given. As, for example, in a *Missa in Junio* printed by Thomajus:—

Let Thy venerable grace, O LORD, both exercise us in holy fasting, and make us more meet for the celestial mysteries; and grant that the names which we have recited may be inscribed by the heavenly handwriting in the book of life.

Mone's examples generally have the prayer for the departed; as this in Mass No. 2, which is partly corrupt:—

Recitata nomina Dominus benedicat, et accepta sit Domino uti hujus oblationis nostrisque precibus intercessio suffragetur, spiritibus quoque karorum nostrorum lætis sedibus conquiescant, et primæ Resurrectionis gaudia consequantur.

The Mozarabic prayer always ends thus:—

R. Amen. *Priest.* Because Thou art the Life of the living, the Health of the sick, and the Rest of all the faithful departed for eternal ages of ages. R. Amen.

Next follows the *Oratio ad Pacem*, or which precedes the giving of the Peace: and it has the same name in the Gallican book. These two rites agree with each other, therefore, in this very important particular: the giving of the Peace before, while the Roman, Ambrosian, and African* defer it till after, the consecration. Nothing, except the *Illation*, shows so wonderfully the fertility of the Mozarabic Rite, as the variety of the prayers *ad Pacem*; all on one subject, and all in one form. Let us take these examples. On the first Sunday in Lent, the Gospel having been that of the woman of Samaria:—

Ad Pacem. SAVIOUR of the world, Word of the eternal FATHER, Who, after receiving the faith of the woman, didst abide with the Samaritans two days at their request: that under the type of those two days might mystically be commended the number of the two precepts, that is, love to GOD, and

* This is clear from S. Augustine: "Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam, post ipsam *Pax Vobis*, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto."—Serm. 227. Ed. Maur.

love to our neighbour: cleanse our heart from all crime, and from all blindness of ignorance; that we, preparing for Thee a most pure mansion in our souls, may obtain from Thee, as they obtained, and retain in very deed the love of our neighbour; whereby we may be able to come to Thee, and to know in every way Thy love, with which we may attain to the joys of life everlasting.

On Maundy Thursday :—

Almighty CHRIST, our Peace, grant to us the kiss of sincere peace, that we may not be guilty with the traitor Judas, but may merit to be found the disciples of peace.

On Michaelmas-day :—

CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who by the mystery of Thy Incarnation hast united the rupture of peace, which that evil spirit of wickedness had cast betwixt angels and men, so that the angels, who never fell, should acknowledge men, re-made by Thee according to grace, for their fellow-servants, whom beforehand they held for outcasts on account of their fault; and they who, in old times, did not refuse to be adored, should afterwards,* with a loud voice, forbid any such worship: we, redeemed by such mercy, beseech Thee that we may not be again deceived, and fall in our old guilt; but that we may so preserve the renovation of Baptism in faith and deed, as that we may ever study to remain bound together with the fellowship of Thy holy Angels.

Here is the *Oratio ad Pacem* for Palm Sunday in a Gallican Missal :†—

Thou That art Thyself the LORD and Framer of all things, dearly loving and loved by Thy creatures, for Whom Martha labours, Whose feet Mary washes, with Whom Lazarus, raised from the dead, sits down to meat, (for the whole house is full of love :) grant to Thy people thus to exercise themselves in love, that they may remain united with Thee by peace. Excite in us those tears which Mary, of her much love, poured forth; make our prayer to send forth a sweet savour, as the ointment of spikenard which Mary poured upon Thy sacred feet; that by our kisses, mutually given, we may obtain that peace which Mary gained by kissing the feet of her Redeemer.

The Mozarabic prayer ended :—

R. Amen. *Priest.* For Thou art our true peace and unbroken love, and livest and reignest with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST,† one GOD for ages of ages. Amen.

* The reference is, of course, to the allowance of Daniel's worship by the angel, when that of S. John was forbidden. So the Ambrosian Hymn :—

Tremunt videntes Angeli
Versam vicem mortalium :
Culpat caro, purgat caro,
Regnat Deus, Dei caro.

† Thomas. Opp. tom. vi. p. 276.

‡ It is now corruptly read, "vivis tecum, et regnas cum Spiritu Sancto."

The Priest now proceeds :—

The grace of the FATHER Almighty, the peace and love of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the communication of the HOLY GHOST, be with us all.

Choir. And with all of good-will.

Priest. As ye stand, give the peace.

R. Peace I leave you ; My peace I give unto you ; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.

V. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another.

R. Peace I leave, &c.

V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, &c.

R. Peace I leave, &c.

While this is sung, the Priest says :—

Receive the kifs of peace and love, that ye may be fit for the holy mysteries of GOD.

And, according to the ancient use, the people then gave the kifs. The Priest continues :—

I will go unto the altar of GOD.

R. Unto GOD, Who rejoiceth my youth.

Although in the Eastern Church the Anaphora commences with the Salutation of the Priest, "The grace of GOD the FATHER," &c., yet, as this salutation precedes in the Mozarabic Ritual the Kifs, it cannot *here* be held the true beginning of the anaphora. The latter must be considered as commencing with the next versicle :—

Priest. Your ears to the LORD.*

People. We have them to the LORD.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

People. We lift them up to the LORD.

Priest. To GOD, and our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who is in heaven, let us render worthy praises and worthy thanks.

People. It is meet and right.

The first and singular exhortation is now peculiar to Spain ; the rest of the sentences agree with the general use of other Churches. And thus we are brought to the *Illation*.

The *Preface*, *Illation*, or *Immolation*, finds its two extremes in the Mozarabic and Oriental uses. The latter has but one Preface on all occasions ; the former has a proper Preface for every great Mass, and in that agrees with the Gallican and

* It is plain from a passage in S. Isidore, Offic. lib. ii. cap. 8, that this exclamation was in former times said by the Deacon, and was merely prefatory to the *Sursum corda*.

Ambrosian books. The earliest Roman Use is disputed. It would seem that all the principal festivals, but they only, had a proper preface. S. Pelagius II. reduced the number to nine; S. Gregory the Great added a Preface of S. Andrew, not now in use; Urban II, in the Council of Clermont, added a tenth. The German Church, up to A. D. 900 or 1000, used a good number of prefaces, though by no means a different one for every day; and the Cluniacs employ, at the present time, more than those given in the Roman Missal.

It is in the Illation that the full richness and variety of the Mozarabic Office is best seen. There are in the present book 66 Illations *de Tempore*, 65 of particular Saints, 10 of the common of saints, and 15 of votive masses; in all, 156. Almost all are fine, many are of first-rate excellence; and we scarcely know where a preacher, wishing to treat any particular subject, could find it more fully, more pointedly, more neatly, more beautifully treated, than in the Mozarabic Illatio. We will now give some specimens; they will, we believe, be new to most of our readers. We will begin with that on Christmas-day; a remarkable contrast with the present worship paid by Spain to the Blessed Virgin:—

It is meet and right, most merciful Father, that we should render to Thine omnipotence and loving-kindness that which Thou hast enabled us to bestow. Because on this day, after long time, but no long time ago,* He Who† belonged always to Thee and to Himself, CHRIST JESUS, Thine only-begotten SON, is born to us. He was made the Son of His handmaiden, the LORD of His mother. The birth of Mary; the fruit of the Church. By the one He is produced; by the other He is received. He That as an Infant comes forth from the one, is set forth as the Wonderful by the other. The one produced salvation for the peoples; the other the peoples themselves. The one bore the Life in her womb; the other in her laver. In the limbs of the one CHRIST is infused; by the waters of the other CHRIST is indued. By the one He That was is born; by the other he that had perished is found.‡ In the one the Redeemer of the nations is quickened; in the other the nations are vivified. By the one He came, that He might take away sins; by the other He took away the sins for the which He came. By the one He deplored§ us; by the other He cured us. In the one an infant, in the other a giant; in the one an exile, in the other a conqueror. By the one He handled toys; by the other He subdued kingdoms. The one He soothed with the winningness of a child, the other He betrothed with the fidelity of a Bridegroom. Lastly, the tokens of His precious love exist uncorrupted. The Bridegroom gave for gifts to His Bride living waters,|| whereby she might

* Notice the great antiquity of the present *Illatio*, from this most venerable expression.

† The book, corruptly, *quæ*.

‡ The antithesis cannot be preserved in English: "Per illum, qui *erat*, nascitur; per istam, qui *perierat*, invenitur."

§ *Ploravit*; but the reading seems corrupt.

|| *Id est, Christus Ecclesiæ*, add the printed books; but it is manifestly the reception of a gloss into the text.

once for all be washed to obtain the merit of pleasing Him. He gave her the oil of gladness, that she might be anointed with the sweet ointment of Christ. He called her to His table, and satisfied her with the richness of wheat. He filled her with the wine of sweetness. He put upon her the ornament of righteousness. He gave her the golden vesture of virtues, wrought about with divers colours. He laid down His life for her. He, having conquered, and about to reign, exhibited for her dowry the spoils of death, by Him undergone, by Him crushed. He bestowed His own self upon her in food, and drink, and clothing. He promised her that He would give to her an eternal kingdom. He engaged that He would place her as queen on His right hand.* He granted to her also that which was granted to His mother, to be filled, yet not to be violated; to bring forth, yet not to be corrupted; to the one once, to the other ever; to sit as a bride in the bridechamber of loveliness, and to multiply her sons with the bosom of piety. That her children should be fruitful,† not corrupted in their will. Thus she, enriched by Him, and in Him, returns humble gifts to her Bridegroom and LORD. She offers to Him thus much of her own,‡ that she hath believed; and thus much from His example, that she hath loved in return. Of His own gift, that she could do that which she would; that she would do that which she could. She hath given to Him, as roses, the martyrs: as lilies, the virgins; as violets, the continent. These things she sent§ to Him, conferred by the cost of her toil, by the Apostles, the ministers of His will. Wherefore now, standing at His right hand in happy and glorious perennity, she with all angels, praises and lauds Him That reigneth with Thee, Almighty FATHER, and with the HOLY GHOST, saying: R. Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.

For Maundy Thursday :—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, HOLY LORD, Almighty FATHER, and to JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, Whose incarnation gathers us into one, Whose humility sets us up, Whose betrayal looses us, Whose Passion redeems us, Whose Cross saves us, Whose blood cleanses us, Whose flesh nourishes us, Who gave Himself up for us to-day, and loosed the chains of our guilt; Who, for the commendation to the faithful of His goodness, and the magnifying of His humility, did not disdain to wash even His betrayer's feet, whose hands He even then foresaw engaged in wickedness. But what wonder if, while approaching a voluntary death, He, fulfilling the ministry of a servant, laid aside His garments, Who, when He was in the form of GOD, emptied Himself? What wonder if He girt Himself with a towel, Who, when he was in the form of GOD, was found in fashion as a man? What wonder if He poured water into a basin that He might wash the feet of His disciples, Who poured forth His blood on the earth, that He might wash away the uncleanness of sinners? What wonder if with the towel wherewith He was girded He wiped the feet that He had washed, Who, in the flesh which He had assumed, confirmed the

* Notice the application of that text to the Church, which has generally been applied to S. Mary.

† The antithesis is necessarily lost: "*foetofam esse prolem, non foetidam.*"

‡ The Semi-Pelagianism of this clause might be expected in a Church which had so close a connection with such writers as S. Faustus of Riez, and Cassian.

§ The book has *illam*; but it is plainly the Church which sends these gifts to her LORD, not CHRIST to the Church.

footsteps of the Evangelists? And that He might gird Himself with the towel, He put off the garments which He had; but that He might take the form of a servant, when He emptied Himself, He laid not that aside which He had, but assumed that which He had not. When He was about to be crucified, He was indeed stripped of His raiment; and when He was dead, He was wrapped in linen clothes; and all this His passion is made the purification of believers. When He was therefore about to suffer death, He exhibited beforehand obedience. Not only to them for whom He had come to endure death, but to him who was about to betray Him to death. For such is the benefit of the humility of man, that the sublimity of GOD commended it by His example. Because proud man would have perished for ever, unless a humble GOD had found him. That he who had been lost through the pride of the Deceiver, might be saved by the humility of the most merciful Redeemer. To whom, as is meet, all Angels and Archangels cease not daily to cry, saying with one voice: *R. Holy.*

The following is of a different kind; it is for the festival of S. Genesius,* who received the crown of martyrdom while yet a catechumen:—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Almighty GOD, in honour of Thy Saints; but chiefly in that of Thy holy and most blessed martyr, Genesius, whose glorious victory over the world, as on this day, the universal Church celebrates with festal exultation; who, while still a catechumen, and not as yet washed by the mystery of the salutary wave, detesting the malice of a sacrilegious fellow-foldier, and not suffering that wicked edicts should be imprinted in innocent wax, rejected the bloody laws that proceeded from an impious mouth, repudiated them with his hand, retreated from the office which he heard† appointed to him, withdrew his pious hand from‡ commencing the task, as he would have withdrawn it from sacrificing; and his mind, devoted to GOD, shuddered to inscribe on the wax sacrilegious words. Who, when the weight of persecution pressed upon him, and the ministers of the devil were in pursuit, preparing his mind for heaven, gave his body to the Rhine, as if seeking in it the sacrament of the Jordan, and carried to the further bank the body of a martyr, that he might render one illustrious by his body, the other with his blood. And thus, therefore, filled with Thy grace, O LORD, preceding the institutes of faith by the spirit of faith, not yet having received baptism, he was hallowed amidst the very head-quarters§ of religion. The laws of GOD were not yet manifested to him, and he was already full of GOD. Not yet conscious of the sacraments, and himself already forechosen as a sacrifice. Not yet set free by the LORD, and already chosen as a witness for GOD. Not yet called by a public profession to grace, and already hurried to the crown; for he was adopted before he was regenerate. He never entered the water of the font, but was sprinkled with the fount that proceeded from himself. He is baptized in blood; he is regenerate by death; he is absolved by condemnation; he is consecrated by the sword. Happy he who merited to be baptized by such a baptism, by which he should both blot out original sin, and never lose that which blood of this kind had bestowed; that

* August 25.

† We read, *audito refugit officio.*

‡ “Ab incipiendo, tanquam a sacrificando.” Arevalus suggests, and perhaps correctly, *ab inscribendo.*

§ “Inter ipsa est religionis principia consecratus.” We take the word *principia* in its military sense, and understand it to refer to water, which, as the origin and birthplace of faith, may be so termed.

no after fault should defile that which the fountain of blood had cleansed ; who, in himself, by faith closed, by faith condemned, the gate of sins ; who in himself, by the outpouring of blood, accomplished with a double gift the sacraments of baptism ; who was not dipped in the font, but washed in his passion, by the gift of our LORD JESUS CHRIST : Whom all the Angels together praise, thus saying : R. Holy.

We add one more example from the Common of Martyrs :—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, GOD of Angels, GOD of Martyrs, and that we should with inestimable joy set forth their passions, the triumph of Thy servants, the joy of happy angels. For who can worthily relate the mystery of this depth, where from punishment is born beatitude, from ignominy springs glory, where life is perfected from death ! O mystic secret of religion, where to be slain is praise, and to have slain is damnation ! O most sacred war, wherein the one appears to be slain, and the other is slain ! O especial conflict, wherein the murderer, by the death of the victim, destroys himself ! The devil kindles the persecutor by the fury of cruelty : CHRIST succours the persecuted by the virtue of patience ! With the murderer Satan is punished : with the murdered CHRIST exults. The devil precipitates with himself his minister to Gehenna : CHRIST conveys His martyrs to the celestial kingdoms. To Whom, as is meet, all Angels and Archangels cease not to cry, thus saying : R. Holy.

We will now give, as an example of the *Immolation* in the Gallican Mass, the very remarkable No. 5 of Mone ; which, it will be remembered, is supposed by that critic to be of the second century. It is, however, so very corrupt, so extremely involved, and the punctuation so singular, that we will not pledge ourselves always to have discovered what is the exact meaning. Mone has tried to explain some of the difficult passages ; but some that are equally perplexed he has left untouched. The commencement is imperfect.

..... debtors to grace, we venerate perpetually and uninterruptedly ; whether we sacrifice at the sacred altars with public prayers, or whether, pondering in the secret recesses of our hearts Thy deeds, ineffable by words, we cherish them with quiet love. For just are Thy ways, O King of nations. Who shall not fear Thee, and glorify Thy Name ? As yet, we have no lyres that resound. Thy Saints, who by the perseverant concord of virtues have conquered the Beast of this world, [*may join in the Song of Moses and the Lamb : but*] we have no Song of Moses, who are as yet rolled among the floods of this world.

..... res gratiæ debitores, jugi continuatione, veneremur ; seu cum publica praece sacra adolemus altaria, sive cum secretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia dicta * quæ feceris, æstimantes tacito fovemus adfectu. justæ enim vox † tuæ Rex gentium. quis non timebit, et magnificabit nomen tuum ? nullæ quidem nobis adhuc cythare personant ; sancti tui, qui bestiam sæculi hujus, concordia virtutum perseverante vicerunt ‡ nullum de nobis Moyfi § canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc istius sæculi volutamur.

* We read *diſtu*.

† Clearly a mistake for *viæ*.

‡ Something is wanting here, where the palimpsest is cut into a new leaf. We have suggested a few words which seem to carry on the sense.

§ Mone rightly observes that this is the genitive case.

We have no voice of Angels, unless perchance they (*i. e.* those heavenly spirits) may praise us, who may probably be present with us when we consecrate the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved SON. Yet have we a pious care for the people, and holy prayer for the salvation of the multitude. And if the mind, intent on the divine worship, cannot set forth in full the majesty of such a work, yet it endeavours to frequent the use of the benefit that is allowed. For who can with perfunctory sense pass over Thy divine gifts? Thou into corruptible slime and soluble clay didst vouchsafe to breathe the breath of life: Thou madest that to be man which is slime; and the mortal material Thou didst vivify with the spiritual vigour of nature into Thine image and similitude, that fiery vigour might animate within the torpid earth and the dull clay; and by the agile motion of the warm vein our flesh might be quickened. What are we, and how much have we deserved? For this clay Thy laws, for this clay the oracles of the prophets, for this clay the ministries of angels, as soldiers have rendered service. For this clay the LORD JESUS Himself, pitying human labours, triumphed in the cross of His Body. Why should I tell how, at the adhesion of Thy Martyrs, the incorporeal powers are tor-

Nulla vox Angelorum nisi forte laudare* nos possunt, qui adesse nobis possent, cum fili tui delectissimi corpus consecramus et sanguinem, sed pia cura pro populo, et sancta pro salute plebis oratio. et mens cultui intenta divino si non potest maiestatem tanti operis explecare, nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare, quis enim possit perfunctorio sensu, divina tua præterire munera, tu corruptibili limo lutoque solubili spiritu † vitæ insufflare dignatus es, hominem fecisti esse quod limos est. materiamque mortalem, ad imaginem similitudinemque tuam spiritali vivificasti vigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus vigor. intus animaret. agiliſque ‡ motio venæ tepentis. caro nostra viveret, quid sumus. et quantum eruemus § huic limo leges. huic limo profetarum oracula angelorum ministeria militarunt, huic limo ipse dominus Jhesus labores miseratus humanos cruce sui corporis triumphavit, quid loquar ad tuorum cineres torqueri incorporeas || potestates, urit hic li-

* This is an extremely difficult passage. Mone wants to read *nisi laudare nos possumus*, but the sense he would attach to his alteration does not seem very clear. We think that the reading of the text may possibly be explained as in our translation. The *qui adesse nobis possent* is, to our minds, one of the most convincing proofs of the great antiquity of this Mass.

† "Für den Acc. Die Abkürzung fehlte," says Mone. But he is wrong. It is the common use of the ablative for the accusative, which occurs fifty times in the Mozarabic hymns, and in the writings of southern Gaul—

e. g. Medio noctis tempore
Per voce evangelica
Venturus Sponsus creditur,
Regni cœlestis conditor.

A corruption which has engraved itself on the southern Romanic languages, both in the second and third Latin declension, as *Sancto* for *Sanctus*, *calle* for *callis*, *virtude* for *virtus*.

‡ We read *agili*.

§ Mone suggests *erimus* or *meruimus*. The latter is probably right.

|| Anxious to draw the parallel between the Martyrs of Lyons and the

mented? This clay burns those whom the flame touches not: these ashes torment those whom the torture of the hook cannot reach: their groans are heard, although we behold not their torments. And these* so great rewards of a little labour, it is a wretched pleasure which rejects. Miserable flesh! what does it grudge itself! It calls itself back from heaven, and gives itself again to clay. Nor would this be strange if earth had the preponderance. But since Thou, LORD GOD Father Almighty, hast commanded us, raised up in the Body of Thy Son, to seek heaven, let not, I beseech Thee, Thy mercy to us be lost. Let it be enough that the soul, shut up within the body, passeth, unhappy, under alien laws,

mus quos flamma non tangit, torquet favilla quos unguis poena non invenit. auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia, inflex voluptas quod eicit misera caro. quid sibi invidet. de cælo se revocat, et luto reddit. nec hoc mirum sit erra præponderat. sed quia tu domine deus pater omnipotens, in tui unigeniti levatus corpore cælum nos separare jussisti. ne quæso patiar † vi perire, nobis misericordiam tuam satis sit quod inclusa corpore anima in leges misera transit alienas generis poena communi ‡ pro

Contestatio as close as possible, Mone has here recourse to one of the most extraordinary interpretations which ever entered a scholar's head. He will have *incorporeæ* either to mean *corporeæ*, or to be a false reading for it; and *potestates* to mean the *magistratus*! because in the celebrated letter of the Church of Lyons they are called *ἐκκλησιασται*. He says, "Will man *incorporeæ potestates* durch Teufel und nicht durch weltliche Machthaber, erklären, so ist *incorporeæ* in dieser Verbindung sehr fremdartig" (not half so strange as *corporeæ* applied in the other sense), "und das Relativum *quos* der folgenden Sätze passt nicht dazwischen, weil es *masculin* ist." (Why may it not exactly as well refer to *diabolos* or *spiritus*, as to *magistratus*?) "Wie könnte man auch von den Teufeln sagen, *quos flamma non tangit*, da dieses Bibel offenbar widerspricht?" The passage does not speak of any flame: it simply speaks of the material fire which consumed the Martyrs;—and *that* did not touch the devils. Mone here sees a reference to the six days and nights in which the bodies of the Martyrs lay unburied, and to their then being burnt, and the ashes cast into the Rhone. But how can it be said that the magistrates were *tortured* or *burnt* by these remains? how can it be said of the city officials, "auditus gemitus, quorum tormenta non cernimus?" whereas, if applied to the casting out of evil spirits by the relics of the Martyrs, the whole sense is perfectly clear. In fact, how almost impossible is it that *incorporeæ* should have been written for *corporeæ*; and if it were, who ever heard of *corporeæ potestates* meaning a magistrate?

* We read this most corrupt passage thus, following the emendation of one of the most celebrated of English scholars:—

"Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia, infelix voluptas quæ rejicit. Misera caro, quid sibi invidet! De cælo se revocat, et luto reddit. Nec hoc mirum, si terra præponderat. Sed quia tu, Domine Deus Pater Omnipotens, in tui Unigeniti levatus corpore cælum nos reparare jussisti, ne quæso," &c.

Mone makes no attempt to explain the passage, beyond suggesting *sit acra* for *sit erra*!

[I may now add that the above fine correction, which has been very much admired in Germany, is due to the late Dr. Mill.]

† We read *patiaris* instead of *patiar vi*.

‡ We read *communis*.

M

and that the common penalty of the race is paid for the fault of one man. Though we have lost indeed the prerogative of nature; let us not lose the grace of Thy Redemption. Keep therefore, O LORD, Thy reward for Thyself, which Thou hast purchased with the body of Thy most dearly beloved SON. We owe nothing to this flesh and blood: [and we will observe] the command of the LORD's redemption, that as it is written, we may be His Who rose again from the dead. To Thee, as is meet, &c.

errore unius est perfoluta. amiserimus certe prerogativum naturæ, non amitemus redemptionis tuæ gratiam; mercedem igitur domine tuam tibi serva, quam fili tui dilectissimi tibi corpore comparasti, nihil huic carni debemus et sanguini iustumque dominicæ redemptionis* ut sicut scriptum est, simus ejus qui a mortuis resurrexit, merito, &c.

The *Ter Sanctus*, of course, follows: its Mozarabic form is this:—

Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of the glory of Thy Majesty. Ofanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the LORD. Ofanna in the highest. Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, Kyrie o Theos.

And then comes the prayer *Post Sanctus*; which is almost always of this form (we take that for the Saturday in Easter week):—

Verily Holy, verily Blessed, is our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, through Whom Thou hast destined for us true salvation, that man, deceived by the fraud of the serpent, might by His Resurrection escape death, and renew the life which he had lost. The devil had done deceitfully, that he might slay man at unawares; but the LORD cured him of his wound, while He poured forth His precious blood. Of old time he received his death-wound: but now, by the blood of the Cross, he hath acquired perpetual joys. The woman, herself seduced, had deceived the man: but he hath been redeemed by the fixture of the venerable nails. For GOD hath delivered us from hell, and hath set us free from the hand of death; Who sitteth at the right hand of the FATHER, CHRIST the LORD, and the Eternal Redeemer.

That for Pentecost:—

Verily Holy is GOD the FATHER, Holy the Only-begotten SON, Holy also the one SPIRIT of both; for by His inestimable power the chariot of the Gospels rushes with its flaming wheels through the whole world: and its axle, glittering with the splendour of their fiery rays, is carried every way by the bodies, instinct with eyes, of the Living Creatures. In the Charioteer of those wheels the Spirit of Life Himself abiding, hath, by the empire of His own power, subjected the whole world to the feet of CHRIST: by divine powers bearing the testimony of the FATHER to the Only-begotten WORD, that He was made flesh and dwelt among us. This is that gift, promised by, and like to, the paternal pledge, that the SON had engaged to send; when, returning to the FATHER, he said that His own should in nowise be left orphans; teaching thereby that, in the presence of the SPIRIT, His own and His Father's Majesty subsisted. This is that ointment wherewith CHRIST

* We must supply *observabimus*, or some such word.

was anointed above His fellows by the FATHER : the verity of this anointing, that ancient divines set forth with transitory figures, by which priests and prophets and kings were constituted, representing aforehand the image of the One True King and Prophet and Priest, JESU CHRIST the LORD and eternal Redeemer.

The Ambrosian Office has no *Post Sanctus* : that of the Gallican is precisely similar to the Mozarabic. We give that of Mone's Mass, No. 5 :—

He, I say, CHRIST our LORD and our GOD, who being made, of His own will, like to mortals through all the course of life, presented to Thee an immaculate body ; and, the sufficient expiator of ancient guilt, exhibited a soul incorrupt and inviolate by sin : * . . . which blood should again cleanse from its pollution ; and, having abrogated the Law of Death, should raise man's lost body to Heaven, and to the right hand of the FATHER. Through our LORD JESUS CHRIST ; Who, the day before He suffered, &c.

The conclusion of this prayer introduces us to the great blemish of the Ximenian books. The Mozarabic Liturgy, which always ends the *Post Sanctus* with the words " CHRIST THE LORD and eternal Redeemer," originally proceeded, like the Gallican, " Who, the day before He suffered," so introducing the Consecration. But now the *Post Sanctus* ends abruptly with " Redeemer," and a new introduction commences, *Adesto, adesto, Jesu bone Pontifex in medio nostri* : the word *Pridie* nowhere now occurring, though the prayer that follows the Canon is still called the *Post Pridie*. This violent disjuncture is undoubtedly a great reflection on the skill of the Ximenian revisers. The formula of consecration is :—" THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH SHALL BE GIVEN FOR YOU : THIS IS THE CUP OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MY BLOOD, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY SHALL BE POURED FORTH FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS." Although these words are given in the text, the Roman form is really employed.

This is neither the time nor place to dwell on the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, after the words of Institution, which the Eastern Church considers of co-ordinate necessity with the latter for the change of the elements. It will be sufficient to remind the reader that the formula in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom is as follows :—

Send down Thy HOLY GHOST on us, and on these proposed gifts, and make this bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST : and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST : changing them by Thy HOLY GHOST :

and that in all the Eastern Liturgies, as well as in the Scotch

* A clause in the original appears to have been lost.

Communion Office, there is a prayer to the like effect. We shall only remark here that the Gotho-Hispanic and Gallican Rites clearly contained this invocation in the prayer *Post Pridie*. It has, for the most part, disappeared from the present Mozarabic Offices: but sufficient traces of it remain. The Masses of Spanish Saints especially retain it.

Take, for example, the *Post Pridie* of S. Torquatus and his companions (May 1):—

Almighty God, Who for the salvation of the people in these parts didst send seven mirrors of priests, do Thou, at the intercession of the same, whose most sacred memories are recited at Thine altar, send Thy HOLY GHOST from Thy holy seat, whereby Thou mayest impart sanctification to the offered sacrifices, and fulness of sanctity to our doctors.

Of S. Martiana (a Mauritanian martyr), July 12 :—

Thee, Almighty God, we beseech and supplicate, that thou wouldst vouchsafe of Thy mercy to accept this oblation, which we offer to Thee with faithful and humble devotion, and wouldst Thyself make the offerings of our service acceptable to Thee; that Thou wouldst make them accepted and sanctified here by the ministry* of the HOLY GHOST, and wouldst receive the requests of our service for a sweet-smelling savour.

There are twelve other Masses in which the same thing occurs: the most remarkable is that for the fifth Sunday in Lent :—

Having recited, O LORD, the precept for the Sacraments of Thine Only-begotten SON, and making mention at the same time of His excellent Passion, and Resurrection, and Ascension into Heaven, we humbly beseech and pray Thy Majesty that the plenitude of Thy benedictions may descend on these sacrifices; and that Thou wouldst pour on them the shower of Thy HOLY GHOST from heaven. That this sacrifice may become after the order of Melchisedech; that this sacrifice may become after the order of Thy patriarchs and prophets; that as Thy Majesty did vouchsafe to accept that which they did in types, signifying the Advent of Thine Only-begotten SON, so Thou wouldst vouchsafe to look upon and to sanctify this sacrifice, *which is* the true Body and Blood of Thy SON our LORD JESUS CHRIST; Who for us all was made Priest and Sacrifice. Thus therefore, most merciful FATHER, sanctify this sacrifice by looking upon it with Thy Glory; that they who receive it may obtain from Thee pardon of sins here, and eternal life in heaven.

Who does not see that the original expression, in place of the two words we have italicised, must have been *that it may become, or, and make it?*

Eight, at least, of Thomasius's Gallican Masses have the Invocation: that which contains it most remarkably is the Office

* Arevalus would read, without sufficient reason, *ministerium* for *mysterium*.

for the Assumption. We give it in the original, for a reason that will presently be evident :—

Descendat, Domine, in his Sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coeternus et co-operator Paraclytus Spiritus, ut quæ tibi de tua terra fructificante porrigimus, cœlesti permuneratione, te sanctificante, sumamus. Ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis.

Now, undoubtedly, this may mean “the bread *having been* changed,” *i. e.* by the words of Institution : but the whole tenor of the passage, joined to what we know of the character of this prayer from other sources, shows that the true meaning is, “the bread being by this invocation changed.” And so Mabillon saw that *permuneratione* is merely an error for *permutatione*.

In Mone’s Third Mass still more strikingly :—

Deprecamus, Pater Omnipotens, ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis Spiritus (*l. Spiritum*) sanctificationis infundas, ut per transfusione cœlestis et invisibilis sacramenti, panis hic mutatur (*l. mutatus*) in carne, et calix translatus in sanguine, sit totius gratia, sit fumentibus medicina, p. d.

So the Fourth Mass :—

Descendat . . . super hunc panem, et super hunc calicem, ut *fiat* nobis legitima eucharistia in transformatione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini.

And this prayer for a *legitima eucharistia* occurs many times both in the Gallican and Mozarabic books.

The *Post Pridie* always ends thus :—

Amen. *Priest.* Through Thy gift, holy LORD : for Thou createst all these things very good, for us Thine unworthy servants ; sancti • flect, quickenest, • blest • est, • and grantest to us ; that they may be blessed by Thee our GOD for ever and ever. Amen.

Then follows, if there be one appointed for the day, the *Antiphona ad confractionem panis* : for example, on the second Sunday in Lent : “Let Thy merciful kindness, O LORD, be upon us, like as we have put our trust in Thee.” And the Priest, having saluted the people, proceeds : “The faith which we believe with the heart, let us say it with the mouth.” And then, and not till then, according to the old rite, he elevates the Host ; because then, and not till then,—not till after the *Post Pridie*, was it a *legitima eucharistia*, according to the Gotho-Hispanic belief. Now, there are two elevations ; one here, and one according to the Roman Use. Having broken the Host into nine parts, the celebrant arranges them thus, in honour of these mysteries :—

	The Incarna- tion.	
The Death.	The Na- tivity.	The Re- surrection.
	The Circum- cision.	The Glory.
	The Appari- tion.	The Kingdom.
	The Passion.	

The glory and the kingdom being properly no part of the Cross. And it is to this custom, in all probability, that the Canon of the Council of Tours refers: “*Ut Corpus Domini, in altari non imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur.*” That is, that the particles were not to be disposed in any way which the Priest might fancy, but in the appointed Cross.

The Nicene Creed, which is said while the priest is so arranging the particles, has nothing otherwise remarkable than that it is phrased in the plural.

The Priest* proceeds to the Collect before the LORD’S Prayer, the last of the seven prayers of S. Isidore. The following, for the sixth Sunday after Easter, may serve as an example:—

Raise us up before Thy presence, Almighty GOD, in Whom we live. To Whom we are dedicated. To Whom we owe our salvation. Whose gift is our festivity. Whose reward is the life of them that believe. Whose redemption is the Resurrection of the dead. Be present in the sacrifices, which Thou hast taught. Be present in the joys which Thou hast given; Thou Who hast sealed the hope of Resurrection. Preserve in us through all things this Thy gift, that celebrating this day of the LORD’S Resurrection with worthy hymns, we may merit to say to Thee from earth,—Our FATHER, &c.

The Gallican Office varied in the same way. Here is an example from Mone’s Sixth Mass:—

We are indeed unworthy of the name of sons, Almighty GOD: but Thou being our Helper, trembling, yet obeying our LORD JESUS CHRIST, with humble mind we pray, and say,—Our FATHER, &c.

* Here, in the present rite, occurs the *memento* for the living; as afterwards, just before the Priest receives, the *memento* for the dead: but these are Ximenian alterations; both the one and the other being commemorated in the Gotho-Hispanic Use before the *Oratio post nomina*.

The LORD'S Prayer follows. The people answer *Amen* to every clause, except to that, "Give us this day our daily bread," where they reply, "For Thou art GOD."* Immediately after there is a variation from the Gallican, and an agreement with the Ambrosian and Roman form. The Gallican has a varying collect that follows, as well as one that precedes, the LORD'S Prayer. As in S. Eulalia's day: "Free us, eternal piety, and "true liberty; and suffer not them, Almighty, to be taken by "the enemy, who desire to be possessed by Thee. Who livest," &c. This is followed by the *Embolismus*, a prayer against temptation, never varying: as is also the case in the Eastern Liturgies. After the *Embolismus*, the Priest, in Easter-tide, exclaims thrice, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath conquered, Alleluia:" and at each time the people reply, "Thou that sittest upon the Cherubim, Root of David, Alleluia:" the Priest holding the Particle called The Kingdom, over the chalice. At other times he proceeds immediately to the *Sancta Sanctis*; in which the Mozarabic agrees with the Eastern Liturgies. Every one knows that in the latter, this exclamation is followed by a confession of faith in the Trinity, or of our LORD'S Divinity. As, for example, in S. Chrysostom: "One Holy, one LORD, JESUS CHRIST, the glory of GOD the FATHER. Amen." In S. Mark: "One Holy FATHER, one Holy SON, one HOLY GHOST, in the unity of GOD the FATHER. Amen." And here, in the Gallican Office, followed the *Treccanum*, the same confession; it is now not to be found in the Mozarabic Rite,† though undoubtedly it once existed there. The *Sancta Sanctis* in the Gotho-Hispanic Office runs thus:—

Holy Things for Holy Persons:‡ and the commixture of the Body [and Blood] of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, be to us that receive and drink it for pardon, and be vouchsafed to the departed faithful for rest. Amen.

And he puts the particle called The Kingdom into the chalice. A relic of the ancient rite was in use in the mediæval Missal of Angers, where the commixture of our LORD'S Body and Blood was accompanied with these words: "Sanctum cum sanctis: hæc sacrosancta commixtio," &c.

* This fact is a sufficient answer to the Chevalier Bunsen's wild dreams about the derivation of all Liturgies from the LORD'S Prayer, considered as the original form of Consecration.

† Another corruption of the present Mozarabic Office here is, that the *Sancta Sanctis* is said in a low voice, instead of as a proclamation.

‡ [Here, perhaps, we ought to translate, *Holy Things to Holy Things*. That great liturgical scholar, Mr. Freeman, translates, (but, I feel convinced, mistaking,) the *Sancta Sanctis*, "The Holy Mysteries are lifted up to the Holies," i.e. to the LORD'S Body in Heaven.]

After the exclamation, "Bow down yourselves for the benediction," the Priest pronounces one that varies with the day, and is almost always contained in three different clauses ; very rarely in four or five. For example, on Easter-day :—

The LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, dying for the salvation of the whole world, rose again to-day from the dead, He by His resurrection mortify you from crime. *R. Amen.* And He That by the Cross destroyed the empire of death, bestow on you a participation in the blessed life. *R. Amen.* That you who in the present world celebrate the day of His Resurrection with joy, may merit the companionship of the Saints in the heavenly land. *R. Amen.* Which He vouchsafe to grant through Thy mercy, O our GOD, who art blessed, and livest, and governest all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

For the first Sunday in Lent :—

CHRIST, the Only-begotten SON of GOD, Who vouchsafed to thirst for the faith of the woman of Samaria, He kindle in you the thirst of His love. *R. Amen.* The same Redeemer Who worked in her that which He might call unto His kingdom, work in you that which He may crown with eternal remuneration. *R. Amen.* And He That gave to the disciples precepts of praying, He vouchsafe to hear you in whatever place ye call upon Him. *R. Amen.* Through Thy mercy, &c.

On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul :—

The Almighty GOD, Who giveth to the miserable every remedy of mercy, grant to you to be cleansed with the tears of Peter from all foolishness of crime. *R. Amen.* Vouchsafe to you to receive the wisdom of the word by the teaching of Paul. *R. Amen.* That the one by prudence, the other by doctrine, may cause you to attain to everlasting life. *R. Amen.* He granting and helping, Who, in perfect unity, liveth and reigneth One GOD for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

The Gallican Use was the same. Mone's Masses contain no Benedictions. There are several in those published by Thomasius. The triple form, however, is not so constantly observed. The following is for S. Andrew's-day :—

Almighty LORD GOD, Who, sitting in Thy glory above the stars, has left to us a propitious star, the blessed Apostles, whose fair cohort, powerful in blessed splendour, Thou didst first preselect in merit, that Thou mightest predestinate them in the kingdom. *R. Amen.* Grant of Thy mercy to the surrounding congregation to be fortified by the sign of the Cross, that it may overcome every assault of adverse power. *R. Amen.* Pour into their senses the Apostolic doctrines, that they may contemplate Thee with unclouded minds. *R. Amen.* That in the tremendous hour of judgment they may be defended by the protection of those whose precepts they followed. *R. Amen.* Which Thyself vouchsafe to grant, who with the FATHER, and the HOLY GHOST, &c.

After the Benediction, the Choir, in the Mozarabic Rite,

says the *Antiphona ad accedentes*. This answers to the Roman *Communio*, and to the Greek κοινωνικόν. In the Spanish Office, however, there are but a few of these Antiphons. That in usual employment is :—

O taste and see how gracious the LORD is.* All. All. All. V. I will bless the LORD at all times : His praise shall ever be in my mouth. All. All. All. V. The LORD shall redeem the souls of His servants, and He shall not forsake any that put their trust in Him. All. All. All. V. Glory, and honour, &c. All. All. All.

Each Sunday in Lent has its proper Antiphona : so has Maundy Thursday. From Easter-eve till Pentecost, it is this :—

Rejoice, O people, and be glad : an Angel sat on the stone of the LORD : he himself gave you the glad tidings. CHRIST hath arisen from the dead, the SAVIOUR of the world : and hath filled all with sweetness : rejoice, O people, and be glad. V. Now his face was as the lightning, and his garments as snow : and he said : P. CHRIST hath arisen from the dead. V. And the women went quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy, and did run to tell His disciples that He had arisen. P. CHRIST hath, &c. V. Glory and honour, &c. P. Rejoice, O people, and be glad, &c.

The use would seem to have been the same in the Gallican Missal. A remarkable metrical example, of the seventh or eighth century, has been preserved, commencing, *Sancti venite, corpus Christi sumite*.†

The prayers said by the Priest after and before reception call for no particular notice ; and the rite is modernised. The Choir at the conclusion sings the *Communio*, which is briefly this, and is invariable, except in Lent ; and therefore does not answer to the Roman *Communio* :—“ *Receſſi Chriſti Corpore et Sanguine, te laudamus, Domine, All. All. All.*” In Lent : “ *Repletum eſt gaudio os noſtrum, et lingua noſtra in exultatione.*”

The Gallican Rite had two varying prayers, the *Poſt Euchariftiam* and the final *Collectio*, which are not found in the Mozarabic. The original concluſion‡ of the Spanish Office was thus : the Priest ſtanding at the Goſpel ſide of the altar :—

The Body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which we have received, and His holy Blood, which we have drunk, ſo adhere to us, eternal Almighty GOD, that it may not be to us to judgment, nor to condemnation, but may profit

* The Apoſt. Conſtitutions order the 34th Pſalm to be ſaid during Communion (viii. 13) ; the Catecheſis of S. Cyril ſeems to imply that only the *Guſtate et videte* was ſaid by the Church of Jeruſalem in his time : and ſo does S. Ambroſe—“ *Unde et Eccleſia videns tantam gratiam, hortatur—Guſtate et videte, &c.*”

† [See my Mediæval Hymns, p. 37.]

‡ A ſtrange medley of eight collectſ, to be ſaid by the Priest, now follows this.

to our salvation, and to the remedy of our souls for eternal life. *R. Amen. Priest.* Through Thy mercy, O our GOD, Who art blessed, and livest, and governest all things for ages of ages. *R. Amen. Priest.* The Lord be ever with you. *R. And with thy spirit. Priest.* Our solemnity is accomplished in the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST: let our prayer be received with peace. *R. Amen.*

Thus, as fully as our space allowed, we have endeavoured to go through the Gotho-Hispanic Rite; the richest, the fullest, the most varied of all known Liturgies. We have shown that it could not be derived from the Roman Liturgy, differing from it as it does in the Prophecy, in the position of the Kiss of Peace, and in the Invocation,—while, though bearing a closer affinity to the Eastern Rites, neither can it be deduced from them, because of its varying Prefaces, its varying Collects, and the position of its Creed. Its perfected structure we owe to such saints as S. Leander, S. Isidore, S. Ildefonso; its explanation and intelligibility to scholars like Alexander Leslie, Faustinus Arevalus, and Lorenzana: but its existence as a living rite is due to one man only, and is but a part of the debt that the Western Church owes to Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo.





VI.

THE AMBROSIAN LITURGY.*



WE have endeavoured to elucidate the theory of the Roman Ritual; we have entered at some length into the Mozarabic and Gallican Missal; we now propose to do as much for the Ambrosian. Some questions, which have been previously discussed at length, we shall therefore feel ourselves at liberty here to consider settled; and it will be our endeavour to avoid repeating here what we have investigated before.

The Ambrosian, like the Mozarabic and Gallican, is a branch of the Ephefine family. All three have been moulded by contact with the Petrine Liturgy; but the Ambrosian, as it might be expected, most of all. It is a living rite, theoretically co-extensive with the province of Milan,—and in this respect of far greater importance than the Mozarabic, now confined to the Chapel in Toledo, and to the three other parishes where it is authorised. But in every other point of view, it is immeasurably inferior to the Spanish Rite; and had the Gallican existed long enough to have taken a status of development like her two sisters, we believe that she also would have been superior to the Milanese. We say, theoretically co-extensive with the province of Milan, because, in point of fact, in the Swiss portion of it, the Roman Rite is used and clung to with marvellous tenacity; inasmuch that when Cardinal de Gaisruck endeavoured to sub-

* 1. *Missale Ambrosianum*, novissime Joseph Cardinalis Puteobonelli, Archiepiscopi, auctoritate recognitum. Mediolani: 1768. Typis Joannis Baptistæ de Sirturis, Impress. Archiepiscopalis.

2. *Missale Ambrosianum*, Caroli Cajetani Cardinalis de Gaisruck, Archiepiscopi, auctoritate recognitum. Novissime impressum. Mediolani: 1850. Apud Jacobum Agnelli, Typographum Archiepiscopalem.

stitute the Ambrosian Liturgy, the popular outburst of feeling exclaimed, "*Either Romans or Lutherans!*"

First, we will give a hasty sketch of the fortunes of the Church of Milan during those centuries in which her ritual was assuming its present form; then explain the division of its ecclesiastical year; the framework of its Missæ; and then its particular beauties and defects as compared with the cognate Mozarabic and Gallican forms.

Italy, then, in the earliest ages, was divided into the Roman and Italic provinces, under the respective headships of Rome and Milan. During the era of persecution, it may safely be said that these two were much on a par: after that period, the one was continually weakened by abstracted provinces, the other continually augmented by means, the recital of which forms one great part of Church History. At an uncertain time, but about A.D. 400, Aquileia became independent of Milan, and vindicated to itself the Primacy of Venetia and Istria. In A.D. 447, the See of Ravenna in like manner claimed the Primacy of the Flaminia and part of the Æmilia; and by these two losses the See of S. Ambrose lost much of the dignity that it had enjoyed previously to and during the pontificate of that great Father.

During his Episcopate, we find the difference between the Roman and Milanese uses, more particularly in the observance of the Saturday, very striking. Yet probably the ritual which he left was the mere kernel or nucleus of that now called the Ambrosian. It was, on the whole, more like the Eastern formulæ than was the Roman; at the same time, in one particular, the variety and distinctions of its Prefaces or Illations, it was further removed from the immutability of the Antiochene and Thaddæan families. An interesting article might be written on the traces which remain in the genuine works of S. Ambrose of the Liturgy which existed at his time.

S. Simplician, his successor (A.D. 397—400), is said to have made considerable additions to the formulæ then in use: this may be true; but the very short period of his pontificate must have cramped his designs. It is better to assume that during the whole of the First Epoch of the Post-Ambrosian Church—that which preceded the capture of Milan by Attila (A.D. 397—452)—the Liturgy was more and more assuming completeness, and settling into the definite arrangement of the various Missal Antiphons. Great names ruled the Italic province during that period: S. Venerius for eight years; S. Marolus for fifteen; S. Martinianus for thirteen; S. Glycerius for three; S. Lazarus for eleven; S. Eusebius for fourteen. During the pontificate of the last-named Bishop it was, that the "Scourge of GOD,"

having already devastated Northern Italy, fell, in A.D. 452 on Milan. The Bishop, guessing by natural prudence, or forewarned by supernatural agency of the impending ruin, led his flock towards the Maritime and Cottian Alps; and on their return, when Attila had retreated, that restoration of the Great Basilic, better known by the name of *Intramurana*, took place, which has left its stamp on the Ambrosian Calendar to all ages. The great flaw of the Mozarabic, as every one knows, is that beyond the Seventh Sunday after Trinity there is no further Dominical Office till we come to the Kalends of November; so that for ten or twelve Sundays in the summer the same office is repeated again and again. This would have been the case at Milan; but the time is now well filled up by the occurrence of the Feast of Dedication on the third Sunday in October; the two former Sundays of that month being taken up in preparation for it: and, by the observance of the Decollation of S. John Baptist, with its train of following Sundays.

We are inclined, then, to fix the end of the First Epoch of the Ambrosian Rite to the return of the exiled citizens in 453. The homily delivered on that occasion by the most celebrated preacher of his time, S. Maximus of Turin, and which is still extant, used to be read on the occasion of this Festival, till the last restoration of the Great Basilic, by S. Charles Borromeo.

During the Second Epoch, from thence to the inauguration of the Gothic kings (A. D. 453—493), the Ambrosian Office probably perfected its most important parts. From a careful examination of its Prefaces, and a comparison between them and the relics of ecclesiastical writers of that place and time, this fact, we think, might be made pretty clear; and it is curious that the scholars of Italy have not devoted themselves to an inquiry so full of interest and importance. During this epoch, five Prelates held the See of S. Ambrose; all of them reckoned among the saints—S. Geruntius, S. Benignus, S. Senator, S. Theodorus I, S. Laurentius I.

The Third Epoch is under the Gothic kings, and lasts from A. D. 493 to 568. It also saw five Pontificates, four Prelates out of the five being saints—S. Eustorgius II, S. Magnus, S. Datus, Vitalis, S. Auxanus. During this epoch, the lesser hymns and lessons, the Psalmelli, Epistolellæ, Offertories, Transitories, and Confractories, appear to have formed themselves as they now are.

The Fourth Epoch is that of the Lombardic kings, from A. D. 568 to 739; and it is ecclesiastically important from the Aquileian schism of the Three Chapters. The reader is aware that on the condemnation of these Chapters, in the teeth of the Pope,

by the Fifth Œcumenical Council, the Primate of Aquileia headed the dissentients from that condemnation; and, taking to himself the title of Patriarch, dealt his anathemas about pretty freely to the rest of the Church.

The schism thus commenced lasted more than a century. During this time the See of Milan was occupied by twelve prelates, of whom seven only are reckoned among the saints; namely, S. Honoratus, Laurentius II, Constantius, Adeodatus, Asterius, Fortis, S. Joannes Bonus, S. Antoninus, S. Mauricillus, S. Ampellius, S. Mansuetus, S. Benedictus, Theodorus II. And in this time we may fairly conclude that the book finally assumed the general character that it now possesses.

We will now proceed to the Office itself; and it will be most convenient to give, in the first place, the Dominical arrangement of its ecclesiastical year, which is very peculiar. The reader will perhaps understand it better if we take an actual year,—that on which we have just entered—[1861].

Jan.	1. Circumcision.		17. Third Sun. after Pen.
	8. First Sunday after Epi- phany.	July	24. Fourth "
	15. Second "		1. Fifth "
	22. Third "		8. Sixth "
	29. Fourth "		15. Seventh "
Feb.	5. Septuagesima.		22. Eighth "
	12. Sexagesima.	August	29. Ninth "
	19. Quinquagesima.		5. Tenth "
	20. Lent begins.		12. Eleventh "
	26. Quadragesima.		19. Twelfth "
March	4. Sunday of the Samaritan.	Sept.	26. Thirteenth "
	11. " Abraham.		2. First after Decollation.
	18. " The Blind Man.		9. Second "
	25. " Lazarus.		16. Third "
	31. Saturday of the Tradi- tion of the Symbol.		23. Fourth "
April	1. Palm Sunday.	Oct.	30. Fifth "
	8. Easter Day.		7. First Sunday in October.
	15. First Sunday after Easter.		14. Sunday before Dedic- ation.
	22. Second "		21. Dedication.
	29. Third "		28. First Sunday after De- dication.
May	6. Fourth "	Nov.	4. Second "
	13. Fifth "		11. Third "
	17. Ascension Day.		18. First Sunday in Advent.
	20. Sunday after Ascension.		25. Second "
	27. Whit Sunday.	Dec.	2. Third "
June	3. Trinity Sunday.		9. Fourth "
	10. Second Sunday after Pentecost.		16. Fifth "
			23. Sixth "

We have given, in a previous paper, a table of the analogous changeable portions of the Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Roman Missals; the student may do well to turn to that.

We will now take these in order.

The Ambrosian *Ingressa* differs from the Mozarabic and Roman in its construction; not consisting, as they do, of an anthem broken by V. and R., but a simple consecutive clause. Perhaps in the beauty of these Milan may challenge any other Liturgy; and every ritualist knows of how great importance it is that the key-note of the whole service, the Antiphon, so to speak, of the whole hymn of praise, should be expressive. Let us take the six Sundays of Advent as examples in each.

AMBROSIAN.

1. Unto Thee, O LORD, do I lift up my soul: my GOD, I have put my trust in Thee: O let me not be confounded, neither let mine enemies triumph over me. For all those that seek Thee shall not be confounded.

MOZARABIC.

1. Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that evangeliseth peace, Alleluia, that announceth good things, Alleluia: celebrate, O Judah, thy Festivals, Alleluia, and perform to the LORD thy vows. Alleluia. *V.* The LORD gave the word: great was the company of the preachers. *Ps.* And perform. *V.* Glory and honour to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST. *Ps.* And perform. *V.* For ever and ever.

The Ambrosian *Ingressa* for the first Sunday in Advent is the same as the Roman, though a little abbreviated. To our taste, as the opening of the season, the Mozarabic is the finer, nevertheless.

2. Remember us, O LORD, according to the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people: O visit us with Thy salvation. That we may see the felicity of Thy chosen, and rejoice in the gladness of Thy people, and give thanks with Thine inheritance.

2. Get thee up upon the high mountain, thou that evangelisest to Sion, lift up thy voice with strength, thou that evangelisest to Jerusalem. Say to the cities of Judah, Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come, our GOD, and shall not keep silence. Alleluia. *Ps.* Say. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* Say.

3. His fruit shall be lifted up above Lebanon, and they shall flourish out of the city like grass upon the earth: and His Name shall be blessed for ever: and His Name shall remain before the sun, and His seat before the moon for ever and ever: and in Him shall the ends of the earth be blessed.

3. Behold, the glory of the LORD shall be revealed. Alleluia. And all flesh shall see. Alleluia. That the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it. Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come: our GOD, and shall not keep silence, Alleluia. *Ps.* That the. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* That the.

Observe that, though the Ambrosian *Ingressa* comes a great deal nearer to the Italian than it does to the Vulgate Version,

yet it is not exactly the same with either; on which we shall have more to say presently.

AMBROSIAN.

4. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the LORD: make straight in the desert a high-way for our GOD.

5. Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the Righteous One: let the earth be opened, and let it bud forth the Saviour.

6. Dost thou behold Elizabeth discoursing with Mary the Mother of GOD: Why hast thou come to me, Mother of thy GOD? Had I known it, I would have gone to meet thee. For thou bearest the Ruler, and I the Prophet: thou the Lawgiver,—and I the Law-receiver: thou the WORD, and I the Voice that proclaimeth the SAVIOUR.

MOZARABIC.

4. *As the first.*

5. *As the second.*

6. Holy LORD GOD Omnipotent: Which is, and was, and is to come: Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come: our GOD, and shall not keep silence. Alleluia. *Ps.* Which is. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* Which is.

The last Ingressa is from S. Ambrose himself; and this is the case in several other instances. We are not sure that, in these Advent Introits, Milan has always the advantage over Toledo: the Antiphons of the former are more subjective—to use a word we greatly dislike—especially the earlier ones. But it is a sad flaw in the Mozarabic office to have a repetition, without sense or beauty, or two Introits, so unlike the superabounding fulness of that ritual in many cases.

There is nothing more profitable to ritualists than—if we may borrow a term from another art—*comparative* ecclesiology; and we propose to introduce a little in the course of this paper. Notice, in the Roman Introits, that the first is the same as the first in both Ambrosian and Mozarabic; and that the fourth is the same as the fifth of Milan, and exquisitely beautiful it is. The second is—"People of Sion, behold the LORD cometh to save the nations: and the LORD shall cause the glory of His voice to be heard in the joy of your heart. *Ps.* Give ear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep. *V.* Glory." The third is simply—"Rejoice in the LORD alway," &c. But it is to be observed, that the *Rorate* of the fourth Sunday is not Gregorian. In the original Office it is, "Remember me, O LORD, with the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people,"—with the rest. This is retained in many German Missals, as, for example, the Halberstadt and the Nuremberg; also in our own. When was it altered? The old Introit is retained in Durandus (who wrote in 1286). But then

here is a difficulty. Sicardus,* who died in 1214, speaks of it as a modern one (wherein he is mistaken): still this would seem to prove that the *Rorate* was already employed in some places.

We must return to our proper subject, and will proceed to point out some examples on which we think the Ambrosian Ingressa singularly happy. That for Christmas Day is curious, from its peculiar reading: "Rejoice, O barren, *thou that wast athirst* :† let the desert be glad: rejoice, O ye waste places "of Judah, for our LORD hath come and redeemed us." That for New Year's Day is of the most venerable antiquity, and clearly referable to a period when Paganism was still a persecuting power, in allusion to the heathen festival of the New Year. We are not aware that this has ever been pointed out; but, so far as our reading goes, this is the oldest bit of any peculiar *Missa* (always excepting No. IV. of the Reichenau collection) which remains. "In the sight of the Gentiles fear ye not; but do ye in your hearts adore and fear the LORD: "for His angel is with you." (Baruch vi. 5.) On the Epiphany, while the Roman gives us "Behold, the LORD the "Ruler cometh, and in His Hand is glory, and might, and "empire,"—an Antiphon of no especial propriety,—and the Mozarabic refers to the ancient Spanish custom of public Baptism at Epiphany, the Ambrosian has, with exquisite beauty, "The City hath no need either of the sun or of the moon to "lighten it, for GOD is the brightness of it. And the nations "shall walk in her light; and the kings of the earth do bring "their glory and honour unto it." It looks past, we see, the LORD'S Epiphany, wrought once that it might be wrought for ever, and fixes its gaze on that great and true *ἐπιφάνεια* of His glory, the new heavens and the new earth.

Quicumque Christum queritis
Oculos in altum tollite:
Illic licebit visere
Regale signum gloriæ.

* His words are:—"In quo utero videns gentilitas calceatam fore Divinitatem in Introitu *secundum quosdam modernos*, clamat ad eam, dicens, *Memento nostri*," &c. *Mitrale* v. 4, p. 214. CD. We have been asked, why in former papers on Ritual we have made so much use of this author, who is never quoted by the Master Ritualists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *Mitrale* of Sicardus was only for the first time printed by the Abbé Migne, in 1855: those great men, therefore, had no opportunity of referring to a book which it is as necessary that the modern ritualist should have at his finger ends as Durandus or Hugh of S. Victor or Rupert.

† *Quæ sitiebas*. The Vulgate, both in Isaiah and in the Galatians, gives simply, *Quæ non paris*.

Septuagesima has a happy Introit. "I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the LORD, that they are thoughts of peace and not of bitterness: ye shall call upon Me, and I will hear you: and will bring back your captivity from all places." The Roman has only: "The pains of hell came about me," &c., which, though Gregorian, is rather poor. The Mozarabic, as every one knows, has no such special Sunday.

Quinquagesima presents a very singular feature. We give the Ingressa in the original. "Jucunda est præsens vita, et transit: terribile est, Christus, judicium tuum, et permanet. Quapropter incertum honorem relinquamus, et de infinito timore cogitemus, clamantes,—Christe, miserere nobis." Now this is almost word for word a translation of a Troparion in the Triodion for the same Sunday: a visible proof of the close connection between Milan and the East. It is remarkable that the *Invocabit me* is common both to Milan and Rome for the first Sunday in Lent; in the Ambrosian ritual, however, it goes through the *Missa* of the week: in the Roman, not so.

We have no observation to make on the Ingressa till we come to the Sundays after Pentecost. Here there is a remarkable agreement between the Roman and Ambrosian. The Mozarabic, up to the seventh Sunday after Pentecost, beyond which there is no office, has the unvaried "Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus est," &c. But the following table is worth attention:—

AMBROSIAN.

II. after Pentecost.	Iustus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum: fac cum servo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam.	
III. „	Factus est Dñus protector meus: et eduxit me in latitudinem: saluum me fecit, quoniam voluit me.	Is not in the Roman. Is the Introit, <i>without the Psalm</i> , for the II. Sunday in the Roman.

In this Introit, Durandus finds a reference to the Gospel, that of the great feast, where—

Villa, boves, uxor, coenam claufere vocatis:
Mundus, cura, caro, cœlum claufere renatis.

But the Ambrosian Gospel is on a totally different subject: the blind leading the blind in S. Luke.

IV. & XIII. after Pentecost.

„ Exaudi, Domine, vocem meam

(After Pentecost.)	quâ clamavi ad te : Tibi dixit cor meum : Quæsit te vultus meus : vultum tuum, Domine, requiram.	Is that of the V.
V. & XIV.	„ Respice in me — peccata mea, Deus meus.	Does not occur.
VI. & XV.	„ Dominus illuminatio mea — — ceciderunt.	Is that of the IV.
X.	„ Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam, et exaudi me : saluum fac servum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te. miserere mihi : quoniam ad te clamavi tota die.	Is the XIV.
XI.	„ Iustus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum. Fac cum servo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam.	Is the XVII.

The following Ingressæ are the same :—

		After Decollat.
After Pentecost.	10	4
2	11	5
3	12	
4	13	
5	14	
6	15	1 after Dedication.
7	After Decollat.	2 after Dedication.
	1	1 of October.
8	2	2 of October. 3 after Dedication.
9	3	

No doubt, originally, the first after Pentecost was the same as the tenth and twentieth : though afterwards altered for the later Festival of Trinity. The 3rd of October, the Festival of the Dedication, has the following :—

Ye, who are about to pass over this Jordan, build an altar to the LORD of rough stone which iron hath not touched : and ye shall offer on it whole burnt sacrifices, and peace offerings to our GOD :

which is the Mozarabic Introit, for the three times of solemn public baptism.

From the *Ingressa*, we proceed to the Missal Litany, which is only said on the Sundays of Lent. There are but two ; the melody is very grand, and the words are precisely of the form of a Greek ektene. That which is said on the first, third, and fifth Sundays, is as follows :—

Divinæ pacis, et indulgentiæ munera supplicantes, ex toto corde et ex tota anima precamur te :

Domine, miserere.

Pro Ecclesiâ tuâ Catholicâ, quæ hic, et per universum orbem diffusa est.

R. Domine, miserere.

V. Pro Papâ nostro *Il.* et Pontifice nostro *Il.* et omni clero eorum, omnibusque sacerdotibus ac ministris.

V. Pro famulo tuo *Il.* Imperatore et Rege nostro, et omni exercitu ejus.

V. Pro pace Ecclesiarum, vocatione Gentium et quiete populorum.

V. Pro civitate hâc et conversione ejus omnibusque habitantibus in eâ.

V. Pro aeris temperiâ, et fructu et fecunditate terrarum.

V. Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis, ac penitentibus.

V. Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis, constitutis.

V. Pro iis qui diversis calamitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis.

V. Pro iis qui in sanctâ tuâ Ecclesiâ fructus misericordiæ largiuntur.

We next come to the *Oratio super populum*, which is, in fact, the Collect for the Day, and ought to be distinguished from the* Gallican Prayer of the same name, which occurs towards the end, and is equivalent to the Benediction. There is no such collect in the Mozarabic; and this is the one great advantage, and we think the only one, which the present office has over that. Now it is very singular to compare the Milanese *Oratio super populum* with the Roman Collect. The instances in which they are the same are as follow:—The Ambrosian for feriæ in Advent is the Roman for its fourth Sunday. The prayers are identical in—First Mass at Christmas, S. Thomas of Canterbury (of course), Epiphany III, Epiphany V. In Lent (it must be remembered that there is no Ambrosian office for the Fridays) the Sundays are always different. The week-days are the same with these exceptions:—Thursday in the second and third weeks; in the fourth Tuesday and Saturday; also, the Ambrosian Thursday is the Roman Friday: in Passion Week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday: in Holy Week, Friday, Saturday. In Easter Week, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday are the same. So is the first Sunday after. The Roman third is the Milanese fourth; Trinity and the first Sunday after Pentecost are the same; three or four others of the Sundays after Trinity have the same Collects, though not in the same order. To which we may add that the Ambrosian S. Stephen is the same as the Roman Octave.

But, the same or not the same, these Collects have exactly a

* It is odd that, in speaking of the latter, Liturgical writers do not refer to the Ambrosian use of the terms: so for example Gerbertus, Liturg. Alemann. Tom. i. p. 400. It is to the Gallican use, of course, that Micrologus alludes, where we find “Oratio post communionem pro solis communicantibus debet orari. Populus autem etsi quotidie in Quadragesimâ convenit, non tamen quotidie, ut deberet, communicat. Ne ergo populus ita oratione caret, adjecta est *Oratio super populum*, in quâ non de communicatione, sed de populi protectione oratur specialiter.” In this sense, the Roman Missal has the *Super populum* in Lent, but in Lent only.

similar character with those to which we are accustomed ; so similar, that it is not worth while to dwell at any further length on them. We proceed to the Prophecy.

The Prophecy is read on all Sundays and Festivals, but not in Ferial Masses. This also was the Gallican as well as the Mozarabic use ; and a curious vestige of it was kept up in some of the French churches even in the eighteenth century. So it was at the three Masses of Christmas in the Cathedrals of Vienne, Rouen, and Orleans (only at Vienne *after* the Epistle) : so in the third Mass at Fontevraud, at all three at Auxerre, at all the highest festivals at Orleans ; at Christmas in S. Aygnan at Orleans ; so at the Collegiate Church of Jargeau ; also at Rouen S. Lo.

We give those between Advent and Mid-Lent :—

	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.
Advent 1.	Isaiah li. 4—8.	Isaiah x. 33 ; xi. 10.
2.	Baruch iv. 36 ; v. 9.	Isaiah li. 7—12.
3.	Isaiah xxxv.	Isaiah li. 1—6.
4.	Isaiah xl. 1—11.	Isaiah xxiv. 16—23.
5.	Micah v. 2, 3, and Malachi iii. 1—7.	Isaiah xvi. 1—5.
6.	Isaiah lxii. 8 ; lxiii. 4.	Isaiah xxxv.
Christmas Day.	Isaiah ix. 1—7.	Isaiah ix. 1—7.
3rd Mass.		
S. Stephen.	Acts vi. 9, 10, and vii. 54—60.	Acts vi. and vii. 51—viii. 3.
S. John Ev.	1 S. John i.	Wisdom x. 10—18.
Holy Innocents.	Jeremiah xxxi. 15—20.	Jeremiah xxxi. 15—20.
Circumcision.	Baruch vi. 1, 2.	Isaiah xlviii. 12—20.
	Jeremiah lvii. 52—54.	
	Baruch vi. 4—7.	
Sunday in the Octave.	Isaiah viii. 9—18.	Isaiah xlix. 1—6.
Epiphany.	Isaiah lx. 1—6.	Isaiah lx. 1—19.
1st Sunday after Epiph.	Isaiah lxi. 1—3, and lxii. 11, 12.	Isaiah lii. 1—10.
2nd	Acts iv. 9—12.	Isaiah lxxv. 17—24.
3rd	Ezekiel xxxvii. 21—28.	Isaiah lxxvi. 1—14.
4th	Jerem. xxxiii. 14—21.	Jeremiah xxxi. 31—34.
5th	Malachi iii. 9—12.	Jeremiah xxxi. 10—14.
6th	Malachi iii. 13—18.	Jeremiah iii. 29 ; iv. 2.
7th, or Septuagesima.	Joel ii. 12—21.	Jeremiah vii. 1—7.
8th, or Sexagesima.	Ezekiel xxxiii. 7—11.	Jeremiah xiii.
9th, or Quinquagesima.	Zachariah ix. 5—14.	Isaiah lv.
In Cap. Jejunii.		Proverbs i. 23—32.
Lent, 1st Sunday.	Isaiah lviii. 1—12.	Isaiah lv.
Monday.	Ezekiel xxxiv. 11—16.	
Tuesday.	Isaiah lv. 6—11.	
Wednesday.	Exodus xxiv. 12—18.	Prov. xiii. 22 ; xiv. 11.
Thursday.		Exod. xxxiv. 27—35.
Friday.	Ezekiel xviii. 1—9.	Eccles. xxix. 1—12.

	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.
Saturday.	<i>Epistle.</i>	Gen. xxxi. 17 ; xxxii. 1.
Lent, 2nd Sunday	Exodus. xx. 1—24.	Gen. xli. 1—45.
Monday.	Daniel ix. 15—19.	
Tuesday.	1 Kings xvii. 8—16.	Prov. xxvii. 23 ; xxviii.
Wednesday.	Ethar xiii. 9—17.	10 ; Exod. ii. 11 ; iii. 15.
Thursday.	Jeremiah xvii. 5—10.	
Friday.		Wisdom xviii. 15—21.
		Exod. xiii. 17 ; xiv. 14.
Saturday.		
Lent, 3rd Sunday.	Exodus xxxiv. 1—10.	Prov. xx. 17—28.
		Numb. xxii. 1 ; xxiii. 10.
Monday.	2 Kings v. 1—15.	
Tuesday.	2 Kings iv. 1—7.	
Wednesday.	Exodus xx. 12—24.	Prov. xxi. 22—31.
		Judges i. 1—26.
Thursday.	Jeremiah vii. 1—7.	
Friday.		Eccles. ix. 1—10.
		Judges xvi.
Saturday.		
Lent, 4th Sunday.	Exodus xxxiv. 23—32.	Eccles. xiv. 11—19.
		1 Sam. i. 1—20.

The Prophecy is followed by the Psalmellus, a verse and response almost always taken from the Psalms, and in the same order and connection in which they occur in the Psalter. It is frequently in fact the same as, though not theoretically agreeing with, the Roman Gradual. There is nothing that seems particularly to call for remark in this Antiphon ; and we will therefore proceed to the Epistle.

Advent :—

AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	ROMAN.
1. 2 Thessal. ii. 1—14.	Rom. xv. 14—29.	Rom. xii.

It is somewhat singular to find the first epistle in Advent setting forth that the day of CHRIST is *not* at hand ; yet, perhaps, as a warning of the terrors for which the faithful must be prepared before the LORD'S coming, the Ambrosian Epistle is not ill-chosen. The appropriateness of the Mozarabic we fail to see, though we are far too well aware of the admirable skill which has grouped that noble office, to feel any doubt that the fault is in ourselves.

2. Rom. xv. 1—13.	Rom. xiii. 1—8.
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The Ambrosian is the same as the Roman for *its* second Sunday ; the testimony of Scripture to our LORD'S Advent. The Mozarabic is again difficult of comprehension, unless we

say that it refers to our LORD'S birth in Bethlehem as having taken place there through His parents' obedience "to the higher powers," and their fulfilment of the concluding clause,—“Tribute to whom tribute.”

AMBROSIAN.

MOZARABIC.

ROMAN.

3. Rom. xi. 25 to end.

Rom. xi. 25 to end.

Rom. xiii. 11 to end.

The Milanese and Spanish not inappropriately recite the prophecy of the restoration of Israel and the call of the Gentiles as events that must precede the final Advent. The Antiphona post Evang. of the former carries on the same train of thought, “Prepare to meet thy GOD, O Israel;” and the Offertory unites the prophecy of Joel, “There shall no strangers pass through Jerusalem any more,” with the command to Joshua, “Arise and pass over this Jordan,”—the first entrance on the Promised Land being a type of the final return. The Roman Office most strikingly commences that Advent with the trumpet-call of, “Now it is high time to awake out of sleep.”

4. Hebrews x. 35—39.

1 Cor. xv. 23—31.

Rom. xv. 1—13.

The Ambrosian is singularly appropriate. “He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry.” The Mozarabic, with its prophecy of “Then cometh the end,” happily converts what we have been accustomed to consider an Easter, into an Advent Epistle. Of the Roman we have spoken.

5. Gal. iv. 22—31.

1 Thessal. v. 14—23.

Philipp. iv. 4—7.

The parable of Agar, we imagine, is introduced to teach patience under the sufferings which the Church must endure, before the coming of the LORD shall end her sufferings for ever. The Mozarabic ends suitably with, “Your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST,” as appropriate a close as is that of the Roman,—“The LORD is at hand.”

6. Philipp. iv. 4—9.

2 Thessal. ii. 1—14.

2 Cor. iv. 1—8.

The Ambrosian gives us last Sunday's Roman Epistle,—we think, in a better position. Nothing can more fitly close the series of Advent predictions. The Mozarabic ends with that prophecy of Antichrist with which the Ambrosian commenced, and surely more suitably placed. It is worth notice that Durandus tells us how, in his days, some churches transposed these epistles, reading that from the Corinthians on the third Sunday, that from the Philippians on the fourth. Sicardus, however, and Rupert give no hint of this.

The Nativity :—

AMBROSIAN.
Hebrews i. 1—8.

MOZARABIC.
Hebrews i. 1—12.

ROMAN.
Hebrews i. 1—12.

Saint Stephen :—

2 Timothy iii. 17 ;
iv. 8.

Acts vi. 1 to end ;
and vii. 1 ; and
51—60.

Acts vi. 8—10 ;
and vii. 54—60.

The Ambrosian, relegating the account of the Protomartyr's Triumph to the Prophecy, chooses a most happy epistle, not only from the appositeness of the "I have fought a good fight," &c., but from the reference to S. Stephen's constant allusion to Scripture in the commencement,—*"All Scripture is given,"* &c., and the glance at the season of the year at its conclusion,—*"all them also that love His appearing."* The Mozarabic is a better compendium of the history than the Roman ; both, however, shine in comparison with the wretched arrangement of lessons and epistles in our own Prayer-book.

Saint John Evangelist :—

Rom. x. 8—13.

1 Thessal. iv. 13 to end.

Eccclus. xv. 1—6.

The Ambrosian prophecy, though not the same passage as the Roman epistle, is to the same effect ; both, of course, referring to him who gathered his marvellous depth of theology by lying on the breast of the True Wisdom. The epistle seems less appropriate ; it would be equally suitable for any Apostle. The Mozarabic appears of great antiquity, the *"we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the LORD, shall not prevent them that are asleep"* clearly referring to the saying that went *"out among the brethren that that disciple should not die."*

Holy Innocents :—

Rom. viii. 14—21.

2 Cor. i. 3—7.

Rev. xiv. 1—5.

Both Ambrosian and Mozarabic epistles suit well enough to the sorrow of the bereaved Mothers ; but how infinitely inferior to the Roman (and our own) glorious Lesson ! Our and the Roman lesson from Jeremiah, forms the epistle of Milan and Toledo. Durandus, however, gives the lesson from Jeremiah as the proper epistle ; but some churches, says he, where Alleluia is sung on this day, have that from the Revelation. In the Roman Rite, however, Alleluia is only sung on the Octave, signifying the joy of the happy infants in the Eternal Octave of Beatitude. We cannot find the epistle from Jeremiah in any ancient Missal within our reach.

Circumcision :—

AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	ROMAN.
Philipp. iii. 1—8.	Philipp. iii. 1—8.	Gal. iv. 1—7.

The Ambrosian and Mozarabic dwell with propriety on the abolition of Jewish circumcision; the Roman is simply for the Octave. We do not at all understand the Halberstadt. It gives Gal. iii. 23—iv. 1, for the epistle; and then it follows, *Epistola sequens legitur in Circumcisione Domini.*—Col. i. 23—28.

Epiphany :—

Titus ii. 11 ; iii. 2.	Gal. iii. 27 ; iv. 7.	Isaiah lx. 1—7.
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The force of the Ambrosian lies in its commencement, ΕΠΕΦΑΝΗ γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ., which would seem to give it a Greek origin. The Mozarabic refers to the Epiphany Baptism, a Spanish custom abolished by S. Damasus and S. Himerius of Tarragona; therefore the epistle is earlier than the fourth century. The Roman Epistle forms the prophecy in the others, and was the prophecy as early as the fifth century. For in one of the sermons of S. Maximus of Turin on that day (he of course belonged to the Italic province) we have this commencement :—“ Ait Prophetarum præcipuus Isaias, sicut audistis, fratres charissimi, Illuminare, illuminare, Jerusalem.” So it is in the lectionary of Luxueil.

Christophory :—

Heb. xi. 13—16.	•	•
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First Sunday after Epiphany :—

Ephes. iv. 23—28.	Rom. i. 1—17	Rom. xii. 1—5.
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The Mozarabic on this day begins the Epistle to the Romans, and reads on from it for five Sundays. The Luxovienſe differs from all, having 1 Cor. i. 15—31. Ritualists are not well agreed as to the reason of the Roman Epistle. Durandus speaks of the “ living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to GOD ” as the antitype of the Three Kings. Sicardus speaks of the joyous character of the whole office, inviting as it does to praise; but since “ praise is unbecoming in the mouth of a sinner,” the epistle, he says, speaks of holiness.

After Epiphany :—

	MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.	ROMAN.
Second Sunday.	Rom. vi. 12—18.	1 Cor. i. 1—5.	Rom. xii. 6—16.
Third Sunday.	Rom. vi. 19—25.	Gal. v. 26 ; vi. 6.	Rom. xii. 16—21.
Fourth Sunday.	Rom. vii. 14 to end.	Col. i. 3—11.	Rom. xiii. 8—10.

It is worth while to observe that the scope of the Roman Epistles during this season, is the objective action of the law of GOD on the mind of man; whereas the other two rites rather dwell on his subjective reception of it. There is a curious reading at the conclusion of the last-named Mozarabic Epistle. "Infelix ego homo; quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? " *Gratia Dei, vita et pax*: per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum."

MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.	ROMAN.
Fifth Sunday. Rom. viii. 3—9.	Rom. xiii. 8—10.	Col. iii. 12—17.
Sixth Sunday. 1 Cor. i. 10—17.	Col. ii. 1—7.	1 Thes. i. 2 to end.

Septuagesima :—

1 Cor. ii. 10; iii. 6. 1 Cor. ix. 24; x. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 24; x. 5.

We must first remember that the Mozarabic has no such season as Septuagesima; but goes on counting its Sundays from after Epiphany to the commencement of the Fast. We may doubt whether the original arrangement of the Ambrosian were not the same, and its present office simply borrowed from the Roman. It is to be observed that the Roman continues the allegory of the Apostle, taken from the games, by adding his description of the journeyings of the Jews in the wilderness, and thereby points out the identity of his argument in both cases. "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest," &c. "*For*," or "*Now*," (not *moreover*), "brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant," &c. He is assigning the cause why the body of a Christian should be kept in subjection, as having, like the Jews, eaten that spiritual meat and received that spiritual drink. Our reformers, tied down by their unhappy adherence to chapters, misg or neglect this connection, and end with the conclusion of the ninth.

Sexagesima :—

1 Cor. xii. 27—xiii. 9. 1 Cor. ix. 7—12. 2 Cor. xi. 19—xii. 9.

Observe first that the Ambrosian Office is simply going through the most striking passages of the Corinthians, after having in like manner gone through the Romans. It seems difficult to understand why the description of charity, so very appropriate for the near approach of the Fast at Quinquagesima, should have been put back a Sunday by the Mozarabic. The Roman Epistle, which the Sarum follows, is simply selected on this account, that the Station is, on that Sunday, in the Basilic of S. Paul; and to him, therefore, do the Collect and Epistle more especially point. It is almost needless to observe that our

Collect, "O GOD, who seest that we put not our trust in anything that we do," is altered from the original, which concludes thus:—"Mercifully grant, that by the intercession of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be defended against all adversity." It is rather singular that in the German Missals, where there is no reason for the commemoration of S. Paul on this day, the same Collect and Epistle are always found.

Ash-Wednesday:—

MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.	ROMAN.
S. James i. 13—21.	None.	Joel ii. 12—19.

It was not till the final alteration of the Mozarabic Rite by Cardinal Ximenes, that the season of Lent was extended backwards to Ash-Wednesday. Till then, it commenced, as does the Ambrosian to this day, with the First Sunday, thus containing only thirty-six days complete; the tenth part, roughly measured, of the whole year. Those who made the alteration, did it after a most clumsy fashion, changing Epistles and Gospels so as to deprive them of all appropriateness of position. The office for Ash-Wednesday is that which was, in Gotho-Hispanic times, the office for the First Sunday in Lent: the present first, the original second; the present second, the original third; the present third, the original fifth. The fourth, or *Mediante*, is as it was; the fifth is new; the sixth, or *De Traditione*, is as it was.

First Sunday in the Fast:—

2 Cor. v. 20—vi. 10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.
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We may observe that henceforth, during the Fast, the Ambrosian, like the Roman, has a special office for every day; but with this difference, that there is none for Friday. The Mozarabic, on the contrary, has no especial office except for Wednesday and Friday. Here, then, is a clear trace of the influence which the Eastern Church possessed at Milan; as we know it did in many other things, as, for example, in the festal character of Saturday. The Greek Church, as every one knows, never celebrates in Lent, except on the Saturdays, Sundays, and High Festivals; and here we find Milan doing the same on one day in each quadragesimal week. Notice this also. On the first four days of the week, the lessons are, at Milan, Prophecy and Gospel, the Epistle being omitted.

First Sunday in Lent:—

2 Cor. v. 20—vi. 10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.
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The Epistle, common to the three rites, arms, says Durandus, the faithful with the four cardinal virtues; and certainly a more appropriate one could not have been selected.

Second Sunday in Lent :—

MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.	ROMAN.
James ii. 14—20.	Ephesians i. 15—23.	1 Thes. iv. 1—8.

The Roman Epistle, as all the ritualists tell us, occupies this place, because when the Church begins to descend from generals to particulars, she warns her children against the sin of impurity as that which has destroyed infinitely more than any other. Hence also the selection of what otherwise seems inappropriate, the Transfiguration from the Gospel; as if she would teach us how those bodies are to be honoured and held in reverence, the future glorification of which was so miraculously manifested by our LORD. This, however, is a strictly Roman use; and the majority of other Churches read, as did the Sarum, and as we still do, the history of the Syro-Phœnician woman. In the very ancient *Capitular Evangeliorum*, published by Thomasius, this Sunday is “vacant”—that is, had no proper office, on account of the very heavy duty of the preceding Saturday in Ordinations. Hence some, at a later time, took the preceding Thursday’s Gospel, that of the Syro-Phœnician; others that of the Friday, the Transfiguration. Durandus simply says that “in some Churches” the Transfiguration is read for the Gospel. The Mozarabic very appropriately gives us S. James’s lesson on the necessity of works; and the Ambrosian not less fitly calls off our thoughts from the sufferings of the present Fast to the glory which is to be their result.

Third Sunday in Lent :—

1 S. Pet. i. 1—12.	1 Thes. ii. 20; iii. 8.	Ephes. v. 1—9.
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Mid-Lent Sunday :—

2 S. Pet. i. 1—9.	1 Thes. iv. 1—12.	Gal. iv. 22—31.
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Passion Sunday :—

1 S. John i. 1—7.	Ephes. v. 15—21.	Heb. ix. 11—15.
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Palm Sunday :—

Gal. i. 1—12.	2 Thes. ii. 15—iii. 5.	Philipp. ii. 1—11.
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Of these Epistles, the two most striking to our mind are the Mozarabic for Passion and Palm Sunday, the former ending with the words which form so complete an Antiphon to the whole of Passion-tide: “The blood of JESUS CHRIST His SON cleanse us from all sin;” the latter, that anathema of S. Paul on those who should preach any other Gospel than that of the Atonement, which the following week is to set forth. The Ambrosian Epistle for Palm Sunday seems at first sight utterly inappro-

prate. But the reason is this. The preceding Saturday is that of the Tradition of the Symbol ; and although the Creed in the Milanese Church is not now actually delivered to the Catechumens, as it is in the Mozarabic, the Epistle with reference to the ancient rite begins very properly, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions you have been taught."

We have now said enough about the Epistle. A few words are all that we must allow ourselves on the Gospel. Those in Lent are the most deserving of our attention. The Ambrosian for the First Sunday, which, we must again repeat, is the actual commencement of their Lent, has the Gospel of the Temptation from S. Matthew. It was so originally in the Mozarabic Office, though now it is thrown back to Ash-Wednesday. The Second Sunday is in the Ambrosian called the Sunday of the Samaritan, the Gospel being that chapter in S. John. So it originally was in the Mozarabic, though now appropriated to the First Sunday. The Illation—which in the Ambrosian Rite is always called the Preface—of the two Churches is worth comparing. The Milanese runs thus :—"Through CHRIST our LORD. Who, that He might quietly teach the mystery of His humanity, sat down weary by the well ; and besought the Samaritan woman that she would give Him water to drink, because He had created in her the gifts of faith. And Hethus vouchsafed to thirst after her belief, that while He asked water from her, He kindled the fire of Divine love in her. We implore, then, Thy boundless mercy that we, despising the dark abyfs of vices, and leaving behind us the pitcher of noxious lusts, may perpetually thirst for Thee, Who art the fountain of life, and the origin of all good things, and may please Thee by the observation of our fast."

The Mozarabic is five times as long, but ends in the same way :—

"For Thou art our GOD ; cast us not away from Thy face ; but look upon us now whom Thou didst through free mercy create : that when Thou shalt have removed from us all the debt of sin, Thou mayest also render us well pleasing in the sight of Thy love. That we, delivered from the abyfs of the noxious well of misdeeds, leaving behind us the pitcher of our lusts, may, after the course of this life, hasten together to that eternal city, Jerusalem : that with all saints we may glorify Thy holy Name ; thus saying," &c.

Observe that the symbolism is nearly word for word the same : but that there is a singular mistake in the Mozarabic which does not exist in the Ambrosian. The woman left her pitcher, and went into the city ; that is, the city Sichar, not the city of Jerusalem, as the mystical interpretation obliges us to understand it.

The Third Sunday in Lent is called Abraham's Sunday; the Gospel being from the eighth chapter of S. John, where our LORD says, "your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day," &c. This Gospel does not occur in the Mozarabic.

The Fourth Sunday is of the Man born Blind. This is now the Gospel for the second, and was originally for the third Sunday, in the Mozarabic. Both Illations have to do with the history; but there is no similarity between the two. Nowhere do we find a better example of the marvellous superiority of the office of Toledo to that of Milan, than here. Take the two as an example. We will not judge so poorly of the reader's discrimination as to say which is which.

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, Who, by the illumination of His faith, has driven away the shadows of this world, and has made them to be sons of grace who were held under the just damnation of the law. Who thus came to judge the world, that they who see not might see, and that they who see might be made blind: that they who should confess in themselves the darkness of error, might receive light eternal, and so be freed from the shadows of guilt: and that they who, arrogant of their own merits, believed themselves to possess the light of righteousness, might deservedly be confounded in their own darkness: who, puffed up by their pride, and trusting in themselves, sought not the Physician to heal them. For by JESUS, who calls Himself the Door to the FATHER, they might have entered in. But since they were puffed up by their own merits, they remained for ever in their own blindness. Wherefore we, coming humbly before Thee, and putting no trust in our own deserts, lay open before Thy Altar, most holy FATHER, our own wounds, confess the darkness of our mistakes, manifest the secret offences of our consciences. Grant that we may find the medicine for our wounds, light for our darkness, purity for our conscience. With all our endeavours we desire to behold Thy face; but we are blinded and hindered by the darkness to which we are accustomed. We wish to look at the heavens and cannot; while darkened by the night of sin we cannot look to those who, on account of the holiness of their lives, deserve to be called heavens. Help us, therefore, O JESUS, as we pray in Thy Temple, [a reference to the Blind Man having been found in the Temple by our LORD,] and cure us all in this day, who wouldst not that there should be rest on the Sabbath from the working of miracles. Behold, we expose our wounds in the presence of the glory of Thy Name: do Thou bestow on our infirmities the medicine they need. Succour us as Thou hast promised while we persist, Who out of nothing hast caused that we should exist. Make plain, and anoint the eyes of our hearts and bodies; lest, through our blindness, we should fall in the ark. Behold, we wash Thy feet with our tears; send us not empty away. O good JESUS, let us not depart from Thy footsteps; Thou who didst come in Thy humility in this world. Hear the prayer of us all, and grant that we may behold the glory of Thy countenance in that beatitude of eternal peace, crying, and thus saying.

The other Preface is as follows:—

It is meet and salutary that to Thee, O LORD, who dwellest in the exalted citadel of the heavens, we should render thanks and should confess Thee

with all our powers. For that by Thee the blindness of the world hath been removed, and true light hath shone on the weak : when among the other miracles of Thy many marvellous deeds Thou didst bid the man born blind to receive sight ; in whom the human race, maculate with original blindness, is typified by a symbol of the future. For that pool of Siloam to which that blind man was sent, is nothing else but the holy and sealed fountain, where not only the bodily eyes, but the whole man is healed, through CHRIST our LORD.

The fifth Sunday in Lent, which was also called, from a reason which has not been explained, the *Dominica post Vigefimam*. In the Mozarabic Missal it is the Gospel for the original fourth, the present third, Sunday. In most other churches it is read on Friday of the fourth week, or else on Saturday of Passion Week, the day when Lazarus was actually raised. The Gospel for Palm Sunday is S. John's account of the anointing of our LORD'S feet by Mary Magdalene. The arrangement of the Gospels for Holy, or, as they call it, Authentic Week, is different in the Milanese books from any other. The Passion is not read at length till the Thursday. On Monday, the Gospel is S. Luke xxi. 34—38. On Tuesday, S. John xi. 47—54. On Wednesday, S. Matthew xxvi. 1—4.

One very curious Gospel it would be unpardonable not to mention. For S. Stephen's Day, in the Roman Rite, we have the prophecy from S. Matthew, also read in our own Prayer-book, of Jerusalem that killed the prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto her. In the Mozarabic the selection is the same. Both highly orthodox and edifying : nothing in the world to be objected to either. But now, notice the Ambrosian. After reading for the prophecy the account of S. Stephen's martyrdom, (for *its* prophecy the Mozarabic has a lesson from Wisdom,) for its epistle, 2 Timothy iv. 1—8, with reference to the "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course," of the Apostle, the Gospel contains the last five verses of the seventeenth chapter of S. Matthew ; the account of the demand made on S. Peter for tribute-money, and the miraculous way in which the fisher of men was instructed to meet it. Why ? Because, in "the fish that first cometh up," we have a symbolical representation of S. Stephen : fishes, according to the well-known and most ancient interpretation, symbolising Christians ; and he coming up the first, with his offering out of the great sea of this world,—an offering itself stamped with the image of the King.

It would be unpardonable not to allude to the service on Easter Eve. That most noble of anthems, the *Exultet jam Angelica turba*, is the same in the Ambrosian as it is in the Roman service, down to the *Sursum Corda*. It then continues thus : and it would

hardly be possible to find, in any church, a more rapturous piece of devotion.

It is meet and right, just and salutary, that we should always, here and everywhere, render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Almighty FATHER, Eternal GOD. Who didst Thyself dedicate the Passover of all people, not by the blood and fat of oxen, but by the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten SON JESUS CHRIST, that the sacrificial rites of an ungrateful nation having been terminated, grace might succeed to the law, and One Victim, offered by Himself once for all to Thy Majesty, might expiate the sins of the whole world. This is the Lamb, prefigured in the tablets of stone; not lost from the flock, but exiled from heaven; not lacking a shepherd, but the Good Shepherd Himself, who laid down His life for His sheep, and took it again, that to us His divine condescension might manifest His humility, and the Resurrection of His body might confirm our hope. Who before His shearer uttered no querulous complaint, but proclaimed the oracle of the Gospel, saying: Henceforth ye shall see the SON of MAN, sitting at the Right Hand of Majesty. May He both reconcile Thee to us, O Omnipotent FATHER,* and endued with like majesty as Thyself, may He pardon us. For the things which happened to the Fathers in type, the same have been wrought out to us in very deed. [*The great Easter taper is lighted.*] Behold now the fiery column shines forth which preceded the people of the LORD, during the season of this blessed night, to those salutary floods in which the persecutor is overwhelmed, and the people of CHRIST emerges at liberty. For he that through Adam was delivered to death, conceived by the water on which the HOLY GHOST hath brooded, is regenerated by CHRIST to life. Let us then put an end to our voluntary fast, because CHRIST our Passover is sacrificed for us; and let us not only banquet on the flesh of the Lamb, but let us be inebriated with His Blood. For the Blood of this Lamb alone createth not guilt to them that drink it, but salvation. Let us feast on Him the unleavened bread, since man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word of GOD. For this is the bread which cometh down from heaven, far more excellent than that fruitful shower of ancient manna, on which Israel then feasted, and yet nevertheless perished. He who feedeth on This Body shall be the possessor of life eternal. Behold, old things have passed away, all things are become new. The edge of Mosaic circumcision is blunted, and the sharp stones of Joshua the son of Nun have become obsolete; the people of CHRIST is marked in the forehead, not in the loins; by a laver, not by a wound. [*The Deacon fixes the five grains of incense on the Paschal taper.*] In this Advent, then, of the evening resurrection of our LORD and Saviour, it is meet that we should burn our oblation of wax with its whiteness in appearance, its sweetness in odour, its lighted brilliancy to the eye. What more fitting, what more joyous, than that with torches wreathed with flowers we should keep watch for the flower of Jesse? Especially when Wisdom hath prophesied concerning herself: I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys. These waxen tapers the burnt pine sweats not forth, nor doth the cedar, wounded by the axe, weep out: but they have a hidden and symbolical teaching regarding virginity, and grow white by the transfiguration of their snowy candour. Let us wait, then, for the coming of the Spouse, as befits the Church, with lighted torches: let us render thanks by our devotion for the gift of sanctity already bestowed on us.

* Notice here the "unscriptural" expression, which also occurs more than once in the Clementine Liturgy, of reconciling GOD to us. According to S. Paul's teaching, it is we who are to be reconciled to GOD.

We must not dwell at greater length on this remarkable address, manifestly coeval with S. Augustine. There are some few expressions in it which a more correct taste has not improperly removed; but to do away with the whole hymn for the sake of them, is on a par with the treatment which Rome has bestowed on many other compositions of equal merit and antiquity.

We have already remarked that the Gospel in the Ambrosian Rite is followed by an *Antiphona post Evangelium*, which, therefore, answers to the *Lauda* of the Mozarabic ritual. There is nothing which calls for much observation in this Antiphon. It is almost always taken from the Psalms: occasionally, on Saints' Days, it is formed from the words of the Saint then commemorated. But when we come to the subsequent part of the service it is that we are painfully conscious of the infinite superiority of Toledo to Milan. In the Mozarabic Missal we have, as we have seen, after the Gospel, nine varying prayers or addresses, for they are sometimes exhortations to the people rather than supplications to GOD. They are—(1.) The Missa. (2.) The Alia Oratio. (3.) The Post Nomina. (4.) The Ad Pacem. (5.) The Illation. (6.) The Post Sanctus. (7.) The Post Pridie. (8.) The Prayer before the LORD'S Prayer. (9.) The Benediction. And this is exclusive of the Sacrifice, the Ad Accedentes, the Ad Confractionem, and the Communio. In the Ambrosian Rite we have only four prayers posterior to the Gospel, and these far shorter than those we have been noticing. They are—(1.) The Prayer Super Sindonem. (2.) The Super Oblatam. (3.) The Preface. (4.) The Post Communionem. Besides this, we have the three anthems: the Offertory, the Transitory, and the Confractory.

The Offertory is remarkable on the following account:—The Church of Milan is the only one in Christendom where the primitive custom of the people's offering the oblations is still kept up. Mr. Webb, in his *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, thus describes the practice:—"After the sermon, some members of a confraternity or Bedesmen, two men and two women, in black and white mantles, brought in an oblation of the elements. They stood at the end of the choir, and the deacon came, with much ceremony, to receive the offerings." But these "Bedesmen" are pensioners of the Metropolitan Church itself, and are, therefore, after all, only an imitation of the venerable custom which they professed to represent. There are ten old men, called Vecchioni, and as many old women: two of the former, first covering their hands with *favoni*, that is, with napkins of a peculiar texture, make their oblation of bread in the right, of wine in the left; then two women do the same. These

pensioners have the right of walking in processions, when they carry the so-called cope and discipline of S. Ambrose. Landulph, the mediæval historian of Milan, describes at great length their office and character: Beroldus, also, though not without some mistakes, does the same. It is this which gives its chief interest to the Offertory. The rite itself, taking it altogether, is not remarkably striking: there is one part which, to unaccustomed eyes, seems singularly awkward: when the Deacon and Sub-deacon stand respectively at the north and south ends of the altar, like two clergymen in a badly-performed English Communion Office. In fact, of the five great living rites, for dignity and majesty, we should place the Ambrosian last. To our mind, the Armenian stands by far the first: next to that, but at some distance, we should place the Mozarabic, then the Roman, then the orthodox Eastern, and then, far below this, the Ambrosian.

The *Oratio super Sindonem* bears far more the character of a Roman collect than of the longer Mozarabic or Eastern prayers. In fact, sometimes it is the same as the Collect for the day in the Petrine Liturgy; and whether or not, the shortness of the whole composition, and the terseness and antithetical arrangement of its members, stamp it with the same character. The *Oratio post Communionem*, in like manner, bears the character of the Roman *Post-Communio*, as also does the *Oratio super Oblatam* of the Roman *Secreta*. One remarkable peculiarity, derived from the most remote antiquity, we should not fail to mention: that, on the Epiphany, immediately after the Gospel, but before the *Antiphona post Evangelium*, the Deacon sings the notice of the ensuing Easter to a peculiar melody, in the Eighth Tone, and in the following words:—"Noverit caritas vestra, fratres carissimi, quod annuente Dei et Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI misericordiâ, die N. Mensis N. Pascha Domini cum gaudio celebrabimus." And the answer is, "Deo gratias."

Take now one or two examples of Ambrosian Illations: and we will select one which we may compare not alone with the Mozarabic, but also with the Gallican. Here is that for Holy Innocents.

Ambrosian:—

It is just and salutary that we, Holy, Omnipotent FATHER, should more gloriously laud Thee in the precious death of the little ones: whom, on account of the infancy of Thy SON, our LORD and SAVIOUR, gloomy Herod slew with savage cruelty: and we acknowledge the unbounded gifts of Thy clemency. For Grace alone shines more gloriously than Will; and their confession was illustrious before their voices could be heard. Passion, before the limbs in which that passion could exist: they witnessed CHRIST to others, who as yet knew Him not themselves. O Infinite loving-kindness of the Almighty: when He suffered not those that were slain for His Name, although they

knew it not, to fall short of the merit of eternal glory : but, when they were bedewed with their own blood, they obtained at once the salvation of regeneration, and were glorified with the Crown of Martyrdom. Through the same.

Gallican :—

It is verily meet and right that we should at all times and in all places render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Omnipotent FATHER, Eternal GOD, and chiefly for those, the memory of whose passion we celebrate in the yearly festival of to-day : those whom the Herodian soldiers dashed from the breasts of their nursing mothers, who of a truth are called the flowers of martyrs, for that they, springing up in the mid-winter of infidelity, were like the first budding gems of the Church, nipped by the frost of persecution, at that glittering fountain in the city of Bethlehem. For the Infants, who could not, through their age, speak, nevertheless refounded the praise of the LORD with joy. They preached that by their deaths, which they could not have preached by their lives. They uttered that with their blood which they could not proclaim by their tongue. Martyrdom gave them the power of praise, to whom infancy had not yet allowed the faculty of utterance. The Infant CHRIST sends these infants as first-fruits to heaven, transmits these new year's gifts to the FATHER : exhibits to the Eternal One the first martyrdoms of the little children perpetrated by the wickedness of Herod, as firstling oblations. The enemy profits, while injuring, the body : bestows a benefit by means of slaughter : by dying they live, by falling they rise again : victory is brought to pass by means of destruction. Wherefore for these benefits, and for the present solemnity, tendering, rather than repaying, boundless thanks to Thy loving-kindness, with holy Angels and Archangels, we laud Thee, as the One GOD, the Ruler, distinct, not divided, triune, not threefold, sole, not solitary, saying, Holy.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right that we should always render thanks to Thee, Almighty FATHER, and to JESUS CHRIST our LORD, the infancy of whose assumed humanity that wicked and profane king feared after such a sort that he was compelled to tremble at that power whom he merited not to acknowledge. Desiring that He specially should perish, and ignorant where He was to be found, Herod commanded that all the infants should be slain : if perchance, while the members were struck, the Head might be reached : and the deaths of the poor might be the structure which should be topped by the royal death. Thus the madness of deceived fury made those martyrs by death, who by their age were not capable of being even confessors. And when there was no possibility of judgment, there was, nevertheless, the felicity of being unjustly judged for CHRIST's sake. It was CHRIST, then, whom the hand of the officer struck in the dying infants : ignorance found not Him Whom it saw ; and imprudence discerned not Him Whom it struck. But that these infants could not speak is no derogation from their praise. For it is better that the cause should cry out, than that the tongue should exclaim. Nor does it matter that speech failed them, who, without all manner of doubt, perished for the Word. O immanity of wicked fury ! He who was slain, was carried on the sword that killed Him, and the tender corpse hung on the hilt, pouring forth milk rather than blood. And they who could not then discern that for which they thirsted, now possess in joy that from which they may drink. Whence meetly to Thee, O LORD, all the Angels cease not to exclaim, thus saying : Holy.

It would be easy to extend our remarks on these Illations; but our space warns us to conclude. The two anthems called the Transitory and the Confratry present but little for our special notice. As a general rule, they are connected with the Gospel for the Sunday: and the same are usually said through the week. In some cases, the Transitory is merely a translation of some Greek Troparion; another proof of the closeness of the link by which Milan was joined to the East. Take this, for example, for Quinquagesima: it is neither more nor less than a translation of a Stichos in the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican:—

Come and be converted to Me, saith the LORD. Come ye with weeping, and let us pour forth our tears to GOD: for we have forsaken Him, and because of us the earth suffers; we have committed iniquity, and for our sakes the foundations of the world are moved. Let us hasten to prevent the anger of GOD, weeping, and saying: Thou That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Sometimes it is a mere quotation from the writings of S. Ambrose, as in the Sunday of Abraham: “Look, O LORD, at the frailty of the human race, and seek out the wounds which Thou hast cured. For, however great be the love that Thou hast poured out upon us, there are yet further mercies which Thou mayest bestow upon us. Stretch forth, we beseech Thee, Thy medicinal hands, and cure that which is weak, and repair that which is tottering, and preserve that whole where faith remains unshaken.” In some few cases the Transitory seems to be composed for the occasion, as in the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany:—“Turn ye, O ye sons of men, while ye have time, saith the LORD; and I will write your names in the book of My FATHER which is in heaven.”

The *Oratio Post Communionem*, answering to the Latin Post-Communion, often identical with it, is the only other prayer which has to be noticed. That over, the office ends thus:—

V. The LORD be with you.

R. And with thy spirit. Kyr. Kyr. Kyr.

V. The LORD bless and hear us.

R. Amen.

V. Let us go on in peace.

R. In the NAME of the LORD. Amen.

And the service now borrows the Roman ending from the first chapter of S. John.

At Christmas, and at Easter and Pentecost, there are two sets of Masses; one for the recently baptized in the winter Church, the other the ordinary solemnity. Much that was peculiar to

the Ambrosian Rite disappeared during the Pontificate of S. Charles Borromeo, who did almost as much harm to the ritual as he increased the piety of his Church. Till his time, that noble Basilic, which may put in a claim to be the finest of all temples made with hands, had but one altar : it was he who filled it up with the erections which now so sadly violate the magnificent unity of the effect.

Thus we have gone through the three great Rites of the Western Church. Of these the Ambrosian seems to us the poorest, inferior to the marvellous copiousness and richness and variety of the Mozarabic, inferior to the terseness and pointed brevity of the Roman. Such as it is, however, it is well worthy of study ; and, as we have seen, one or two of its formulæ possess an antiquity superior to that which can be boasted by any other ritual.





VII.

VERNACULAR SERVICES.*



IF there be one point of ecclesiastical order which would at first sight seem, more than any other, to be commanded by Holy Scripture, sanctioned by primitive usage, and required by common sense, it is surely this,—that the public offices of the Church should be offered in the vernacular language of the people. To employ, in addressing God, a tongue which His worshippers cannot comprehend; to wrap up Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels in the obscurity of a dead language,—can this be a reasonable service? Can this be a gospel preached to the poor? Can this be such a worshipping in spirit and in truth as our SAVIOUR'S express command enjoins? Is it not diametrically opposed to the declaration of S. Paul, "Yet in the church I had rather speak ten words to the edifying of the hearers, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue?" † No man ever denied that the practice of the primitive Church was in accordance with this teaching, and that, *à priori*, one should have considered it a standing order, a stereotyped law, of the Church Catholic.

The more surprising, therefore, is it to find that all the branches of the Church, without one single exception, as well as heretical bodies, separated, indeed, from the Church, but still possessing ancient liturgies, have agreed in this: that the language of their

* The Prayer-book of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri. London: The Oratory, King William Street.

† We remember a familiar explanation of this verse. A poor man who had just returned from a sermon of which it formed the staple, was asked the text. "Well, sir, I don't know the words to say them exactly; but it meant as how the parson would rather preach five minutes in English, than half-an-hour in French."

public services shall be, to a certain extent,—some more, some less,—a language “not understood of the people.” We do not, as we shall presently show, except entirely our own Church; and for the rest, from Kamschatka round the globe to Brazils, from Malabar and Gondar to Finland, the rule holds good. The apostolic law is, really or apparently, broken; and the “ten thousand words” of Liturgies, and Hours, and Offices, are said in an unknown tongue.

Any man of common modesty,—any man with the remotest pretensions to philosophy,—any man, in short, except an orator at Exeter Hall,—would naturally exclaim, on becoming acquainted with the fact, “There must be some reason for this. “Churches, separated as far by distance as by race and language,—Churches severed more widely still by polemical hatred,—never could coincide in so remarkable and unexpected “an arrangement, were there not some strong cause which “seemed to justify it. Good or bad, there must be a principle “at work here; it cannot be a mere corruption.”

Let us see, in the first place, how the case actually lies; and then let us endeavour to discover its philosophy by investigating its history.

And, first, we will turn our eyes to the East. Here we see those most ancient and venerable Thrones of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, giving their laws to about sixteen millions of Christians. And those Liturgies which are said at the countless altars of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, Bulgaria, Roumelia, the Principalities, Hungary, Croatia—or the Churches, now few and far between, of Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt—in what languages are they offered? For the most part, in two only—Greek and Slavonic. In Slavonic, for the Slavonian peoples of northern Turkey and the Principalities; in Greek, for the Greek himself, the Turk, the Syrian, and the Egyptian. Now, take the case in which the written language of the office-books, and the spoken dialect of the vulgar, bear the closest resemblance. Let any Greek scholar take up for the first time a Romaic book, and see how far he can always master even its general meaning. Then let him remember that he comes from the harder to the easier tongue,—that his necessary knowledge of comparative philology stands him in good stead; and next let him judge to what extent the Peloponnesian or Athenian peasant can comprehend the office-books of his own Church. And yet they have a far better chance than the Slavonic peoples. The three branches of the Illyrico-Servians,—Servians proper, Croatians, Vendes,—and, again, the Bulgarians and the Slovacks, cannot understand each

other, much less can they comprehend the old Church Slavonic in which they pray. A remarkable proof of this occurred in the Pan-Slavic Congress holden at Prague in 1848, where the deputies, in order to be intelligible to each other, were obliged to speak in the hated German; and their literary organ is conducted in that language. But more of this subject presently.

But three exceptions are to be found to this general rule. It is well known that the Wallachians employ a Romance language of the purest description; and that, in parts of that and adjoining provinces, Latin, perfectly intelligible to an English scholar, is actually at this day spoken. Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, permission was given by the See of Constantinople for the employment of a vernacular Liturgy; a permission not altogether, perhaps, independent, on the consideration that, possessing such an indulgence, the inhabitants would have less temptation to join the Latin Rite. Shortly afterwards, a Turkish form was authorized for some few villages in Asia Minor, where nothing else was understood; and an Arabic version is said to be used by the few orthodox who border on that country. These three exceptions are worth far more than their own intrinsic value, and we shall have occasion to refer to them again.

Castling our eyes over the map in a north-eastern direction, we come to the ever-orthodox Church of Georgia; a Church which resisted the artifices of Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, produced countless martyrs under the invasions of Turks, Persians, and Tartars, and formed the nucleus of a mighty empire during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here, again, the rule is the same: the Georgian of the Church books is entirely different from the Georgian that is now spoken; intelligible, perhaps, to the educated, but certainly not to the peasant.

Russia follows—and is the more worthy of our attention, because here the principle of a Church language, which is not the vernacular, is as boldly asserted as it is by Rome; its difficulties are allowed, are grappled with, and are, to a certain extent, overcome. Children are taught both languages from the commencement of their education; and the habit of acquiring Slavonic *pari passu* with Rus, may, perhaps, give the Russians their wonderful facility of mastering other languages. The difference between the two dialects is about the same,—in grammatical derivation, as between modern English and that of Chaucer; in form of character, between our present letter and Anglo-Saxon. Thus, while Rus has thirty-four characters, Slavonic possesses forty-three; the latter has a dual, the former has none; the former has borrowed many words of every-day occurrence from the Tatar, the latter has formed no such intermixture. And

thus we have traversed the domains of the orthodox Eastern Church.

Nor are the separated communions less tenacious of the same use. In Egypt, the Jacobites employ the Coptic, which is nowhere intelligible, with the exception of one or two provincial terms; and the copies of the Liturgy in use have, therefore, an Arabic translation at the side. The scattered Nestorians and Jacobites of Asia Minor universally employ the dead language of Syriac. In Armenia, of all nations, the sacred and vernacular tongues are most identical.

Three hundred years ago, in opposition to the then prevailing practice, a national Church decreed as follows:—"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of GOD, and the practice of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the people." Three centuries passed; and the office then compiled has become so obsolete in its phrases as certainly to fall not very far short of incurring the condemnation there pronounced. The fact is, that we are so thoroughly used to both our spoken language and to that of our Bible and Prayer-book, that we fail to see what foreigners remark at once, the world-wide difference between the two. Ordinary readers may never have observed some of those great grammatical variations which would strike a foreign philological scholar at first sight; the total absence, for example, in the older dialect of one of the most common possessive pronouns of the new—the word *its*; "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and *his* righteousness." "These are they that came over Jordan . . . when *it* had overflowed all *his* banks." "The Tree of Life that—yielded *her* fruit every month."—The utter confusion of that distinction between the verbs *will* and *shall*, on which we now so pique ourselves: "Open thy mouth wide, and I shall fill it." "Them that are meek shall He guide in judgment; and such as are gentle, them shall He learn His way."—The absence of that large class of participial adjectives which would seem to be, but are not, derived from a verb, such as *unwitnessed*, *unharnessed*; with one or two rare exceptions, like *unknown*. And if it be said that these differences are not such as to obscure the meaning to an ignorant person, it is equally true that there are others which must either make the sense unintelligible to him, or even reverse it. We have to explain, for instance, that when we pray, "Prevent us, O LORD, in all our doings," we mean, "Assist us;" that when we lament our being *let* in running the race that is set before us, we mean that we are *not* let to run it. And so we may fairly ask the question: Is it not almost impossible to find any one

Colleſt which ſhall be intelligible to an uneducated perſon? Do not the inverſions of the ſentences, as well as the difficulty of the words, make it a matter of difficulty to explain theſe “vernacular” prayers to the poor? Even in one of the Creeds, who is there among the lower claſſes that could comprehend ſuch a phraſe as “of a reaſonable ſoul and human fleſh ſubſiſting?” And how differently would it have been expreſſed had the ſervice been compoſed in modern times! Nothing can be more clear than that the compilers of the Prayer-book did not uſe the eaſieſt and readieſt words. They had no idea of a ſimple Anglo-Saxon idiom. Far from wiſhing to expreſs ſuch a phraſe as “the impenetrability of matter,” by “the unthoroughfaſhneſs of ſtuff,” they purpoſely took the harder Latin word, to the excluſion of our own Engliſh ſynonym.—“And finally, after this life, may attain everlaſting joy and *felicity*.” “Where the ſouls of them that ſleep in the Lord enjoy perpetual reſt and *felicity*,”—in the prayer for a ſick *child*. The very title, *Solemnization of Matrimony*, is as good as a hundred proofs of this.

We are not blaming this,—far from it. We are merely ſhowing that thoſe who thought it their duty to exclaim moſt loudly againſt the employment of a foreign tongue in the ſervices of the Church, themſelves uſed a dialect of Engliſh different from any which is now, or which was ever, ſpoken; and “not underſtanded” entirely by any worſhipper of the nineteenth century.

And now we will turn our attention to the ſucceſſive developments of the Roman Church on this matter. Let us take a point where as yet the queſtion of a vernacular ſervice could not have aſſumed a practical form, and therefore, as the great men of that age were not given to philological theorizing, where it could not have taken any tangible form at all. Let us imagine how S. Gregory the Great muſt have regarded ſuch a difficulty. Looking around him from the Eternal City, he ſaw, within his own Patriarchate, a people, as yet, almoſt homogeneous: in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Africa, multitudes of Liturgies, but as yet, in different degrees of corruption, only one language. That this language was becoming ſo changed as to ſeem ſcarcely like itſelf, was a fact which we can hardly imagine to have ſtruck, even if it were barely known to, the authorities of the Church. The Gallican Liturgies, ſuch as we now have them, may uſe the ablative for the accuſative, may employ terms, may familiarize idioms unknown at Rome; but the Roman Church ignored ſuch varieties of Liturgies, owning the one faith, the one Creed, and the one Western language. At a later period, when ſome ignorant prieſt had baptized *In nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sanctua*, we find the ſucceſſor of S. Peter maintaining

the validity of such a rite ; and no one, from that time to this, has questioned the truth of such a decision.

It was when the Roman Church was brought into contact with the Teutonic or Celtic races, that the question of a vernacular language must first have presented itself as a difficulty to be solved. It is not our intention to enter on the subject of vernacular translations of Holy Scripture ; this would swell the remarks we shall have to offer beyond all due limits. The version made by Ulphilas into Mæso-Gothic, between the years 360 and 380, must be considered as the first great attempt to grapple with the difficulties of a barbarous language ; and though the Bishop himself was a Cappadocian, and, of course, introduced Eastern rites among his flock, yet the influence of such an undertaking must have been prodigious in the Western world. Whether he in like manner translated the Liturgy is a question which cannot be answered ; there is no trace of any such version, and the fact that the Eastern rite so soon died out among the Goths seems an argument that it never existed. There is no doubt that the mass maintained itself in Latin ; there is equally no doubt that, in the next centuries, a part of the daily offices was said in the dialect of the country, and many curious documents remain as standing witnesses of the fact. Versions of Psalms and Canticles abound, almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Germany. The *Te Deum*, for example, received a version in the eighth or ninth century, which has been more than once reprinted, and which commences—

Thih Cot lopêmes,
Thih truhtnan gehernes :
Thih ewigan Fater
Eokiwelih erda wirdit.

So, again, a version of the Psalms existed in Dutch as early as the time of Charlemagne. One of the Epistles and Gospels was made in the eighth century, in what is now the Duchy of Brunswick ; the monks of Fulda, in the same age, translated the like parts of the Liturgy. Then there is the so-called Wessfobrumic Prayer, which speaks to the same thing at the same date in Bavaria. S. Notker Balbulus, the inventor of Sequences, who died in 912, made a high German version of the Psalms, clearly and manifestly for the benefit of those who were constantly hearing them in church, and interlined with a short commentary, in this manner :—

Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum.

Der man is salig, der in dero argon rat na gegiang. As Adam did, when he followed the advice of his wife in opposition to God.

Et in viâ peccatorum non stetit.

Noh an dero sundigon wege ne fluont. So he did. He went thither; he went to the broad way that leadeth to hell, and stood there, for he gave way to his lust.

So, again, in the same centuries, there was a Theotisc* translation of the most popular of Latin hymns; it is both accurate and spirited, and was no doubt used in public worship. A still more remarkable example of the same thing is to be found in the "Evangelical Harmony of Otfried," a work of the latter half of the ninth century.† These are hymns of considerable length, on such subjects as the Mission of the Angel to S. Mary, the Magnificat, the Presentation of our LORD in the temple, His Baptism, the opening of the first chapter of S. John, &c. Here is the shortest of them, the mere versification of a Collect:—

GOT, thir eigenhaf ist
thaz io genâthih bist
intfaâ geba unsar,
rhes bethurfun wir fâr
Thaz uns, thiô ketinun
bindent therô sundûn
thinerô mildô
genad intbinde baldo.

O GOD, Whose nature and property
is ever to have mercy and to forgive,
receive our humble petitions; and
though we be tied and bound with the
chain of our sins, let the pitifulness
of Thy great mercy loose us.

The Council of Leptines, in 744, expressly orders that the renunciation and profession of faith in Baptism be made in the vernacular, and proposes this Theotisc formula for the latter:—
"Gelobistu in Got almechtigan Fadaer? *Ec gelobo in Got almechtigan Fadaer.* Gelobistu in Christ, Godes Suno? *Ec gelobo in Christ, Godes Suno.* Gelobistu in Halogan Gast? *Ec gelobo in Halogan Gast.*" And S. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, had before this especially insisted on the same point. "*Nullus sit Presbyter, qui in ipsâ linguâ quâ nati sunt baptizandos abrenuntiationes et confessiones audire et interrogare non studeat, ut intelligant quibus renuncient, vel quæ confitentur.*" But, curiously enough, the opposite practice seems to have become prevalent again; for, in the middle of the ninth century, we find S. Hrabanus Maurus insisting that the priests of his province should preach in Theotisc; whence one can only conclude that they were in the habit of delivering their discourses in Latin. It is certain, also, that from a very early period, perhaps as early as this, part of the Office for the Dedication of Churches and Church-

* It has been published by the celebrated philologist Grimm, under the title of "*Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiæ xxvi. versio Theotisca.*" Göttingen, 1830.

† Published by E. G. Graff, Königsberg, 1831.

yards was in the vernacular language, as also was much of that for the Visitation of the Sick.

But this one great fact remains unquestioned: that, till the latter part of the ninth century, Rome never conceded—perhaps had never been asked to concede—the use of a vernacular Liturgy. That the Epistles and Gospels were often read in the patois which the people happened to speak, is conceded; that the *Gloria in excelsis*, and other hymns of a similar kind, had also been translated, is equally certain; but the mass itself was said in Latin, and in Latin only. It is true that, in some Gallican and Mozarabic masses, the Latin is so corrupted as almost to amount to another language: but still the principle was maintained. Let us see what that principle was.

Up to this period Rome had won to herself only the Romance peoples: the first to acknowledge her, the last to remain faithful to her; and here for centuries Latin remained the spoken tongue, dying off so gradually and imperceptibly into French, Spanish, or Portuguese, that the change was hardly noticed; and the uneducated went on praying in the tongue in which their fathers and grandfathers had prayed, without knowing that every year was widening the gulf between that which they heard, and that which they spoke. At length the Patriarchal Throne of the West was brought into contact with the fierce, young activity of Germanic life,—with tongues that, to the soft ears of the South, must have presented the most barbarous dissonances—languages without grammar, with unsettled inflexions, differing widely from each other, each intelligible in its own little plot of country only. There was not material as yet, there was not stability, to endure a translation of the fixed and immutable Liturgy. Dialects were altering so fast, that a translation would soon have itself needed an interpretation. Then half the words must necessarily have been mere Latin or Greek obtrusions into the language. Baptism, Church, Resurrection, Communion, Incarnation—how could those barbarous races have expressed them, but by themselves? Add, again, the necessary irreverence that must attend the transference of such solemn mysteries into tongues incapable, as yet, of grammar. Add, also, the difficulties regarding particular words, such as that which lately occurred in a version of the Scriptures for, we believe, some of the islands of the Indian Ocean; where the word *lamb* is used in the sense which we employ *asi*, and it was therefore impossible to translate the Scriptural name of our LORD but by a paraphrase. No doubt these, and such as these, were wise reasons for the non-adoption of the vernacular; and others have been well stated by a late writer:—

“But when the nations and kingdoms of modern Europe were

“ at length formed, and their languages fixed, the disturbing influences of their separate nationalities became so strong that they could hardly be kept together in ecclesiastical unity, even though they had all one and the same faith, Church Law, and Ritual, and one common clergy, with a language of its own, interpenetrating them all, and concentrated in one common independent centre at Rome. Under such circumstances, any change which should tend to strengthen still further the separate nationalities, and to divide and nationalize that common clergy, which, like the citizens of old Rome, being mixed everywhere with the provincials, bound the whole into unity, would be manifestly most dangerous ; and exactly the same reasons which would move an heresiarch or a tyrant who wished to try with impunity to introduce the use of the vulgar tongue for the purposes of religion, to abolish the celibacy of the clergy, and to banish monks and friars, would weigh with bishops and popes to make them oppose or forbid such changes.”

But it is now time to turn to the two great struggles which Rome carried on in defence of this principle, in both of which she conceded it, and in both with only partial success. And let us first fix our eyes on the mission of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

It was while Constantinople was alternately disgusted by the buffooneries, and horror-struck at the ferocity, of the Emperor Michael III, that a deputation arrived from the Prince of the Khazares, to solicit instruction in Christianity. His kingdom stretched from the Caspian to Wallachia and Moldavia ; it had passed the zenith of its greatness, and many of the Slavic tribes that had been his tributaries, were beginning to throw off the yoke of the Hunno-Tartar. By the advice of the Patriarch S. Ignatius, Constantine (better known by his last name of Cyril), a native of Thessalonica, was appointed to the mission ; and after having been raised to the priesthood, he spent some time in Kherston, where he mastered the Khazaric language. He was so far successful as to convert and baptize the Khan, whose example was followed by a large portion of his people ; and the missionary had his attention next directed to the neighbouring Bulgarians. He found them using a language of inexhaustible richness and beauty, abounding with inflexions, capable of expressing various shades of meaning with a felicity peculiar to itself—the rival of Greek in flexibility, its superior in copiousness : he found a people desirous of receiving the true faith, and he became the parent of their literature, as well as their apostle. He first had to invent an alphabet, and this he did with great skill and judgment. He adopted the Greek characters so far as they went ; but its twenty-two literal forms went but a little way in

supplying the forty-three which he found to be necessary to his system. He therefore varied some of these, where he saw an analogy between the old sound and the new. For example: the sound B was unknown to ancient Greek (it is expressed in Romaic by $\mu\pi$), and that symbol represents V. But it existed in Bulgarian, and therefore Constantine expressed it by docking a part of the upper loop. Some of his characters he derived from the Western Slavonic (Glagolita), and some few he invented for himself; and thus he produced the Cyrillic alphabet—the sacred language to this day of all the Slavonians of the Eastern Church. He is said to have perfected his work on his return to Constantinople, and there to have commenced his translation of the Scriptures with the assistance of his brother Methodius, who associated himself in the labour. A few years later, Rostislaff, Prince of Moravia (then one of the Slavonic peoples), sent an embassy, requesting that Constantine might be despatched to them, not only to confirm them in the faith which they had already received from the Western Church, but “to teach them to read,”—that is, to introduce his new alphabet. The two brothers accordingly set forth, and were received with the greatest joy.

Nicolas I, one of the ablest and most enterprising among the Popes, at this time filled the chair of S. Peter. Hearing of the success of the new missionaries, he requested their presence at Rome, where, however, they did not arrive till after the consecration of his successor, Hadrian II. By that Pontiff they were raised to the episcopal dignity; and shortly afterwards, Constantine, having changed his name to Cyril, departed this life. Methodius returned the same year, A. D. 868, into Moravia, and occupied himself in preaching the Gospel there and in Pannonia.

It is not wonderful that the people, who had before been accustomed to the Latin Rite, were delighted at hearing the Liturgy in their own language, and deserted the Western missionaries for the new comers. It is also not wonderful that the former, chagrined at the turn of affairs, appealed to Rome, denouncing Methodius as a heretic, and his Liturgy as impious and profane.

“We are informed,” writes Pope John VIII. to that prelate, “that you sing mass in the Slavonic tongue. We have already forbidden this, in the letters sent by Paul, Bishop of Ancona; and we enjoin that you celebrate mass in Latin or in Greek, as is the use of the Church in all the countries of the world; but you can preach to the people in their own language.”

At the same time, he requires Methodius to present himself at Rome.

Here therefore, for the first time, we find Rome brought into collision with a vernacular rite. But the missionary had great

advantages on his side. The talents and learning of Photius had made him a most formidable rival to the papal chair; the two Churches had entered on their terrible and fatal struggle; Moravia, and Pannonia, and Bulgaria were the border lands; and it was necessary either to conciliate their peoples, or a rival might offer more advantageous terms. To Rome Methodius came, and there satisfied the Pope as to his orthodoxy, and also as to his use of the vernacular.

"We approve," writes John VIII. to Sviatopolk, Prince of Moravia, "of the Slavonic letters invented by Constantine the Philosopher, and we will that the doings and the praises of JESUS CHRIST be published in that tongue, because S. Paul teaches that every tongue ought to confess that CHRIST is LORD, to the glory of GOD the FATHER. For it is not contrary to the faith that the same Slavonic tongue should be employed in celebrating mass, in reading the Gospel, or the other Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments well translated, and in chanting the other offices of the Hours. He Who has made the three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, has made also all others to His glory. We will, however, that, to the end more reverence be paid to the Gospel, it be read first in Latin, and then in Slavonic, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin, as the practice is in some churches. And if you and your principal men prefer to hear the mass in Latin, we will that it be sung to you in Latin."

The letter is of June, 880.

On this Methodius returned to his labours; but the opposition to the vernacular service was not entirely at an end. The Pope, however, stood firm, and the success of the energetic missionary proved the wisdom of the permission. Bohemia had already been, to some small extent, evangelized, but had almost relapsed into idolatry. Carrying his Liturgy and his translation with him, Methodius advanced into that land, and, in 894, converted the Duke Borzivog, and his wife S. Ludmilla,—the latter afterwards the protomartyr of her country. But the nation again relapsed into Paganism, and its final emergence from darkness was owing to missionaries of the Latin Church. These indefatigably put down the Slavic Liturgy wherever they found it, both in Moravia, Pannonia, and Bohemia; and the latter people, afterwards to exercise such an important influence on the question, were at first scarcely even familiarized, as their neighbours had been, to a vernacular rite.

We pass over nearly two hundred years; and it is worth while to give a glance at the altered circumstances of these border lands. The two Churches were now irreconcilably separated. Bulgaria, so long the object of their contention, had attached itself to the Oriental faith, and maintained with all its might the Eastern Liturgy in the Cyrillic version and with the Cyrillic characters. Not the province that it is now, but a vast king-

dom, it stretched from the Save to the Gulf of Lepanto, embracing Servia, Albania, and parts of Roumelia, and teeming with all the young life of that second spring in the Byzantine Church. To the north lay the vast province of Strigonium, in the Latin obedience, comprehending Hungary and Transylvania; comprising on its north the provinces of Gnesne, which embraced Poland; on its north-west that of Mayence, which contained a part of Bohemia and Moravia; and on its west that of Salzburg, in which lay the rest of these two countries. In all these, the vernacular Liturgy was nearly at an end. Bohemia alone still struggled for it. The Archbishop of Magdeburg had insisted, in 997, on a Latin Liturgy: a deputation, headed by two of the nobility, Bolchofi and Myslibor, went to Rome, and obtained permission from Benedict VIII. to use the vernacular rite, a privilege which they maintained precariously for nearly a century. But in the province of Dioclea, in Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, it still strove for the pre-eminence. The Eastern rite was given up; but the Latin Mass was said in Slavonic, and with Cyrillic letters. Rome had been unceasingly on the watch to withdraw the privilege accorded to Methodius, and the history of Spalato records a series of attempts, sometimes on the part of the Metropolitan, sometimes on the part of the Pope. In the obscure Dalmatian annals of the commencement of the tenth century, we meet with the name of one prelate, who was clearly a man with wisdom beyond his age,—Gregory of Nona.* In the Council of Spalato, held about 910, he alone stood up for the vernacular rite, and, undeterred by the threats of his brethren, he refused to pay obedience to the canon of the synod which proscribed it. The matter went by appeal to John X, the most execrable wretch (if we except Alexander VI.) who ever wore the tiara—the infamous lover of the more infamous Theodora. The stupid letter in which he confirms the Council is given at length by Farlati: it makes, however, this exception,—that where a district is ill supplied with priests, if one of them is unacquainted with any tongue but Slavonic, he may apply to Rome for a dispensation, and continue to employ it. The people, notwithstanding, were not to be coerced into the change: the Slavonic Liturgy remained in use, till in 1058 another council was held against it. The proscription was now more rigorous than ever, and the Croats actually rose in rebellion, headed by one Ulf. This personage, however, was no honour to the cause: he went

* It would seem that the see of Nona had some such metropolitical pretensions over Croatia. How far a rivalry on this point with Spalato might have embittered the other dispute, it is now impossible to say.

to Rome, came back with a sham bishop, whom he intruded into the see of Veglia, and kept up the imposition for some years. When it was discovered, the perpetrators suffered according to their deserts ; but it was by this time that an attempt to eradicate the national rite was hopeless. At another Council of Spalato, in 1064, the matter seems to have been, to a certain extent, compromised. "A great part of the inhabitants of Illyria," says that clever writer who assumes the name of Talvi, "remained, nevertheless, faithful to their language, and to a worship familiar to their minds through their language. A singular means, Dobrovjky asserts, was found by some of the shrewder priests to reconcile their inclinations. A new alphabet was invented, or rather the Cyrillic letters were altered and transformed in such a way, as to approach in a certain measure to the Coptic characters. To give some authority to the new invention, it was ascribed to S. Jerome. This, it was maintained is the Glagolitic alphabet so called, used by the Slavic priests of Dalmatia and Croatia until the present time. Cyril's translation of the Bible and Liturgic books were copied in these characters with a very few deviations in the language, which probably had their foundation in the difference of the Dalmatian dialect, or were the result of the progress of time ; for this event took place at least 360 years after the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet. With this modification, the priests succeeded in satisfying both the people and the chair of Rome. It founded the same to the people, and looked different to the Pope. The people submitted easily to the ceremonies of the Romish worship if only their beloved language was preserved ; and the Pope, fearing justly the translation of the whole Slavic population of those provinces to the Greek Church, permitted the mass to be read in Slavonic in order to preserve his influence in general."

It has since, however, been demonstrated that the Glagolitic alphabet—the rudest, coarsest, and clumsiest of European symbols—is of a much earlier date, and that probably the indigenous priests reintroduced it for the purposes above mentioned. After this, the opposition to the national rite ceased in a great measure. The ninth canon of the fourth Lateran Council, where Bernard, Metropolitan of Spalato, was present, decrees that, in case of different rites or language, the Bishop shall provide *sacerdotes qui secundum varietatem rituum et linguarum divina officia celebrent* ; and may even, under the same circumstances, appoint a Vicar-Bishop. This canon was understood to bear especial reference to Illyria.

By degrees, however, Rome obtained one great object of her desires,—the adoption of Latin letters in the Illyrian mafs. We fhall fee, prefently, that the Cyrillic character was always exceffively obnoxious to Ultramontanes ; and that, at whatever expenfe of philology, the Roman alphabet was introduced wherever circumftances permitted. The then exifting version was corrected by Raphael Levacovich, under Urban VIII, both in the Breviary and Miffal : this was not well done, and gave rife to fome difcontent. The ritual was translated by Bartholomew Carfio. Thefe versions were again corrected by Caramanus, Bifhop of Jadera, a thorough Slavonic fcholar, and appeared in 1741 ; his edition is a good one, but we have been told that the language is rather too fine.

There are, therefore, in thefe provinces three diftinct rites of the Roman ufe : the Roman rite, with the Latin language ; the Roman rite, with the Slavonic language ; and the Eaſtern rite (Uniat), with the Slavonic. The way in which thefe Uniats are (or at leaſt were, till the end of the laſt century) fupplied with prieſts, is remarkable. The Uniats inſiſt on having their clergy ordained according to the Greek rite. This, notwithstanding many applications to Rome, the Bifhops of the Uniat communion have never been allowed to ufe. Application is therefore made to the prelates of the Eaſtern Church : the prieſt is ordained by them ; is then made to renounce “ ſchiſm,” and fo inſtituted to the paſtoral office.

It may not be amiſs, before we quit theſe remarkable nations, to give the reader ſome idea of their numbers, and of their reſpective attachment to the two Churches. Putting Ruſſia aſide, the Eaſtern Slavonians are divided into the Illyrico-Servian and Bulgarian branches ; the Weſtern, into Czekho-Slovakians, Poles, Suabian Vendes, and Tchacones. The numbers ſtand about thus :—

	Total Number.	Eastern Church.	Western Church.
Illyrico-Servians :			
1. Servians (in Servia) . . .	1,100,000	1,000,000	100,000
2. Servians (in Hungary) . .	400,000	300,000	100,000
3. Bosnians (many are Mahometans)	500,000	300,000	80,000
4. Tchernogortzi, or Montenegrins	60,000	60,000	
5. Slavonians (Kingdom of Slavonia and Duchy of Syrmia)	500,000	200,000	300,000
6. Dalmatians	500,000	80,000	420,000
7. Croatians	800,000	200,000	600,000
8. Slovenzi, or Vendes (in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola).	1,100,000		1,000,000 the rest Protestants.
Bulgarians :			
1. Bulgarians proper . . .	3,500,000	3,200,000	300,000
2. Bulgarians in Bessarabia. .	80,000	80,000	
Czekho-Slovakians :			
1. Bohemians & Moravians . .	4,500,000		4,400,000
2. Slovaks (principally in North Hungary) . .	2,400,000	500,000	1,000,000
Poles :			
(Russian Polish provinces, Galicia and Lodomeria)	10,000,000	2,000,000	7,500,000
Suabian Vendes :			
(Lusatia, and some part of Brunswick, now Germanised).	2,000,000		1,000,000
Tchacones :			
(Eastern part of Peloponnesus, say, ...	20,000	20,000	
	27,460,000	7,940,000	16,800,000

Of course, when we add the 38,000,000 of Russians proper, and the 13,000,000 of Russniaks, who belong to the Eastern Church, we quite reverse the proportion. But the dependence of these eighteen or nineteen millions on the Roman Church is owing, in great measure, to the use of their vernacular language in eucharistic offices. Let us now look at the remarkable struggle in Bohemia on this subject.

We have seen that in A.D. 977 the Bohemians wrested from the Court of Rome the use of the vernacular language in their Liturgies. This privilege was again taken from them in the pontificate of S. Gregory VII, though the resolute spirit of that people still maintained the Slavonic Ritual as they best could, in spite of the decrees of councils and of popes. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the cry for a vernacular service

became loud throughout Bohemia. Mixing itself also with the demand for the free accordance of the chalice to the laity, it found a mouth-piece in John Hufs and Hieronymus von Faulfisch, better known as Jerome of Prague. Those to whom the fate of Hufs is as a household word, may not be so generally aware that he was the settler of Bohemian orthography, and the framer of its language as it now exists. Bohemian is the most copious and the most exact of the Slavonic tongues, and its forty-two letters received their ultimate name and disposition from Hufs. Whatever were his errors, and whatever absurdities may have been promulgated regarding the violation of his safe-conduct by the Council of Constance—which safe-conduct never existed, and therefore could never have been violated—Hufs is thus to be honourably distinguished, when compared with Jerome of Prague, a man of but doubtful morality, violent, self-willed, and insincere. If his fate be remembered, it must also be remembered that he himself had ordered the murder of a monk who opposed one of his services. Then came the split between the so-called reformers in Bohemia; the Calixtines or Utraquists contenting themselves with the demand for the permission of the chalice, and of a vernacular service; the Taborites, and their various schisms, being heretics of the worst description, and ready to repeat the enormities of their ferocious leader, Ziska.

The Council of Basle, that standing protest against Ultramon-
tanes, and equally abhorred and feared by members of that faction, proved its wisdom and moderation by admitting the delegates of the Bohemians to a free and open conference. We may smile when we read of the tedious manner in which deputies spoke, and members of the Council answered—of the three days the famous Calixtine Rokitsana consumed in proving the advantage of communion in both kinds, and the length which John de Prague required for his reply. But it is never to be forgotten that the decree of the Council which succeeded these disputations, was the means of preserving a whole nation in the unity of the Church.

As to the Communion in both kinds, the intention of the Council is not to tolerate it as an evil connived at on account of the baseness of heart of those that demand it, but as one useful and salutary to them that receive this Sacrament worthily. The Council will examine the question more thoroughly; but the priests, who give the Communion in both kinds, are to teach that *JESUS CHRIST* is received whole and entire in each.

With this, the question of the vernacular service was also mixed up, and that concession united the Calixtines with the Roman Church, and crushed the Taborites; yet Bohemia

eagerly accepted the Reformation, and when it elected Frederick the Elector Palatine, the imbecile son-in-law of James I, as its king, three-fourths of its inhabitants had embraced different kinds of heresy. The battle of the White Mountain, in 1620, settled the religious as well as the political state of the country. The Catholic Church was triumphant, and Bohemia may contest with the Tyrol and Brittany the honour of being the most Catholic country in Europe. But the great result still remained; and that Slavonic people retained their vernacular Liturgy.

The writer well remembers how, having arrived late in that glorious city of Prague on a Saturday night, and standing early next morning on the bridge—the scene of the martyrdom of S. John Nepomucene—the masses of worshippers pouring to their various churches, seemed to him more striking than anything of the kind he had ever witnessed in any other Catholic city: how the long hill on the one side that leads up to the Cathedral and the Strahoff monastery, on the heights where the Hradschin stands, was one stream of heads; while, on the other, the main arterial street that goes to the Theinkirche, was equally crammed. Add to all, the clamour of countless bells, and the contrast of the gentle Moldau, with the life and animation of both its banks, all lit up by a bright spring sun, and the writer's first acquaintance with a vernacular Roman service was made under very pleasurable circumstances. It seemed strange, in the Theinkirche, to see the well-known postures, and to hear the familiar chants, accompanied with Slavonic *formule*—the *Hospodine pomiluy*, for example, instead of the *Kyrie eleison*. One concluding remark on Bohemia may not be out of place.

It was the fashion, some ten years ago, among Anglo-Romanists, to prophesy the speedy conversion of England. The droppings from our ranks they took to be the forerunners of the whole host, and must have been bitterly disappointed that the few went and came, and made but little difference on the one side or the other. Their own ill-success, despite so much zeal, so much energy, so much munificence, seemed a startling fact. Theories are not difficult to make; and the latest seems to be this, that where a country, *as* a country, has apostatized from the faith, *as* a country there is no regeneration for it; that the utmost the Church can hope to effect, is to snatch individuals from the mass of heresy or unbelief; and that this is the object to which she is to lend her aim, and the goal with the attainment of which she is to remain content—a most unsatisfactory thing, if it could be proved, but contrary to all the teaching of ecclesiastical history. Witnesses this very country of Bohemia, which, in the beginning

of the seventeenth century, had almost totally apostatized to Lutheranism or Calvinism, but which was, humanly speaking, by that one battle of the White Mountain, brought back to the Church.

We will now turn our eyes to another remarkable instance in which a national rite and a vernacular language has been allowed: we mean the Greek Liturgy of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia.

And here again we are brought into that mournful portion of ecclesiastical history, the struggle between the Eastern and Western Churches. One is apt to forget, how weak, in the ninth and tenth centuries, was the actual authority possessed by the Roman Pontiffs; how Constantinople had invaded even their stronghold, Italy, elbowing them from Calabria and Apulia; while Sicily, under the temporal dominion of the Saracens, regarded the Œcumenical Patriarch as its spiritual head. In fact, the East gained further and further in this direction on the West, and at one period threatened to exclude the papal authority from the whole of South Italy; nor was it till the Normans, devoted to the interests of the Holy See, spread themselves over that country, that Rome succeeded in this quarter in her struggle with Constantinople. But though the Eastern Church was here driven out, the Eastern Liturgies remained behind, and they found a greater protection from the See of Rome than from their Norman conquerors, who abhorred them.* At Naples, especially, the Christians of both rites lived† in the greatest concord and amity; the Latins using the Latin, the Greeks the Greek, Liturgy. The Collegiate Church of S. Januarius, for instance, had, in 1300, mixed chapters of Latins and Greeks. How the choir could, ecclesiologically, have been filled for the two rites, it is not easy to understand. So in the Chronicle of S. Maria de Piombino, which is supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century, it is mentioned that, on Easter-eve, the six Primicerii of the six Greek churches were under obligation to assist at the Latin office, and to sing six lessons in Greek, and at Easter other dignitaries of the same churches were in like manner to say the Creed in their native language. The Church of

* "L'origine del rito Greco nelle Provincie che compongono i due Reami di Napoli, e di Sicilia per mezzo degli Orientali nel secolo ottavo, e la sua decadenza procurata con maravigliosa destrezza dai Principi Normanni nell'undecimo, sono i due poli tra si opposti, ai quali l'argomento di questo primo libro dovra interamente aggorsarsi." So says Rodotà, at the commencement of his history.

† So Petrus Subdiaconus, in his life of S. Athanasius of Naples, where he is speaking of the interment of that prelate, "Confluebant uterque sexus et ætas diversa, et qualiter poterant, psalmodiæ Græce et Latine suavi modulatione resonabant."

S. Maria del Poggio, in the district of Revello, petitioned Pius V, in 1572, to be allowed to pass from the Greek to the Latin rite. The Pope assented. The Chapter then altered its mind, and resolved to retain the Liturgy of its predecessors. But Spinelli, the bishop, obliged them to avail themselves of the dispensation for which they had asked. In Brundisium the Greek rite was given up in 1173, but a trace of it still remains, or did remain, in the last century. On Palm Sunday, a solemn procession took place from the cathedral to the church called *Hofanna*, in which the Epistle and Gospel were sung with extraordinary solemnity in Greek. It appears that in 1609 the Archbishop, Dionysio Odriscol, one of those persons who were for squaring everything to the exactest dimensions of the Latin rite, resolved to put an end to these ancient customs. The Chapter strenuously opposed him, and, on his persisting in his mandate, appealed to Rome. The case was heard, and judgment given against the Archbishop, to his extreme chagrin. In a Diocesan Synod holden at Otranto, about the year 1580, no fewer than two hundred priests of the Greek rite were present. It seems that in some places, as at Galatena, the Greek priests had a reputation for piety so far exceeding that of the other rite, that the Latin population flocked to them, although unacquainted with their idiom. Where everything else has disappeared, the name of the church will sometimes tell of the great prevalence of the Greek rite there: thus the Cathedral of Bova is called S. Maria dell' *Ifodia*, and another church in the same city, the *Theotocos*. The Cathedral of Rossano was entirely Greek till 1461, when the Archbishop, Matteo Saraceni, introduced the Latin rite by force, and caused the exploit to be recorded on his tomb:—

Hanc, quam cernis, ille, cujus laus est perennis
 Transtulit in Latinum, ecclesiam, de Græco ad cultum divinum,
 Cui nomen est Matthæus, quem in Præfulem elegit æternus Deus.
 Ordinis fuit minorum, qui in numero fuit magnus Prædicatorum.

So again, in some places, as in the famous Church of S. Maria del Grafeo, otherwise called *La Catholica*, in Messina, the language was Greek, but the vestments were Latin, and azymes were employed.

The Greek rite in Italy received considerable augmentation by the immigration of a large body of Albanians when their country fell under the dominion of the Turks. They were especially protected by Leo X. and Paul III, notwithstanding the various and repeated attacks of Latin Bishops. This, among other causes gave rise to the establishment of the Greek College in Rome, by Gregory XIII, in 1577. And for the same reason

Clement VIII, in 1695, instituted a Greek Bishop in the Church of S. Athanasius at Rome, to confer holy orders on those of that nation. The Basilians, too, would form an interesting illustration of our subject, did time permit us to enter on that part of it. When Rodotà wrote, in 1760, there were three houses of these monks in the States of the Church, eighteen in Neapolitan Italy, and twenty-three in Sicily.

The pleasing character of the union between Greeks and Latins in Italy, forms a mournful contrast with the Unia in Russia and Poland, to which we must now direct our thoughts.

At the time when Sigismund III. was seated on the Polish throne, his territory, be it remembered, extending over a great part of White Russia, wrested from that power by the Poles, an attempt of a novel nature was made to bring over a portion of the Eastern Church to the Roman Communion. The king himself had long been employing the usual methods of semi-persecution: the nobles who held to the faith of their forefathers were in every way discouraged: the churches were given to the Latins, and the orthodox were forbidden to erect new ones: a large emigration took place into Great Russia, and those who remained were of course the more dispirited and weakened. There was one Cyril Terletsky, Bishop of Ostrog, a man of bad character, who, angry at some reproof that his misdeeds had brought down on him, and wishing to better his position, determined to join the Roman Church, and offered his services to the King, to induce others to imitate his example. The Metropolitan of Kieff, Michael Ragosa, a timid man, was much under the influence of Cyril; and secret offers were made by Rome, which induced him to enlist in her cause. The rites were to be entirely unchanged; the *Filioque* was not even to be added to the Creed; the United Greek Church was to be perfectly free from the control of the Latin Bishops, and its members were not to be allowed to embrace the Latin Rite. All the privileges and prerogatives of the prelates were to remain; and Clement VIII. engaged to procure for them a seat in the National Diet.

A Synod met at Brzesc, in Lithuania, and the point at issue was warmly disputed. Several of the prelates stood firm; but seven resolved on giving in their adherence to Rome. There were, besides the Metropolitan of Kieff and Terletsky himself, the Bishops of Brzesc, Polotsk, Chelm, Pinsk, and a coadjutor of the latter. Hypatius of Brzesc and Cyril were despatched by the Synod to Rome, with an offer of obedience, but not unconditional; for it contains this remarkable clause: "We have given it them in charge to wait on your Holiness, and (if your Holiness will guarantee that we shall retain the administration

“ of the Sacraments, and the rites and ceremonies of the Eastern Church entirely, inviolably, and as we hold them at the moment of union; and will promise that your successors will never innovate in this matter) to pay in their own, and in the name of us, and of the flocks committed to us, the obedience due to the See of Saint Peter, and to your Holiness, as the Chief Shepherd of the flock of CHRIST.” Two more prelates, those of Lemberg and Przmiśl, had by this time been won over, and the letter was therefore* signed by nine, of whom one died almost immediately. It is dated June 12 (O. S.), 1595.

Such an accession of prelates and territory was to be accepted on any terms. The deputies were most graciously received, and the Vigil of the Nativity, which was also Ember Saturday, was appointed for the public profession of their faith. It is curious to see how, in the account given of this Union, in the Bull *Magnus Dominus*, the prelates are treated as if they represented the whole Russian Church, instead of comparatively an insignificant portion of it. The part which treats on the reception of their Liturgy is as follows:—

We receive them as fellow members of CHRIST into the unity of the Catholic and the bosom of the holy Roman Church, unite, annex, and incorporate: and, for the greater signification of our love towards them, we permit, of our apostolic clemency, concede, and allow, to the same Russian Bishops and Clergy the ceremonies which, according to the institution of the holy Greek Fathers, they employ in the Divine Offices, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, in the administration of the other Sacraments and other rites, so that they be not opposed to truth and to the Catholic faith, and do not exclude communion with the Roman Church.

And Paul V. still further confirmed and strengthened this permission by a Bull of 1615.

Hypatius and Cyril had no sooner returned home, than a second council was held at Brzesc, in which the proceedings of the deputies were approved, and the acts of the Union received. Thus began that Unia, which, after making such extraordinary progress at its commencement, fell suddenly, and was swallowed up by a truer Union in our own time. Job, Patriarch of Moscow, lost no time in condemning the acts of the Council of Brzesc, and in excommunicating the prelates concerned in it; and thenceforward began a terrible and bloody struggle between the partisans of the Orthodox and Uniat Rites in Poland, Lithuania, and White Russia. Under the Uniat Metropolitans of Kieff, Michael Ragosa, and Hypatius Phocieu, considerable

* It can be read in the Appendix of Documents to Theiner's *Neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche beider Ritus*, at p. 11.

progress was made by gentle means. The people, seeing no difference in outward rites, retaining their own Slavonic, hearing the unaltered Creed, knowing that the profession of the Unia was a stepping-stone to honours and emoluments, and caring very little for a papal supremacy, which they did not understand, flocked into the new Church by thousands, and thus emboldened its authorities to proceed to greater changes. The Creed was altered, the services shortened, Latin vestments introduced, and, curiously enough, Polish made to take the place of the old Church Slavonic in some of the services. Hence great discontent and complaints. The Bishops of Lemberg and Przemyśl had scarcely joined the Union, when (influenced by the authority of Constantine, Duke of Ostrog, a centenarian, who yet retained almost the full vigour of his youth, and at whose expense, and by whose solicitations, the Scriptures were first translated into the language of White Russia) they again forsook it. But it was under the Uniat Metropolitan, Joseph Rudzky (1613—1635), surnamed by Pope Urban VIII. the Athanasius of Russia, and the Atlas of the Union, that more violent means were adopted to compel the peasantry to embrace it. The tyrannical landed proprietors of Poland closed all the Orthodox churches; whole villages remained without a sacrament; Orthodox churches were given on lease to the Jews, who exacted a rent for every Eucharist. Such violence naturally aroused resistance: the successor of Rudzky, Kuncievicz, was murdered, and consequently beatified by Rome; and then began a persecution which has scarcely a parallel. Multitudes who persisted in retaining the Orthodox faith, were tortured to death at Warsaw. Some were boiled alive, some burnt, some roasted, some torn to pieces with iron cats; while, in White Russia, children were in like manner butchered, for no other crime but that of their baptism. The horrible barbarities which for twenty or thirty years branded Poland with infamy, make one cease to wonder that she has long since been blotted out from the category of nations. In process of time the Unia lost her Little Russia; the Uniate in that province returned to their native faith, and the strength of the Uniat Church lay in Poland chiefly. Yet here its clergy were despised by both Roman Catholics and Orthodox; its Bishops were never allowed their promised seat in the Senate, and, notwithstanding the papal authority had forbidden those of one rite to forsake it for the other, it was universally regarded as a stepping-stone to the pure Roman Church. Still, on the division of Poland, the Uniat Church remained, and reckoned, in 1825, under its Metropolitan of Wilno, and its three Bishops of Polotsk, Lvoff, and Brzesc, more than fourteen hundred thou-

and persons capable of receiving the Sacraments. It is well known that, on the 6th of March, 1839, all this multitude, amounting (children included) to nearly two millions, were received, under their three Bishops, into the unity of the Eastern Church. "Ex tam atroci Catholicæ Ecclesiæ inflictio vulnere, perspicitis, venerabiles Fratres," said Gregory XVI; "quo tandem animo sumus, quaque intrinsecus ægritudine conficiamur. Dolemus atque imo ex corde ingemiscimus redactas in æternæ salutis discrimen tot animas, quas Christus suo sanguine redemerat; dolemus violatam turpiter per discolores Episcopos fidem illam, quam Romanæ Ecclesiæ prius desponderant; dolemus pessime despectum ab iis characterem sacratissimum, quo ex hujus Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritate fuerant insigniti."

In the Nestorian Unia, so often attempted, we do not, indeed, find a vernacular service, because the Syrian Liturgy of that body presents, of course, a dead language to them, as well as to us; but it embraced the element of a national language, and so far falls within our subject. The office of the Patriarch of the Nestorians had become hereditary, descending from uncle to nephew in the same family. These claims were rejected by the clergy in 1551, who chose one Sulaka to fill the vacant post. But being unable to obtain the requisite number of three Metropolitans for his ordination, they applied to the "Pope of the West;" and on his consecration by Julius III, the use of the ancient Liturgy, with a few corrections, was allowed, and the Nestorian body was thus rent in two, the Latinizing portion being governed by Mar Simons, the original communion by Mar Elias. The former soon again renounced connection with Rome, and thus two Nestorian Patriarchs arose instead of one. But in 1681 commenced a Unia, as well from Nestorians as from Jacobites, which continues to this day; and here also unaltered rites and unchanged language have been found very useful in bringing over converts to the new Church.

We are now in a condition to offer some remarks on the course pursued by Rome with respect to a vernacular language.

And, first, it must be admitted that there are some very great advantages to be derived from the adoption of one ecclesiastical tongue in one patriarchate. At the time, to translate the Liturgy into hundreds of barbaric languages was in itself impossible; and from the very nature of the case, could it have been preferred, would have been most perilous to the faith. Again, when they were consolidated into shape and form, when they developed strength and beauty of their own, when long theological teaching had given them theological terms, then arose

more strongly the rivalry of nations, which wanted some external sign that they belonged to one Church. Their office-books were not verbally the same. Three large districts of western Europe—Milan, Spain, and Gaul—long maintained, as the former does still, essentially different rites; and the Latin language was the only outward symbol of internal union. It must also be allowed that the clamour for a vernacular service has generally been rather national than religious. Whatever might have been the case with Hufs and Jerome of Prague, those fierce Bohemian chiefs who drew the sword at their command, did it for the sake of Tcheck, and not of religion; just as in former times, princes of Bulgaria and Bans of Croatia had disdained to see their native Slavonic expelled by the usurping Latin. But when a great part of Germany might have been preserved to the Church by the same concession that was early made to Illyria—the Roman Office-books in their own tongue—the case surely becomes widely different. What was at first prudent caution is now converted into jealous obstinacy. Why might not Rome have obtained the advantages which Luther wrested from her—that of not only giving a translation of the Scriptures, but, by that translation, of actually forming a language? For every one knows that his version formed that *German*, which we at present allow to be the queen of all Teutonic dialects, and that to his residence at Wittenberg is owing its greater affinity with the Alemannic than with the Platt Deutsch. And so, to a certain extent, it is with our own English version.

“Who will not say,” asks a writer in the *Dublin Review*, “that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of the church bell, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the gifts and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of the English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of righteousness about him whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible.”

One should think that a question must naturally follow in the mind of a Roman Catholic,—“Why did not we do this? Why did we leave it to ‘heretics’ to frame so tremendous an engine against us?” If a version had never been made at all, it

might have been easier to reply ; but, as this principle has been since abandoned, why was it not yielded when it might have been yielded with such comparative graciousness, and to such exceeding advantage ?

To return to the language of ecclesiastical services. It is clear that only three systems are practicable ; and that the division which they involve is exhaustive. You may, as Rome does, employ a dead, immoveable tongue ; you may, as England and Russia do, take a bygone period of your own language, and crystallize your prayers in that ; or you may revise them every forty or fifty years, so as to render them intelligible through the varying phases and improvements or corruptions of the tongue.

Of the three, we cannot but feel that the last is the worst. Continually to be altering the Creeds, the Litany, the other prayers, has the look of tampering with the Truth itself. If the poor saw the words of their Prayer-book altered, they would be less shocked at its doctrines being touched. The words are the Malakoff, so to speak, which defends the Sebastopol of our faith. Assault them successfully, and the stronghold will ere long surrender. It is a grand symbol of the changelessness, or, as Dr. Newman happily expresses it, the *incorrigibility* of the Church, to find that, though her expressions go out of fashion, she retains them still ; though, in the mouth of the world, they have come to mean the very contrary of that which she means, she will not, for all that, give them up. It is well also that there should be a language of devotion, which is so utterly different from the expressions of every-day life ; that, as the Church retains her ancient architecture, in all its contrast to the fittings of a modern drawing-room, so her stern, masculine,—if it be so, uncouth—expressions stand out against the mincingness and effeminacy of the terms of a luxuriant age. And therein are we especially happy, that by our adoption of *thou* and *ye*, we can elevate and devotionalize our style at once. No other European people can do it to a similar extent. The German *du* must suggest the fond intimacy, the *δαριότης*, of intimate friends, as well as the address suited to the voice of prayer ; and the French *vous* must, save from long habit, be painfully familiar. It is strange that French writers have not attempted to introduce, in their translations of Holy Scripture and of the Breviary, that more venerable and impressive idiom which they might possess if they would ; such, for example, as those lines which sum up the Ten Commandments in every Catechism from Antwerp to Bayonne :—

Un seul DIEU tu adoreras, et aimeras parfaitement.
DIEU en vain tu ne jureras ni autre chose pareillement.
Les dimanches tu garderas, en servant DIEU dévotement.

Tes père et mère honoreras, afin de vivre longuement.
Homicide point ne feras, de fait ni volontairement.
Luxurieux point ne feras de corps ni de consentement.
Le bien d'autrui tu ne prendras, ni retiendras injustement.
Faux témoignage ne diras, ni mentiras aucunement.
L'œuvre de chair ne désireras, qu'en mariage seulement.
Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras, pour les avoir injustement.

This reads like a section from our own Prayer-book : and what a wonderful contrast does it present with the modern language of the LORD'S Prayer !—"Notre Père qui êtes aux Cieux, Que votre Nom soit sanctifié, Que votre règne arrive, Que votre volonté soit faite sur la terre comme au Ciel," &c.

These difficulties of language naturally suggest the question, Whether, after all, it is not possible that the present Roman system of parallel translations, explanations in the most familiar language, and so on, may not after all give her poor a far more intelligent idea (we are now speaking simply of the intellect, not of the affections) of her offices than is generally imagined ? while our Elizabethan dialect, not being so explained, is much less comprehensible to them than we choose to believe it ? To those of tolerable education there can be no doubt that ours is the system which best enables them to worship with the understanding as well as with the spirit. The lowest classes, who cannot read, can certainly comprehend some part of our Prayer-book, can certainly not understand one word of the Breviary—or rather Vespers, the only part of it with which he is likely to be conversant. But for the poor man who can read, and that is all, the "Petit Paroissien," and works of a similar stamp, must be more comprehensible, we think, than our own office, so that they were made as accessible to them—which they certainly are not.

But then it must be remembered that, in the point of a vernacular use, Rome has more nearly retraced her steps than in any other point of discipline which she ever maintained. At the outbreak of the Reformation, she opposed it with all her might. Her controversialists poured the most bitter scorn upon it ; her advocates, then often more zealous than learned, denounced it as unheard-of, as profane, as scandalous. And yet gradually, and almost imperceptibly, the use gained strength within her communion, and she accommodated herself to its permission,—in hymns, especially in processional hymns ; in the reading of the Gospel in French or German after its having been read in Latin ; in Litanies ; then in translation of the Breviary, or of the Missal (the Canon excepted). And though the versions which so often occupied the pens of the Janseuists were so loudly and bitterly condemned, everywhere throughout Europe the practice of ver-

vernacular services has increased, and is on the increase. And the last phase of active Romanism, Oratorianism, as it exists in England, seems utterly to regret all the old traditions of the Latin language, to vernacularize as far as possible, (and in what wretched, slip-slop English !) and to assume that the new practice will be one great means of bringing back this country to the fold of S. Peter. Why what is now so much put forward was three hundred years ago so bitterly to be opposed ? is a question which we are not called to answer.

One natural consequence of this use is the general disregard which has attached itself among the people to every service, excepting Mass only, and which has, by the addition of the Benediction at Vespers, made that office a sort of adjunct or correlative to Mass. And this is a late introduction, designed, as it has most amply done, to popularize a service at a convenient time of the day, and of a convenient length. The enormous congregations which flow to Benedictions in one of those glorious old cities of Belgium, or in the Tyrol—what a wonderful sight they present ! How they make the heart of an Englishman burn within him, that his own Church Service could be rendered as popular, could attract such thousands of worshippers !

Again, the vernacular Litanies now spreading so widely, and encouraged so freely throughout Europe, form a great change from mediæval Rome. We remember when, some years ago, a recently established confraternity took possession of, and restored, one of the little *igrejinhas* with which Madeira abounds, and said a Portuguese Litany there early on Sunday morning, that a gentleman with whom we were acquainted went to hear it, accompanied by his man-servant, a Scotch Presbyterian. "Ah ! sir," said the latter, when they came away, "it did my heart good to hear that ! It put me in mind, for all the world, of our singing in — Kirk." In Spain too, and principally by the effects of the association called the *Corte de Maria*, the same Litanies are coming into vogue. But the most remarkable thing of the kind we ever witnessed, was in one of the wildest mountain glens of Portugal, and at a little chapel called *Nossa Senhora do Desterro*. It was in the grey of the morning, and our party were about to mount their mules ; when the west door of the *ermida* opened, and the priest, an elderly man, came out on all-fours, followed by a congregation of some twenty or twenty-five, in a similar fashion. They thus went round the chapel by the north side first, and, having finished its circuit, re-entered by the west door ; and as they went, they recited—for there was no kind of attempt at chanting—one of these Latinies. The ground was excessively rough and broken, and the effect any-

thing but edifying ; nor did we ever see another exhibition of a similar kind ; yet, as our muleteer took it as a matter of course, it cannot be uncommon in that unvisited district of the Estrella.

Rome, then, at the present moment, would seem to be sanctioning what she does not openly command—the very general use of vernacular prayers in church. One thing would seem from past history to be certain, that no civilized nation which has ever left the Church has been brought back to it without this permission. Belgium is scarcely an exception, for that country can hardly be said to possess a national language, divided as it is into Flemish, and Walloon, and mixed districts. Had Rome, with her usual tact, seized the moment at the reconciliation of England by Cardinal Pole, and given, together with a strict revision (such as was bestowed on the Romans), a version of the Sarum Breviary and Missal, who can say what would have been the effect among a people then well accustomed to a national rite, what on our language, and what on ourselves ?

This is a mere dream. But an interesting and very difficult problem of the same nature is likely soon to come before us. The revision, or rather enlargement of the Prayer-book, is a work which cannot be much longer delayed. When once the subject is fairly brought before English Churchmen, they will see that the cautious conservatism of merely working up old materials into new services, is one which can satisfy nobody, and will equally offend those who would be offended by any change. We *must* have a new Evening Service. We *must* have an authorized Office for the Consecration of Churches and Churchyards. We *must* have a greater variety of Collects for the great variety of temporal wants ; for example, those of travellers, and for the infinite number of spiritual necessities unmentioned in the Prayer-book. These things lie ready made to our hand in the same treasury whence our former Collects were derived ; and they need only translation to be, as they once were, the support and comfort of many Christian souls.

But then, how is this translation to be done ? If we are to have the modernisms, the verbiage, the diluted wretchedness that appears every now and then in our occasional services, it will be indeed the new cloth fastened on to the old garment, and it is easy to foresee the event. As it is, the hundred and twenty years which elapsed between the earliest and latest parts of our Prayer-book have made no difference, except perhaps to the ear of a philologist, between its most ancient and its most modern parts. The prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, would scarcely be recognized by an un instructed person as emanating from a different age than that

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which produced the Sunday Collects, *so far as language goes*. And it is remarkable that, in the revision of the Prayer-book threatened by William III, the principle was clearly adopted of writing the new Collects in the old Church language. One sits down to a perusal of that book with a most lawful and righteous prejudice against all its contents ; but it is impossible not to allow that, incomparably inferior as these Collects are to those which they were intended to supplant, they are better in matter, and infinitely better in expression, to that which might have been expected from their writers. Again, in their still later revision, the non-jurors carefully retained the older language ; and the Scottish Church, in its Communion Office, has, with scarcely an exception, done the same. It is earnestly to be hoped that similar care will be taken by our future revisers, whoever they may be ; and that while they steer clear on the one side of the affectation of archaism, so on the other their language will be in simple harmony with that of the older book ; that they will not so write as that a common reader may say, " Here the old ends, and here the new begins ; " that they will not, in short, build on a classical chapel to a Middle Pointed church.

It is only since the above article was in type that Mr. Trench's "English, Past and Present," has come in our way. We mention this, with the double purpose of warmly recommending this little book, and of defending ourselves against a charge of plagiarism, from the coincidence of some of its remarks with the observations on the Prayer-book which have been offered above.





VIII.

THE NEW "ANNALES ECCLESIASTICI."*



F ever the adage—"a great book, a great evil"—received a palpable and striking exemplification, the new *Annales Ecclesiastici* may claim to have impressed it on their readers. We approached the work with very great interest; we hoped that, as the new Bollandists in Brussels are forwarding and successfully prosecuting the gigantic labours of former generations, and slowly but surely accomplishing the enormous edifice of the *Acta Sanctorum*—so the prodigious undertaking of Baronius was now, though his two immediate successors had ceased from their labours, to receive its tardy accomplishment. One word on the original *Annales*, before we speak of their continuation.

It was nascent Protestantism which first seized on the idea of an Universal History of the Church, as a means to fortify its own position, and propagate its own tenets. The Magdeburg Centuriators, whatever were their deficiencies both in learning and moral qualities, and however defective—when tried by the rules of a truer criticism—they are found, won for themselves a prodigious reputation, and amazed Europe with their ponderous and gigantic learning. Rome found that she needed her own labourers in the same field; and, with her usual tact, she sent forth the fitting champion to preserve her reputation. Cæsar Baronius, born at Sora in the year 1540, and entered as a member of the Oratory at an early age, commenced his *Annales Ec-*

* *Annales Ecclesiastici*: quos post Cæsarem S. R. E. Cardinalem Baronium, Odoricum Raynaldum ac Jacobum Laderchium, Presb. Cong. Oratorii de Urbe; ab anno MDLXXII. ad nostra usque Tempora continuat Augustinus Theiner, ejusd. congreg. Presbyter. Romæ: e Typographiâ Tiberniâ. Folio, Tom. I. 1856, pp. 560; Tom. II. 1856, pp. 642; Tom III. 1856, pp. 844.

clefastici at thirty, laboured on them till seventy, bringing them down, in what now form nineteen folio volumes, to 1198. His mantle descended on Odoricus Raynaldus, of the same congregation, who closed his labours with his fifteenth volume, and at the year 1565. To these Mansi added his notes, and Pagi such laborious chronological researches, as almost to have made that part of the history his own. Laderchius took up the history in 1565, and brought it down seven years further. There it remained unfinished, and many had been the wishes expressed that it were possible

To call up him who left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold :

or, failing that, that Moses might find his Joshua, and Elijah be succeeded by his Elifha. The late Pontiff, Gregory XVI, entreated, and almost commanded another member of the same congregation, Augustine Theiner, to continue a work which seemed to belong to his own order. After the labours of twenty years, we have the first-fruits of the result in the three volumes of which we have just quoted the title.

The first thing which will strike the ordinary reader, is the vast length to which these Annals run. The first volume, in 560 pages, contains only three years ; the second, in 642, only four ; the third, with 844, is made to embrace seven years. It is easy to calculate that, at a similar length of narration, it would require between sixty and seventy volumes to reach the present time. What estimate M. Theiner may have made of the probable existence of human life we know not ; but at the end of his preface he speaks of intending, when his task is accomplished, to re-edit the continuation of Raynaldus, with large additions. One is reminded of the question asked by the Pope, when the plan of Bollandus for the Lives of the Saints was first laid before him,—“Does the man expect to live two hundred years ?”

Of course, when we see an ecclesiastical history issuing from a Roman press in all the elegance of the Tiberine typography, and with the imprimatur of the master of the palace and other Roman officials, we know exactly what its sentiments will be. It would be absurd to look for anything but Ultramontanism, according to the strictest sect of that religion. On that score, therefore, we are not about to make any complaint ; but we are bound to confess, at the very outset, that, coming as we did to the perusal of this work with every expectation of finding it a worthy continuation of the greatest of annalists, we have been most grievously and bitterly disappointed. Putting aside the classical elegance of the Latinity, we can hardly conceive a

more complete historical failure than these ponderous volumes. Having thus expressed a strong opinion, it is but fair that we should endeavour to make our assertions good.

We are not now called to consider the question, whether any history can be satisfactorily written in the shape of annals; whether a great work of art can condescend to be thus fettered by the trammels of chronology; whether of all histories, that of the Church is not the most impatient of such restrictions, leaping, as it necessarily must do, from East to West, narrating a little event in Asia, and then another little event in America, and finishing off with an occurrence in Africa. Baronius had chosen the form of annals; Theiner had to continue his work. He professes to arrange his materials thus. He commences each year with the affairs of Germany; he proceeds to those nations, including Scandinavia, which are in any way connected with the German empire; next relates the events which occurred in France; then goes to Spain and Portugal, and to the American and Asiatic colonies of both. The plan would seem theoretically excellent; and as, on the avowed principles of the author, we are to expect no account of the Eastern, Russian, or English Churches, except so far as Roman missions to them may be concerned, we have no ground of complaint on that head. But what we do complain of is this: that instead of taking the trouble to cast the documents placed at his disposal into a history, to give the sense in his own words, to separate the dross from the gold, to evolve one lucid narrative from a farrago of parchments, our annalist prints brief after brief, letter after letter, one official document after another, leaving the reader to find the grain, very often a single one, and sometimes not even that, if he can, in a heap of chaff. This is our first charge, and we will proceed to prove it.

The year 1572, the first of Gregory XIII, the ninth of the Emperor Maximilian II, occupies seventy-two pages. Let us see how they are composed. It commences thus:—

The Piacular Sacrifices, which are commonly called Novendialia, having been, in the accustomed manner, offered to GOD for the Pontiff who had departed this life, and all things else having been well and wisely disposed, for the preservation of order, and the government of the city, the Cardinals, as many as were then present in Rome, to the number of forty-seven, entered the conclave on Monday, the 12th day of May, in order that, by the inspiration of the HOLY GHOST, they might decide on him whom it might be thought meet to elevate to the chair of S. Peter.

Then follows a very long extract from the diary of Mucanzi, Master of the Ceremonies, as to the official proceedings of the occasion, including a list of all the cardinals, their titles at full

length, as well those who were as those who were not in the conclave. The three pages which this account occupies might have been compressed into twice as many lines. Mucanzi is indignant, as well he may be, that, on account of the confusion and preparations, the first vespers of the Ascension and of Pentecost, as well as mass on Ascension-day, were entirely omitted by the cardinals. We may remark that their brother dignitaries at S. Paul's seem to have a happy knack of imitating, at least, these proceedings at S. Peter's. Hugo Buoncompagni, having been unanimously elected, assumed the title of Gregory XIII. And now see how M. Theiner overwhelms us with documents. First we have a letter from the Emperor Maximilian, commending his ambassador, Count Archis, to the new Pope. Take a literal translation of it as a specimen of the worth of such documents.

To the most blessed Father in CHRIST the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and universal Church, his most reverent Lord.

Most blessed Father in CHRIST, most reverent Lord, after our most earnest commendation, accept the continual increase of our filial observance. When the most desirable and happy tidings were some days since brought to us, that your holiness was, on the late death of Pius V, Chief Pontiff, of happy memory, elected and assumed, by the unanimous consent of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, as successor of the same, we entrusted our well-beloved cousin, Prosper Count Archis, of our council, and our ambassador to your Holiness, with the charge of making some communications to you in our name, as you will understand from himself. Therefore we earnestly request your Holiness, not only to give your favourable attention to our aforesaid ambassador on those subjects on which he is about to speak in our own words, and to honour him with the same credit which you would give to us; but also, since the affair committed to him is of such a kind as is of deep importance to the dignity of ourselves and of the holy Roman Empire, our authority and jurisdiction, and therefore naturally is very close to our heart, that your Holiness would adopt such a line of conduct as we have every reason to expect will be the case, from your Holiness's singular equanimity, of which we have heard from many witnesses, and your desire for the public quiet and tranquillity. In which your Holiness will pursue a line of conduct worthy of your own reputation, just in itself, and most acceptable to us, which on every occasion we will endeavour to merit, by the effort of our filial observance. For the rest we beseech GOD, best and greatest, that He may long vouchsafe to preserve your Holiness in health and safety, for the benefit of His Church.

Given in our Castle of Ebersdorff, the 23rd day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1572, and of our reigns, the Roman the tenth, the Hungarian the ninth, the Bohemian the twenty-fourth.

And of your holiness

The obedient Son,

MAXIMILIAN.

And can our annalist really have persuaded himself that to conglomerate documents of this kind is to write history? The

one fact that Count Archis was accredited by the Emperor to the new Pope, might surely have been dismissed in one line. But if the reader thinks that he is to get off for this single letter, he is very much mistaken. M. Theiner unfortunately had at his elbow the thirty-sixth manuscript volume of the *Literæ Principum*, in the Vatican Library, and the consequence is, that after the word "Maximilian," as above, he proceeds thus :—

He did the same thing in other letters, in which he informs the Pontiff, that the ambassadors who were to profess obedience to him in the Emperor's name, might soon be expected at Rome.

"To the most blessed Father in CHRIST, the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, his most reverent Lord.

"Most blessed Father in CHRIST, most reverent Lord : after our most earnest commendation, a perpetual increase of filial observance. In sending our present ambassadors, the noble and honourable and learned, trustworthy subjects of ourselves as of the holy empire, Seyfrid Preyner, Baron of Stubing, Hadnitz, and Rabenstein, and John Hegenmüller, doctor of both laws, our Aulic Counsellors to your Holiness, to express in our name the singular joy which we have received from the happy assumption of your holiness to the chief office and dignity of the Apostolate, and to declare also the desire of filial observance to your Holiness, and our most sincere good-will, as your Holiness will learn from themselves—we again and again entreat your said Holiness to give your favourable attention to our aforesaid ambassadors, and not only to trust them, as regards those things which they will say in our name, with the same confidence with which you would honour us, but to vouchsafe in the same place, and at the same time, to embrace ourselves together with the holy empire, over which by Divine will we are placed in authority, and our hereditary kingdoms and dominions, with the same paternal benevolence which we fully expect from your Holiness. Your Holiness may, in return, promise yourself from us, all the duty of an obedient son. For the rest, we beseech GOD, best and greatest, that He would vouchsafe long to preserve your Holiness in health and safety, for the benefit of His Church.

"Given in our city of Vienna, the 28th day of the month of June, in the year of our Lord 1572, and of our reigns, the Roman the tenth, the Hungarian the ninth, and the Bohemian the twenty-fourth.

"And of your holiness

"The obedient Son,

"MAXIMILIAN."

Is that enough? By no means. Our indefatigable *historian* proceeds :—

The Archdukes Rodolph and Ernest united themselves with their loving father in their illustrious testimony of affection to the Pontiff.

"To the most blessed lord and father in CHRIST, the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, their venerable lord.

"Most blessed father and lord in CHRIST, our venerable lord : after our humble commendation, the continual increase of filial observance. Since his sacred Imperial Majesty, our ever-to-be-respected lord and father, has, for the manifesting his reverence to the Holy Apostolic See, despatched the noble and honourable and learned, our faithful and beloved Seyfrid Preyner, Baron

in Stubing, Hadnitz and Rabenstein, and John Hegenmüller, doctor in both laws, Aulic Counsellors of his Majesty to your Holiness, in order to express his congratulations—”

But we shall send our readers to sleep ; and we can assure them that no more composing anodyne could be prescribed than the perusal of twenty or thirty pages of such letters, the mere composition of secretaries, no more worth reprinting in a history of the Church than would be the writs for the assembling of a new parliament in a history of England. They did not even merit a place in a collection of documents at the end of the volume. Will the reader believe that, in this one year, there are more than sixty of this sort of documents, most of them of no more value than those which we have already noticed ? But we must give one still more striking example of the same thing. The Jesuits, it appears—no very unusual thing with them—had cast longing eyes on the Augustinian Monastery at Augsburg, which they thought would be at least as convenient to themselves as to its existing possessors. The great banking-house of the Fuggers lent themselves to the views of the company, but addressed a letter as from themselves to Gregory, setting forth the relaxed state of discipline among the Augustinians, and requesting him to transfer their house to the Jesuits. Our author remarks at some length that, though writing in the form of annals, he ought not to say so much ; yet, in the 38th section of the year 1574, all the accusations of the Fuggers will be found completely disproved. Having said thus much,—“Behold,” continues he, “the most impudent letters of the Fuggers, and the Ilfungen.” (“*En demum impudentissimas Fuggerorum et Ilfungenorum literas.*”) As if any one in their senses, having just been informed that they contained nothing but falsehoods, could wish to behold them ! However, they follow, and take up more than three folio pages. Then comes an epistle of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, in support of the Fuggers ; next of William, son of Albert, in support of his father ; then of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, in support of both Albert and William—for all the world like an ecclesiastical house that Jack built,—and all this about a miserable intrigue, which was not worth relating at all. And yet this wretched attempt to turn the Augustinian fathers out of their house occupies exactly double the space that is allotted to the history, or rather the non-history, of the massacre of S. Bartholomew. All we can say is, if this be to continue Baroni-
us, the task is, as the advertisements say, “practicable by the meanest capacity.”

One more example we must give. The year 1575 was that of the Jubilee. Here we are overwhelmed with letters from

various potentates, requesting, either for themselves or for some favoured servant, a participation in the indulgences to be acquired at Rome, although unable personally to visit the Eternal City. Nine wearisome sections are devoted to communications of this kind. One can only ask again, *Is this*, in any sense of the word, ecclesiastical history?

It is fair, however, to let our author defend himself. He says, that it has been his aim to avoid copying, as Raynaldus and Laderchius did, passages from printed works, and not even to make use, except in a few rare instances, of documents that have already been printed. "But," says he, "we have not thought it right to abbreviate the documents which we quote, but have transcribed them whole, and have endeavoured to remedy the lengthiness which may be occasioned by their extent, by adding the fewest possible words of our own in explanation of the event related. For we have considered that documents impressed with the very character of the times, and the men who put them forth, are of infinitely greater value than a history which may be polished, indeed, and elaborated, but which is composed in words of the present day." That is, M. Theiner throws down before us his cart-load of bricks, and desires us to build his edifice for ourselves, just being kind enough, here and there, to point out where the materials thus furnished ought to go. But another difficulty remains to be solved. We find at the end of each volume, and taking up about a third of its bulk, a *mantissa documentorum*, containing a whole chaos of documents not interwoven into the history. What are these? Why, these are monuments which we found written in foreign languages, and which we did not think fit to turn into Latin, lest their native piquancy should perish." Considering that many of these are documents of the most official and driest character, there is very little piquancy to be evaporated in the process of translation; add to which, that the letters of the Papal legates, which, if anything (containing as they do important matter), should have been worked into the history, are rejected here also. No; the reason is plain. It is a work of infinitely less labour to string together two or three hundred documents, for the most part containing but a grain of gold to a pound of dross, by a few conjunctive sentences, than to extract the precious metal, and to fuse it into one continuous historic chain. A remark of Baronius himself might well be quoted to the continuer of Baronius. Speaking of the vast but hurried labours of Origen, "an inheritance," says he, "may be gotten hastily at the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed." It is a very easy thing for an historian, who is supplied with the funds, the amanuenses,

and the library which are placed at M. Theiner's disposal, to bring out three, or, if the presses be large enough, thirty such folio volumes a-year; the difficulty is to find readers, or, we might say, a reader, when the work is published.

After all, it may be said, if you have the drops, you have the gold too; if the jewels are packed in bales of wool, there they are, if you choose to hunt for them. Then here is our second charge: that to make room for page after page of the most formal matter-of-course documents, events of the greatest importance are not only slurred over, but are absolutely unmentioned. Of the massacre of S. Bartholomew we shall have to speak presently. But to take the year 1572 alone. This was remarkable in the annals of the Roman Church for the martyrs of Gorcum, in the composition of the acts of whom the celebrated Estius employed several years. It is scarcely credible that our historian should only have referred to this most interesting and edifying history accidentally, and as a kind of set-off to the massacre of S. Bartholomew. He simply reminds his reader of the cruelties exercised on certain unarmed Catholic priests at Gorcum and Briel, and refers to the work of Estius and the Bollandists. Does M. Theiner really think that an intrigue of the Fuggers ought to occupy more of his pages than an allusion to the sufferings of these servants of GOD does lines? Again, on the 10th of December in this same year, the justly celebrated Cornelius Musius suffered martyrdom at Leyden. *The martyrdom of Musius does not even occur in the annals.* But then Musius only died for the faith, and did not, like the little princes of Germany, write fulsome letters to the Pope, requesting the extension of Jubilee indulgences to his servants. Also the history of the martyrs of Gorcum and of Musius must have been written by the historian, and could not have been compiled by the mere stringing together of documents. This same year, also, may boast a considerable number of the sixty-five martyrs, whom Peter Opmeer has chronicled in his *Historia Martyrum Batavorum*. Not one of these does M. Theiner consider to merit the slightest commemoration. Again, the year 1575 is notorious, in the history of the Church of the Netherlands, for the savage massacre known by the name of the Nones of Haarlem. To this, again, not the slightest allusion is made. Once more, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the Church of Japan sent a multitude of martyrs to glory. The whole history of that Church, so far as M. Theiner is concerned, is embraced in a few sections, and those principally filled with Papal Briefs and the letters which elicited them.

Again, the singular apathy of our historian as regards Catholic literature and Catholic biography is perfectly astonishing. It

has always been the custom, when history takes the form of annals, that the year of the death of any one who has distinguished himself in the service of the Church should be that in which some account is given of his life. M. Theiner, completely buried in his documents, seems to entertain a singular dislike to biography. The most pious and beautiful death-bed of S. Pius V. is passed over without a single comment, except that his life has been written by Gabutius and Bzovius. That of S. Francis Borgia receives a like notice.

Nor would it be difficult to make out a list of celebrated men who, having died within the period embraced by the three volumes of our work, should have been mentioned, according to the standing rule of annals, in the year of their deaths, but have not received any notice whatever. Maldonatus, for example, who has acquired a world-wide fame for his admirable commentaries on Holy Scripture, and whose whole life was one long series of labours for the Church, only receives a single casual notice, and that in connection with his opposition to the reception of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith. Salmeron, again, one of the best and ablest of the early Jesuits, and who was employed in the most arduous and delicate negotiations and labours all over Europe, is not so much as mentioned. Simon Rodriguez, whose labours in Portugal were truly apostolic, who was the means, under GOD, of working a marvellous reformation in that country, and who was the first prop and stay of its early missions, is passed over with equal silence. He died in 1579.

Not one word, again, of Hubert Galtz, a Christian antiquary of no small fame, when Catholic archæology was very little understood. Nor of Covillon, a native of Lille, who assisted at the Council of Trent, and ended his life at Rome, and whose skill and gentleness in receiving confessions was such that the saying of some penitent passed into a proverb, "I had rather be left without absolution by Covillon, than absolved by any other priest." Nor of Molanus, one of the most distinguished writers of his age against Lutherans and Calvinists, and even more celebrated, among those who knew him, for his tenderness and liberality to the poor. His defence of pictures and images, his annals of Belgian Saints, his annotations on canonised physicians, his treatise that faith ought to be kept with heretics—works not without their value, even in our own day—surely deserved some little notice in a professed history of the Church. Again, one seeks in vain for any notice of Cornelius Jansenius, to be carefully distinguished from his more celebrated namesake, but who acquired for himself no small reputation by his Evangelical Harmony, his Paraphrase on the Psalms, on the Canticles of the

Old Testament used by the Church, and on the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and by his annotations on the Wisdom of Solomon. He had been Vicar of S. Martin at Courtray, Dean of S. James at Louvain, Deputy to the Council of Trent, and finally died first Bishop of Ghent. Nor do we find any notice of Michael Debay, better known by his name of Baius, further than his acquiescence in the condemnation of the articles extracted from his writings. Of him it is recorded, that he had read the works of S. Augustine nine times, and on the tenth perusal declared that he found more to interest and edify him than he had done at first. In the same manner we find not a word of Sonnius, first Bishop of Antwerp, whose treatise on the Sacraments, Confutation of the Calvinian sect, and Demonstration of the Christian Religion, are considered masterpieces of reasoning. And this list might be almost indefinitely extended. We may safely assert, that the biography of any one of the authors whom we have just named, even if given somewhat at length, would be far more interesting than the greater part of the documents which our author has collected with such labour, and reprinted with such tediousness.

Again, nothing can be more unimpassioned, more cold, more matter-of-fact, than the way in which M. Theiner relates the most thrilling incidents. It is as if his heart were not at all in his subject; he speaks of the trials and victories of the Church just as he might of any dry fact with which he had no possible concern. As to anything like sketches of character, trying to grasp a contemporary point of view, throwing himself into the place or person of which he is speaking, it never seems to enter his mind that this may be the duty of a historian. His phrases are stereotyped, and give you the impression of meaning nothing. All his Catholic bishops are "vigilant and laborious;" all his heretics are "crafty and impudent;" till the reader attaches no more meaning to his epithets than one does to the "gallant," or "learned," or "honourable" member of parliamentary debate. That even among those heretics there were real and earnest men; that they sometimes erred rather from holding a truth not according to the analogy of the faith than in clinging to a falsehood; that the Church, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was suffering for the monstrous corruptions and schisms of the fifteenth—these things are quite kept out of sight. Of the worldliness, too, that clung to many of the most eminent bishops of the time, such men as Cardinal Granville, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and others, not one word, not one hint. Now Baronius, tedious though he may sometimes be, yet nevertheless writes as if the real internal life of the Church were the subject closest and dearest to his heart—as if he were not following a cunningly devised fable;

and the consequence is, that every now and then he takes fire in his narrative, and his words glow and live. Who can forget that passage where, speaking of the horrors of the tenth persecution, he contrasts the present glory with the past sufferings of the martyrs? Or, in dwelling on the fearful corruption of the Roman See in the tenth century, when abominations were openly practised by the Popes at which the very heathen would have blushed, his pathetic complaint, that the LORD was then asleep in the vessel of Peter? It once fell to our lot to be watching the sick-bed of one who was suffering from nervous fever. The physician in attendance strictly forbade all kind of exciting reading. "I would not," said he to the patient, "if I were you, read anything which could possibly affect the feelings. Now, don't read the Bible, because I know it has that effect." "Indeed, I must ask you not to say that: I should never get on without it." "Well, then, if it must be so, it must; but suppose you confine yourself to the Book of Proverbs." The history we are considering would have the same anodyne effect in a similar disease which the worthy physician attributed in that case to the Proverbs.

And yet, if we look at it in a broad point of view, few periods of the history of the Western Church are more interesting and exciting than that pontificate of Gregory XIII. The barque of S. Peter was beginning to right itself after the storm of the Reformation; the Council of Trent, far short as it had fallen of reforming the Church in her head and members, had yet cut away her worst abuses; the see of Rome was no longer filled by monsters like Alexander VI, easy-living sceptics like Leo X, or indefatigable warriors like Julius II. She had learnt that she had a higher mission than by a long course of miserable intrigues to wrest a paltry town or starveling duchy from some other Italian potentate; that the successor of S. Peter should have higher aims than the depression of political enemies, or the exaltation of the Cardinal nephew. The anti-Reformation had already set in, though the turn of the tide might not as yet be very visible, save to an experienced eye.

If we look round Europe, France, torn by intestine divisions, seemed to tremble between her ancient faith and the still increasing power of the Huguenots. Her three factions, afterwards to be more clearly developed; the strict Catholics, who looked to the House of Guise as their natural leaders; the Politics, who followed the fortunes of the king; and the Calvinists, still clinging to Henry of Navarre, had many a bloody battle to fight, before the marvellous removal, one after another, of the corrupt royal family. The victories of Henry IV, especially that crown-

ing one of Ivry, and his return to the Roman Church, established at once his kingdom, strengthened his new faith, and sent down both unimpaired to his son and to his grandson. Spain, however, still formidable in external appearance, had already entered on her downward course; the gold of her western conquests amply avenging the cruelties of Pizarro and of Cortes. In the Low Countries, a great contest with the seven United Provinces was about to commence; the league of liberty still professed to be for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, as well as for its other ends; and Requesens was about to enter on that career of victory which nearly terminated the projects of William of Orange. In Germany, Maximilian II. was only too anxious to leave the world quiet, if the world would let him alone; and his phlegmatic disposition, which descended to Rudolph II, staved off for a while that thirty years' war, which was even now inevitable; and which, commencing at the Defenestration of Prague, and witnessing the whole career of the unconquered king, Gustavus Adolphus, terminated in the peace of Westphalia. Sweden showed great signs of desiring to return to the unity of the Church; and the Roman Catholic missionaries in England never ceased to flatter Gregory XIII. with the hope that the separation of this country was merely temporary, and that it would end at furthest with the death of Elizabeth. Rome was certainly beginning again to make head against her enemies; but it needed the convulsions of another half century to mark out clearly the limits of her regained influence, and to draw the strong line between her opponents and herself into which Europe has from that time been divided.

In turning away our eyes from the domain of the Roman Church, we find that of Constantinople already entering on that series of negotiations which ended in the establishment of a fifth patriarchate at Moscow; her own patriarchs groaning more and more under the prevalence of that simony which offered a larger and larger *charatzion* at each vacancy of the Œcumenical throne; which supplanted a Jeremiah by a Metrophanes, and a Metrophanes again by a Jeremiah. Negotiations—to end in nothing—were going on between the Lutheran party in Germany and the eastern patriarchs. In Russia, the last remains of the Tartaric invasion had been swept away; the subjugation of Siberia by Yermak was laying the foundations of her Asiatic greatness; the horde of the Crimea alone remained of the once mighty empire of the Mongols in Europe. John the Terrible was about to terminate his bloody career, after having disappointed the expectations of the West, belied the fair promises of his youth, and deluged his kingdom with blood; to become from the fearful

Ivan the simple monk Jonah, that he might meet in the Angelic Habit the heavenly Judge of his terrible reign on earth. In England, the tide of Calvinism was beginning to turn; Andrewes was growing up to maturity; Laud, and Montague, and Overall, and Neale, were yet in childhood. Scotland, torn into a thousand factions, still clung in part to her ancient faith; the last abbeys were not as yet destroyed then; and it yet hung in balance whether the party of the Queen or of the Regent would prevail.

Let us now see how some of the most important events of this period are treated by our historian; and let us commence with the massacre of S. Bartholomew. Three methods of treating that terrible history have been adopted by Roman Catholic historians. The first, to justify it. This, after the first few years, was scarcely attempted, till in the middle of the last century, the Abbé de Caveirac undertook to palliate, if not to excuse it; and in this his example has been followed by de Falloux and Rohrbacher. The second, while deploring the event, to attribute it solely to politics, and not to religion. The third, while admitting all its atrocity, to remind the reader that the example had been set, and was afterwards followed, by the Protestants. It is to the second of these that our annalist attaches himself.

Let us hear what a most impartial writer, the Abbé Guettée, tells us of the complicity of Rome in the massacre of S. Bartholomew. His testimony is the more valuable, as rendering accessible to us, for the first time, many of those contemporary documents on which M. Theiner professes to base his narrative, but of which he actually quotes so few. Speaking of the conveyance of the intelligence to Rome, he says:—

The first messenger sent to Rome, to carry to the Pope, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine, the news of S. Bartholomew, arrived there on the 6th of September. The cardinals immediately assembled in council; they read the letters brought by the messenger, and went the same day to the Church of S. Mark, to sing *Te Deum*. They decided that, the following Monday, a Mass of thanksgiving should be celebrated in the Church of Minerva. The evening of the same day, cannons were repeatedly fired from the castle of S. Angelo, and bonfires were lighted all over the city. It is said that the Cardinal of Lorraine gave a thousand crowns to him who first brought the news of the massacre. Two days after, that is to say, on the 8th of September, a grand solemnity was held in the Church of Saint Louis des Français, at which the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Ambassadors were present. The Cardinal of Lorraine caused this placard to be affixed to the great doors of the church.

Charles de Lorraine discharged with zeal the commission entrusted to him by Charles IX. He gave an account of his proceedings to the queen-mother, as may be seen by the following letter addressed to the king, on the 10th of September:—

"To the Sovereign Lord the king :

"Sire, the Sieur Beauville having arrived with letters from your Majesty, which confirmed the news of the VERY CHRISTIAN AND HEROIC deliberations and EXECUTIONS made not only in Paris, but also THROUGHOUT YOUR PRINCIPAL CITIES, I am confident that it will please you thus to honour me, knowing my wishes and desires, to assure you that, among all your humble subjects, I am not the last to praise GOD and to rejoice for it.* And indeed, Sire, IT IS QUITE THE BEST THAT I EVER COULD HAVE DESIRED OR HOPED. I am confident that, from the beginning, your Majesty's actions will increase every day the glory of GOD and the immortality of your name ; causing your empire to be enlarged, and making your power feared ; that the LORD GOD will so maintain it, that He will shortly manifest His grace and favour to you. Sire, kneeling on the ground, I humbly kiss the hands of your Majesty, whom, after GOD, and more than ever, I will faithfully serve, obey, and reverence, all my life, without intermission ; relying so much on the goodness and piety of your Majesty, as again to recommend to you the justice of the cause of the Abbey of Clairvaux.

"To conclude my letter, I will pray GOD that He may give your Majesty a happy and glorious reign, with long life, AS YOUR VERY CHRISTIAN AND GLORIOUS ACTIONS MERIT.

"From Rome, this 10th September. "C. CARDINAL DE LORRAINE."

Gregory XIII. wished to immortalize the remembrance of the massacre of the Huguenots ; and to this end he caused a medal to be struck, on which may be seen, on one side, the likeness of the Pontiff ; on the other, a destroying angel, who strikes the heretics. On the exergue are these words : *Ugonotorum strages*.

Bonanni, a Jesuit, after having exactly reproduced this medal, explains it in these words, in a book printed at Rome :—

"This refers to the massacre of the Calvinist rebels, called Huguenots ; a massacre blamed by so many heretics, and approved by so many Catholic defenders ; a massacre which was received by the applause of Rome and Spain."

After having mentioned the battles where the Protestants were defeated, Bonanni adds :—

"Two years later, there was another kind of carnage at Paris, and in other places. . . . Charles IX, having resolved to exterminate the heretics, put to death *a great number in different places*, on a given day, which was that of the Feast of S. Bartholomew. This massacre began at Paris, on the 9th of the Calends of September (August 24), in the year 1572. *During three days and nights, without interruption, sixty thousand men made a horrible butchery of the rebels and heretics.* In short, six hundred houses were abandoned to pillage and fire, and *four thousand men* were killed. But the carnage was not confined to the single city of Paris ; it extended to several other cities, and by means of similar executions *they got rid of twenty-five thousand individuals.* This unhopd-for change filled the Pope and Italy with a joy the more lively, from their having feared to see even the Peninsula itself infected with heresy."

The Pope ordered besides from George Vasari a picture representing the

* This is the meaning of the original ; what the sense may be, it is less easy to discover.

murder of Coligny. The picture was placed in the Vatican, with this inscription :—

“*Pontifex Colimii necem probat.*”

Charles IX. also wished to immortalize his glorious victory by causing two medals to be struck, of which Favier, master of the Mint, gave the following description :—

“To perpetuate, therefore, after the example of the ancient monarchs, in medals, the overthrow of Gaspard de Coligny, formerly admiral of France, and of his accomplices, and to leave the witness of it to posterity, the popular medal contains the likeness of King Charles the Ninth, sitting on his royal throne, holding his sceptre in one hand, and the naked sword in the other, surrounding which is the palm branch denoting victory, with the crown on his head, having under his feet the dead bodies of the rebels. The legend is, *Virtus in rebelles*. On the reverse of this are the arms of France, with the two columns, and the device long taken by the king set on the front : *Pietas excitavit justitiam*. Over these two columns are two chaplets of olive, signifying the peace obtained by the subjugation of the rebels ; and near, two branches of laurel, for the triumph of victory. Furthermore we have over the crown the letter T upright—a salutary sign, signifying the cross of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and to the Jews a type of the end, as being their final letter, such as we hope this blow will be to the new sect. The cross also was, as the true token of the soldiers in the Christian Church, always carried, since the 24th of August, as a signal for the hats of good Catholics and true subjects of the king, as Ezekiel saw it marked by the angel on the foreheads of the faithful. The other medal, *à l'antique*, contains the effigy of the king, with his arms and French legend : *Charles IX, dompteur des rebelles, 24 Août, 1572* ; on the reverse of this, Hercules is represented, covered with the lion's skin, his heavy club in one hand, a burning torch in the other, by the means of which he defeated the many-headed hydra, in which, for every head that was crushed, another sprang up in its place ; representing the faction of these rebels, who, for each chief that was killed, did not fail to supply his place, and three times to renew open war, and this clandestine war for the fourth ; but to exterminate it, besides steel and fire, water and rope, added on the edge of the medal, have served as instruments.”

But no one was deceived ; and France always preserved the horror that such an execution, cowardly as it was cruel and unworthy of the French character, ought to inspire in every generous heart. Thus all authors regard S. Bartholomew as an Italian crime. Catherine de Medicis, an Italian, conceived it with two Italians, Gondi de Retz, and Birague ; the Italian, Gonzague, duke of Nevers, was one of its most earnest executors, and the Italians, Capilupis and Davila, were its warmest apologists. As to our French historians, they have made efforts too useless to efface from our annals this social crime, more worthy of a savage people than a Christian and civilized nation.

The Abbé Theiner, as we have seen, considers this same history worthy of as much as half the space he allots to the intrigue of the Fuggers for the possession of the Church at Augsburg. “Having thus briefly related the events which occurred in Germany, the order which we have prescribed to ourselves requires us to turn our attention to France. In going through the occurrences of that nation, we are first called to that savage

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"and truly horrible deed by which, on the feast of S. Bartholo-
 "mew, France polluted herself by the general and precipitate
 "slaughter of the Huguenots. It is no duty of ours"—(but
 why not? for this massacre has, at least, as much to do with
 Church history as the intrigues of pettifogging bankers, or the
 complimentary briefs of Popes)—"to enter minutely into the
 "history of a cruel crime, which every one must abhor, unless
 "devoid of all humanity. This is the duty of the profane, but
 "more especially of the French, historian. It is impossible,
 "however, not to express our thanks to God, that all the
 "writers, not belonging to the Catholic Church in our own
 "time, who have been celebrated for talent and eloquence, have,
 "with a wonderful unanimity, confessed the Catholic Church
 "and the Roman See to be free from all guilt, and neither to
 "have counselled so wicked a deed, nor to have been an accom-
 "plice after the fact. We may, for the sake of doing them
 "honour, refer more especially to Ranke, Reimer, and Solden,
 "who have affirmed and proved that the accusations of more
 "ancient historians are worthless. On no historical action has
 "more been written, or have more varying opinions passed, than
 "on this celebrated slaughter of the Huguenots. Especially
 "those who did not belong to the Catholic Church, and were
 "desirous of attacking her, gladly seized the opportunity of
 "dwelling on this act of violence, thinking it a fit occasion for
 "vomiting forth the poison they had conceived in their mind."
 It is needless to remind the reader with what limitations the tes-
 timonies which our historian alleges would serve his purpose, if
 quoted in full. He must have known that some French ultra-
 montanes have been found, not only to allow, but to glory in the
 participation by the Roman See. He must have seen the Abbé
 Guettée's work, published three years before his own, with all
 the documents which it contained; but he finds it convenient to
 ignore everything but what seemed to make for his own side of
 the question. And, after all, judged by his own evidence, his
 story is very lame. He continues—"Countless contemporary
 "documents, connected with this subject, have been dragged out
 "from their hiding-places and made public; but only in our own
 "time have those letters been published, which were written by
 "the several ambassadors to their masters; in which, eye-wit-
 "nesses themselves, they endeavour to relate what had happened,
 "with the most perfect good faith. These epistles are most
 "proper to explain the whole course of the history. The most
 "important among them are those addressed by Antony Maria
 "Salviati, bishop of Saint Papoul, and legate from the Pontiff
 "to Charles IX, first published by the celebrated Châteaubriand,
 "then ambassador from France to the See of Rome, from the

“autographs in the Vatican. By him they were supplied to James Mackintosh, a celebrated English historian, who added them as an appendix to his work on English history. They have partly also been reprinted by Eugenio Alberi, in his life of Catherine de Medicis. We may be allowed to reprint them again after collating them with the original autographs. With the assistance of these writings and some others which have, up to this time, remained hidden in the same Vatican library, we hope that we shall be able entirely to dispel every cloud of doubt, if any such remains, with respect to this slaughter of the Huguenots.”

Our historian then proceeds to argue : firstly, that the whole affair was no long devised and organized conspiracy, but the mere hasty resolution of one or two days ; secondly, that it was a mere political massacre, and no further connected with the Huguenots than as a faction ready to take up arms against their lawful sovereign ; thirdly, that Gregory XIII, in characterizing the massacre as a pious and laudable work, did so under the belief that it was a mere political execution of miscreants, as hostile to the established government as they were to the Church. “No one,” says our historian, “will wonder if, on receiving the letters from his legates, which spoke of a detected conspiracy of the Huguenots, and the punishment of the guilty, the Pontiff should have rendered thanks to GOD for the preservation of the monarch’s life in such danger.” We have already seen, however, by contemporary documents, that the massacre of the Huguenots throughout France had long before been contrived ; and it needs only common sense to be assured that, though the facts of the case might have been distorted in the first accounts which reached Rome, the Pope must soon have received, as did the other sovereigns of Europe, truer intelligence. Did he ever retract what he had at first affirmed ? Was not the medal which he struck distributed long after the facts had been clearly ascertained ? Did not Vasari’s picture, with its epigraph, “the Pontiff approves the death of Coligni,” remain in the Vatican ? Had Gregory XIII. really changed his mind ? Why could not the successor of S. Peter do as the successor of the Roman Emperors did ? In a very interesting letter, written by Maximilian to his ambassador at the Court of Paris, and reprinted by M. Theiner, he says :—

With respect to that celebrated deed, which the French tyrannically perpetrated on the Admiral and his companions, I can in no respect approve it ; and it gave me the greatest pain to be informed that my son-in-law suffered himself to be persuaded to consent to so foul a butchery. It is true, I know, that others have greater power than himself. But this is not suffi-

cient to excuse the deed : it is not even enough to palliate the crime. Would that he had taken me into his counsel ! I would have given him faithful and paternal advice, and never should he have acted as he has done through following my counsels. By this enormity he has marked himself with a stain which he will not easily be able to wash out, or to wipe off. GOD forgive those who have to bear the guilt of the proceeding ! I greatly fear that, in process of time, they will learn what is the consequence of acting in this way. The fact is that, as you well and wisely write, religious affairs ought not to be settled by the sword. Nor can any one think differently who has any desire after piety and goodness, or even peace and tranquillity. Furthermore, CHRIST and His Apostles have taught us far differently. For their sword was their tongue, a doctrine worthy of the Word of GOD and the life of CHRIST ; and their behaviour ought to invite and allure us to follow them as they did CHRIST. I say nothing on another subject ; that that mad set of men ought, in the course of so many years, and from the nature and event of circumstances themselves, to have been persuaded, that this affair cannot be managed by cruel punishments, such as quartering and the stake. In brief, their actions do not please me at all ; nor shall I ever be induced to praise them, unless (which I sincerely pray GOD may never happen) I should fall into raging madness. But I do not wish to hide from you that there are certain impudent and mendacious scoundrels, who do not blush to affirm, that whatever the Frenchman has done, he did not only with my complicity, but at my suggestion. In which assertion I call GOD to witness that an injustice is done to me, before Him and before all the world. But lies, and calumnies of this sort, are no new things to me ; I have often had to put up with them before. I commit all these matters to my GOD, Who knows how, in His own time, to repel and vindicate me from such injuries.

With this letter M. Theiner closes his account of the massacre of S. Bartholomew. *Account* we call it by courtesy, for unless the reader were acquainted with the history before, all he could learn from the "Annals" is, that a slaughter of some kind took place among the Huguenots in Paris, of which the author was extremely anxious to prove the Roman Church entirely innocent. But under what circumstances it was perpetrated ; what was the number of victims ; what was the organization of the murderers ; what the resistance offered ; what the feeling with which the intelligence was received throughout Christendom,—in fact, anything and everything about the whole history, M. Theiner does not tell us. It is impossible to conceive any pages more destitute of information than the six which he devotes to the subject. It is worthy, too, of notice, that there is not the slightest allusion to the general massacre throughout France, which followed that in Paris. One can only again ask in what sense can this work be called a history ?

If ever there were an event in the annals of modern Europe which gave scope to, and which deserved, the best efforts of the historian, it was the fatal battle of Alcacer Quibir, and the virtual destruction of the Portuguese monarchy. The mystery which envelopes the whole of this last of the Crusades ; the sud-

den fall from a glory never till that time attained by any European people to a miserable subjugation to a foreign power,—the warnings and portents which preceded the expedition. Now, let us see how M. Theiner treats this subject under the year 1578; and the following notices are all that he allots to one of the most remarkable occurrences of European history. “Gregory also exhorts Catholic princes, and especially the Italians, “to assist by advice and money, Sebastian, King of Portugal, “then with juvenile ardour about to undertake a war against the “Saracens of Africa. Here are his letters to the Genoese. “[They follow.] João, Duke of Bragança, who contributed “not a little to this war, having sent João Tovari to condole “with those princes who were relations of the deceased Maria, “Duchess of Parma, entreated the Pontiff to bestow on him some “spiritual graces for the excitement of his own piety and that of “his family.” Then follows a very long letter, referring the Pope to this Tovari for an explanation of what the Duke wanted: a letter which contains not one single line worth reprinting. “Gregory bestowed on him that which he requested, on account “of his laudable piety and care in sending his eldest son, yet a “child, to the African war.” One should have thought that, had the war been desirable, the Duke’s piety would have been still more laudable, had he gone himself, instead of sending a boy, eleven years old, as his proxy. However, the Duke’s letter serves as a peg for Gregory’s answer, which, of course, follows at length. Now we come to the war itself. “But the inconvenience to which the Christian republic was then exposed “from the event of that war is never sufficiently to be deplored. “For Sebastian, a king most excellent, both from his piety and “from his military courage, in the very flower of his age, for he “was not yet twenty-four, and unmarried, fighting near the “town of Alcacer Quibir, in the foremost ranks, fell, pierced “with many wounds: on which, nearly his whole army was destroyed. In which lamentable war, the son of the Duke of “Bragança was taken prisoner; and the father, with many “tears, gave information to the Pontiff of this unhappy event.” Then follows a long letter from the Duke, containing nothing further than the general statement of the king’s death, and of his son’s captivity; and two briefs, the one to Cardinal Henrique, successor of Sebastian, the other to the Duke of Bragança, conclude all the notice which our author thinks fit to take of the event: he does not even refer to the much disputed question, whether Sebastian really fell in the battle or not. And this, again, is what it seems we are to call writing history. One might have thought that the very coldest imagination would

have taken fire in relating the gradual approach and development of the fate which, like the avenging fury of the Greek tragedy, seemed to dog the kingdom of Portugal. The fabulous riches poured in from India and Brazil,—the romantic victories which seemed to make good the tales of knight errantry,—the rapid discoveries and as rapid conquests of regions whose wealth seemed boundless, and whose monarchs vied with each other in submitting to the Portuguese crown,—the magnificence of the courts of Dom Manoel, and Dom João III,—the marvellous structures they reared,—especially the crowning glory of all, the Capella do Fundador at Batalha,—these things might well inflame the fancy of a hot-headed and ill-educated prince like Sebastian into ideas of universal monarchy. His very piety assisted in the delusion; it would be but little to make the whole of Africa a Portuguese dependency, and a Catholic continent; when that was done, he proposed to wrest Constantinople from the Turks, to expel them from Asia Minor, and then to crush the Tartars in Central Asia. And this at a time when his little kingdom had over-exerted its strength, and squandered its resources; when there were not wanting tokens to men of political wisdom, that the prestige of Indian conquests was already on the wane; when the western settlements of Africa had some time previously been from necessity contracted; when other claimants of the dominion of the seas were rising up; when the very existence of the kingdom depended on the life of the monarch (the decrepit Cardinal Henrique being the only survivor of the ancient family in its male line); and, above all things, when the general corruption and dissoluteness of manners seemed to threaten that the transgressors were come to the full, and that a heavy retribution was in store for Portugal. Yet Sebastian, ascending the throne in early childhood, brooded over these wild dreams till the conquest of Africa became almost a monomania. Already, in the year 1574, he had made one inglorious, although safe, expedition thither; in which he had not only shown his destitution of every single quality necessary to a general, except personal courage; but had also proved that Portugal possessed not one single leader endowed with the talents necessary for such an expedition. Of this previous attempt, our historian scarcely says a word.*

* While omitting all mention of this unfortunate monarch's first crusade, M. Theiner fills up the dreary annals of this same year with twaddle even more intolerable than usual. A certain doctor, a canon of Olmutz, by name Illicinus, having been accused of heresy, defends himself (as, poor man, it was only reasonable that he should) to his Bishop and to the Pope; on which he was honourably acquitted. But our author not only gives a most lengthened and weary correspondence, but actually prints a poem by which

In the early part of 1578 the preparations of Don Sebastian were complete. We have seen, in the archives at Coimbra, the letter written in his own bold dashing hand,—in which, however, a connoisseur might, perhaps, see a trace of weakness too,—by which he demands from the Prior of Santa Cruz the loan of the sword of Affonso Henriques, the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, and promises, on his return, to restore it to its owners, so that it may be preserved, with the veneration due to it, for ever. Then came the gathering at Lisbon. The fathers of then living men must have remembered how, with the benediction of the Church, and in the presence of an innumerable multitude, Vasco da Gama and his brave companions went forth from the pier of Belem to the discovery and the conquest of an unknown world. Nine thousand native troops were all that Portugal could now

the accused man sought to propitiate his Bishop: it commences in this fashion:—

“Non semper Boreas spirat in Alpibus;
Nec semper nivibus celsa cacumina
Stant, nec semper hyems sævit in arbore;
Non et dira Jovis dextera fulminat,” &c. &c.

At all events, if M. Theiner *will* print such poetry, he might at least give us metre and sense, and not inflict upon us such lines as:—

“Quem multis decorant Puerides rosis,
Quem sacrata Themis, quem *Divæ* pervehit.”

Or, again:—

“Qui usurpare tuum concupivit locum.”

Part of this long correspondence turns on the important question of a dinner. Illicinus, it seems, had accused his Bishop of spending five hundred florins on one meal. *Hinc ille lacrymæ*. “It is not so,” writes the Bishop in the third column of his Epistle to Cardinal Commendono; “there were but a hundred and thirty covers for the guests; and of these, forty were taken up by dessert, which came from my own gardens at Viscoff and Cremisir. On what dishes, then,” says the Prelate, becoming eloquent, “could five hundred dollars have been expended, when nothing was served up except beef (*ferinam bubulam*), veal, chickens, and other domestic matters, which my farms of Cremisir and Viscoff supplied? But the matter may be set in a perfectly clear light, if the ordinary account books of my chef-de-cuisine be examined. How much is set down for my support, and what for that of my family? My table is frequently without wine, because on account of the state of my health, I am content with but little wine, and drink beer.” It is worth while to quote this passage as another specimen of the art of book-making, which has swelled these volumes to so unreadable an extent. A Christian kingdom may be in the last struggle of its effort for empire, and for the propagation of the faith—not one word from the historian; but let Canon This say of Bishop That that he kept too expensive a table, and the Bishop must by all means, in these *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tell you what he ate, and where it came from; what he drank, what he did not drink, and why he did not drink it.

furnish ; but Germans, Castilians, and other adventurers, swelled the number to nearly nineteen thousand. The Tagus was alive with boats ; the nobility, about to embark in so arduous a campaign, vied with each other in the richness of their sails, which were made of the most expensive silks, while the boats themselves seemed, to use the expression of an eye-witness, turned into water-gardens by the profusion of tropical flowers with which they were embellished. Those who could not procure natural plants from their "Indian gardens" decked their balconies and their galleys with wax flowers. As to the banquets—the services of gold and silver—the richness of the throne occupied during the final benediction by the papal legate, covered with crimson velvet, and sparkling with innumerable diamonds—the historians of the period seemed to find words fail them to describe the scene. It was after hearing mass on S. John the Baptist's Day, in 1578, that Sebastian the Regretted embarked from the steps of Belem in his own galley ; and as it passed slowly down the Tagus—its gold and enamels glittering in all the radiance of a Portuguese midsummer sun—the cannon at each port saluting the royal vessel as she passed—his favourite page began, with universal applause, to sing the ballad—

Ayer fuisteis rei de España :
Oy no teneis un castello :

a fact afterwards remembered and dwelt upon by many a chronicler. At that very same period, moreover (one of those remarkable examples in which, as Schiller says :—

—The spirits
Of great events pass on before the events,
And in to-day already walks to-morrow),

a rumour had spread through the mountain district of central Beira, that the armament had already perished, that the king had fallen, and that Ichabod might be written on all the glory of Portugal.

It was toward the end of July that the armament disembarked on the coast of Africa. Its professed design was to restore Muley Ahmed to the throne of Morocco, then occupied by Muley Moluc. Bishops, abbats, and priors, accompanied the expedition ; but could not avert the judicial infatuation which, from the beginning, seemed alike to possess king, generals, and soldiers. In the first place, no one, but by a species of madness, would have chosen the very fiercest height of summer for an African expedition. Then it so happened that that particular summer was hot beyond any in the memory of man. The Moors who accompa-

nied the Christian army affirmed that they had never known anything at all equal to the awful power of the heat. The words of the chroniclers are expressed almost in the very phrase of Coleridge :—

All in a hot and copper sky,
The bloody sun at noon
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.

It was determined to make a pounce upon Larache, as the Portuguese call it,—that is, Al Araish. In spite of the opposition of some of the inferior officers, the infatuated king persisted in loading his soldiers with five days' provisions, and marching them across the burning plain, while he ordered his fleet to sail round the coast and rejoin them opposite the fortress which was to be attacked. As soon as the scouts of Muley Moluc saw the Christian army fairly committed to its advance across the desert, they returned to their master, himself in the last stage of a mortal disease, and informed him that he had little to do but to allow the heat to fight for him, and then to step in and reap the triumph. Accordingly, he moved his vast army of a hundred and fifty thousand men slowly forward, and took up a position on the vast plain of Alcacer Quibir. On the night of the 3rd of August, Don Sebastian had, by mere chance, taken up on his part a position almost impregnable: his right wing resting on the river Makkzan; his left on extensive marshes. With the same infatuation which distinguished his whole proceedings, he voluntarily deserted this camp, intrenched for him, as it were, by nature; and, himself taking the command of his left wing, and entrusting the right to the Duke of Aveiro, marched out upon the plain itself. He had thirty-six pieces of artillery, but it was so placed as to be unable to do any execution on the enemy without inflicting greater injury on his own troops. That of the Moors, on the contrary, under the direction of some Italian renegades, was well served, and reserved till the very moment at which it could be most effective. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, it is allowed by all the eye-witnesses who wrote on the subject, that at the first onset the battle was almost won on both wings; and that it probably must have been gained, had not the Duke of Aveiro—with the fatal impetuosity which in our own country lost Naseby and Marston Moor—pursued the flying enemy so far, that the main body of the army was, in his absence, overpowered. It was never known how the panic began which seized the Portuguese troops. Some considered it the work of a traitor: some believed it to arise from a mistaken order; but certain it is, that the Christian army began to give

way just at the very moment that, worn out by his own exertion, Muley Moluc expired in his litter. His attendants, keeping his death a secret, carried the corpse up and down the ranks, till the victory was secure. Three thousand Christians perished on the field of battle; almost as many more died in the river or in the marsh, or were destroyed by hunger, thirst, and wild beasts. The fate of Sebastian himself, as is well known, was never ascertained; his return to Portugal and his universal empire was fondly believed in for two centuries and a-half after his death, and is clung to, even now, by the mountain peasants of Beira and the remoter inhabitants of Brazil. Whether he did indeed perish at Alcacer Quibir; or was consigned to the dungeons of Madrid by his rival and successor Philip II; or entered a monastery; or took arms in the East, and was the veritable monarch whom Europe, some thirty years later, believed to be a pretender—will never be known till the end of all things.

Surely the history of this last of the Crusades had, in itself, been more worthy of a relation by M. Theiner than the bill of fare of the bishop of Olmutz, or the wearisome and complimentary letters of the fifth-rate potentates of Europe. But even more worthy of the relation of any one who professed to write the history of the Church, were the heroic actions and sufferings of the captives. Chief among these was Father Thomas de Jésus, an Augustinian hermit. He had been taken prisoner in the battle, but had been ransomed, and might have returned. He resolved, however, to devote his life to the service of those who had no hope of ever again revisiting their country. With a large company of those he was closely imprisoned in a dungeon in Morocco, where he composed his celebrated work, *The Labours of Jésus*. The prison was so dark that he could only write for about two hours in the middle of each day, at which time the light came in more strongly from an aperture in the roof. On the title-page it is said to be composed "by a captive in Barbary, in the fiftieth year of his exile from the celestial country." It is not wonderful that a work so written should have been so much blessed as this has been. It commences with a letter to the Portuguese nation on the subject of the disasters consequent on Alcacer Quibir, and more especially addressed to his fellow-sufferers:—"A heart,"—says he, "afflicted with the labours which encircle it, must fix the eyes of the soul on the Labours of JESUS, and acquire new strength, and live in more certain and consolatory hopes of its true remedy. And—which is greater still—if it persists in this company and conversation, it receives from GOD such grace as to find that afflictions by

“degrees become sweet, and to account that to be the best part of life which was troubled as our LORD was troubled. For this reason our LORD raised the seals and signs of His labours to heaven in His five wounds ; that when we saw how He vouchsafed to live a life full of afflictions, and to end it with a death of matchless sufferings, not for Himself, but for us ; and that He raised the tokens of them to heaven, we might understand that He left tribulations and crosses to us upon earth for secure treasures of the soul, of the gifts of grace and of heaven : and that in heaven He has set for us five most rich pledges, that from them and by them, we might securely hope for true consolations ; which He will not deny to the Portuguese, if they will only bear those wounds in their hearts, which they glory to carry in their shields and banners.” The work consists of fifty “Labours :” each meditation being followed by an “exercise” to be offered to GOD. The five-and-twenty contained in the first volume refer to the sufferings of our LORD’S life ; those in the second, to the sufferings of His death. It is to us a matter of great surprise, that this most pious and edifying book has never been translated into English ; and that those who cannot read Portuguese can only peruse it in a miserable French translation, itself hard to be procured. Yet this devoted servant of GOD is not regarded by our author as worthy of a single line ; nor does he vouchsafe the slightest allusion to the innumerable other confessors and martyrs who suffered in the same captivity. Yet it is exactly these and such-like deeds to which a true historian of the Church would so gladly turn aside from the wearisome, though necessary, details of worldly intrigues and mere earthly victories. Such traces, in the midst of the drier annals of successions, whether of bishops or princes, speaking so clearly to the continual presence of our Blessed LORD with His Church to the end, by no means appear to the taste of M. Theiner, who, if even he unwillingly finds himself in such an oasis, loses no time in getting back to the desert of dates, documents, and intrigues.

One naturally turns to see what our author says of the state of the Roman Catholics in England during the earlier years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. If we might not expect a very fair account of the general state of affairs, at least the hair-breadth escapes and almost superhuman exertions which distinguish those ecclesiastics who had the courage to remain in this country, notwithstanding the savage persecution excited against them, might have afforded great scope for a very interesting history.

But M. Theiner seems entirely to have discarded the labours of those who have treated of this subject : of the most interesting

work of their chief annalists, writing under the name of Dod, and its new edition by Mr. Tierney, he has made no use, but has confined himself to a few letters extracted from the Vatican documents, which throw very little light on the real history, and are principally concerned with the political intrigues connected with the deposition of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1573, we have a long letter from James Boyd (M. Theiner does not seem to have been aware of his surname), Archbishop of Glasgow, who resided at Paris, on the state of Scotland; but it is rather taken up with the first conversion of that country and the Pelagian heresy, than any later events. In the next year John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and James Irving, a Knight of Malta, address the Pope on the same subject, but give not one fact of the slightest interest. In 1575, our author thus writes :—

In England there was no end to the vexation of the Catholics. The Earl of Kildare, in Ireland, with his two sons, were carried captive into England. As many as had incurred any suspicion of writing or hearing from the Queen of Scots, whether only on domestic affairs, or concerning the Catholic Church, were thrown into prison or exiled. To give one example of the miserable condition of the Catholics, it is sufficient to observe that Ford and Atisley, Catholic physicians, were imprisoned in the Tower of London, only for this cause, that they had given medical advice, and that very brief, to that unhappy queen, for the recovery of her health.

Of the labours and escapes of Percy, Bennett, Stevenson, Pearson, Weston, Hayward, and Worthington, he has not one syllable to say. In 1584, our historian enters at somewhat greater length on the subject, and prints some letters of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Seyton, and others, which might, interwoven in a history, be read with interest and profit; but, standing as they do by themselves, they simply convey the impression that M. Theiner had no very clear idea of the state of affairs in England at that time. Even, however, from the account given by him, we see how miserably the exaggerated pretensions of the Papal See were mixed up with questions of faith in the sufferings of the Roman Catholic priests, and more especially of the Jesuits. To the following questions there is probably now no Roman Catholic who would not unhesitatingly answer in the negative; as indeed was done at the end of the last century, when the penal laws were relaxed or abrogated. Yet, hampered as they were, by confused ideas of the Pope's temporal supremacy over kings, it was for these, and not for their faith, that the priests in question—however unjustly and cruelly—were put to death. One cannot but feel, with respect to them, that which is also true with regard to the followers of the Stuarts, the Church of

Scotland—that, in admiring their courage and self-devotion in the support of a dogma which they firmly held, they were not the less mistaken in embracing it as a part of the faith; and that their lives and sufferings, except so far as they themselves were concerned, were in vain.

“You have,” writes M. Theiner, “the questions by which the Queen of England persuaded herself that she could tempt and prevail upon the conscience of Catholic priests.

“Questions or articles proposed by order of the Queen, to those presbyters who had lain under sentence of death for some months; to which had they replied according to the wish and intention of the said Queen, they would have been exempted from capital punishment, notwithstanding the profession of Catholic faith in other respects.”

Notice the captious manner in which this statement is made, as if to have given a negative answer to the questions would have been to deny a part of the Catholic faith.

1. Whether the bull of Pius V, by which he excommunicated and deposed the Queen, is valid, and contains a legitimate sentence, and whether the subjects of the English Kingdom are bound to obey it?

2. Whether the Queen, notwithstanding that sentence, or any other pronounced against her, or hereafter to be pronounced against her by the Pope, does not justly and legitimately reign; and whether her subjects do not owe her all obedience?

3. Whether the Pope has any power or authority to command or give licence to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, or other Englishmen, to rebel and take arms against her Majesty; or of giving power to Dr. Saunders and others to invade the kingdom of Ireland and other possessions of her Majesty; and whether Saunders and others did so rightly or not?

4. Whether the Pope has the power of absolving the subjects of her Majesty or of any other prince, from their oath of allegiance, or their duty of obedience and submission, for any cause whatever?

5. Whether Dr. Saunders, in his book on the *Visible Monarchy of the Church*, and Bristow, in his *Motives*, when they write in commendation and approval of the bull of Pius V, have taught, as regards the aforesaid matters, the truth, or not?

6. If it happens that the Pope, by any bull or sentence, should declare and pronounce that her Majesty was deprived of all right of reigning, and exercised her authority illegitimately, and that her subjects were absolved from all duty and obedience to her; and after that, by the command or authority of the Pope, the kingdom were attacked by a foreign army, which side would you then take, and to which would you exhort the people?

This last question was most effectively and conclusively answered by Lord Howard of Effingham in his resistance to the Spanish Armada; a piece of history which it will be curious to see how our historian will treat. These questions, having been proposed to seven priests under sentence of death for high treason, Luke Chirby, Thomas Scottam, Laurence Richardson, Thomas Ford, John Short, Robert Johnson, and William Filby, seemed

to have perplexed them as to the right reply. Some of them answered that they were Catholics, and held on these points with the Catholic Church; others, that they were ready to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, while they gave to GOD the things that were GOD'S. These answers not proving satisfactory, sentence was executed on all. It is to be observed that M. Theiner expresses no direct opinion as to the hesitation of these priests in denying the temporal power of the Pope over sovereigns. Writing at Rome, he could not well blame it; dedicating his volume to the Emperor Napoleon, he could not well praise it; and therefore he prudently, so far, preserves silence on the subject. Nor, indeed, could he have justified the doubts of these priests without virtually condemning the ultimate successful party of French Catholics who acknowledged Henri IV. as their legitimate sovereign, notwithstanding his excommunication and deposition by the Pope; and who eventually forced that acknowledgment on the court of Rome itself.

A subject on which our author dwells with considerable length, and on which he has already published a separate work, is the attempted reconciliation, by John III, of the Swedish Communion with the Roman Church. It is thus that he enters on his account of a very interesting period of history.

Among the Protestant princes of that age was John III, king of Sweden, who, abhorring the doctrine of the Protestants, had set his mind on reconciling the Swedish Church, purified from the errors of Luther, with the Catholic Church. To gain his end with the greater ease, he determined to proceed cautiously and gradually, so that neither popular murmurs, nor open tumults, nor the disputations of the learned, might cause any impediments to his design. In the carrying out of that design, it occurred to him that the easiest method would be to change the liturgy of the Swedish Church, retaining as it did some vestiges of the ancient faith, into that form which the liturgy of the Catholic Church, especially in the Mass, exhibits. This labour was undertaken by the pious king as early as the year 1572. To forward the accomplishment of his design, he procured with great expense, from Germany and Belgium, and introduced into Sweden, correct editions of the works of the holy fathers, and of the writings of modern authors who had defended the venerable rites of the Catholic Church against the mad attacks of Luther, Calvin, and their followers. Cardinal Hosius, bishop of Varna, had presented several elegant copies of these works to the king, through Queen Catherine, his wife. With the assistance of these, John III. undertook a work of immense difficulty, with the assistance of the illustrious Fechten, his secretary, a man versed in every kind of literature, but especially that of the Church, and who, having long been dissatisfied with the impious doctrines of the innovators, had, a short time before, secretly joined the Catholic Church. That, however, which principally troubled the king's mind was, that the Swedish Church was in the same position with the Anglican and Danish Churches, which have retained, as all know, and to this day profess, a certain form of episcopal government, but are without any true and legitimate priesthood. For Gustavus Vasa,

who with incredible and savage fury had persecuted the faith of his forefathers among the Swedes (who with wonderful constancy, held fast to it), and with the greatest wickedness endeavoured to uproot it by sword and fire, when the Catholic bishops were either slain or banished, had substituted in their place laymen, partizans of the new doctrine. To cajole his Swedes, in the Assembly of Arös, in 1527, he had caused them to be consecrated bishops, with the old rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. And for the rectification of the defect of the true and legitimate priesthood, King John considered that the right opportunity had arrived, when Laurentius Petri, of the school of Luther, who, under King Gustavus, in the year 1531, had been appointed Archbishop of Upsala and Primate of the Church of Sweden, died in 1573.

John III. was the James II. of Sweden. At the same time, his Liturgy is a very curious and important, as well as rare, document, and M. Theiner has done well to reprint it in the *maniffa* to his volume.

We have thus touched on some of the principal topics which the present portion of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* embraces. Of M. Theiner's learning, no one can doubt: his great opportunities of research are equally unquestionable. He has everything on his side,—funds, time, libraries, associates, knowledge,—but all these will not make a historian. He, like a poet, *nascitur, non fit*. Energy of description, vivid apprehension of character, graphic colouring, M. Theiner cannot acquire. But he might, at all events, write, instead of compiling; fuse, instead of conglomerating; give us history, instead of a pile of documents; he might be a not unworthy continuator of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, instead of merely leaving behind him *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire particulière de l'Eglise Romaine*.





IX.

PROSPECTS OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.*



SINCE the reception of Russia, previously an Asiatic power, into the family of European nations, no second step of equal importance towards the demolition of the party-wall which severs East and West can compare with the manifest and immediate effects of the late peace. Prejudices on both sides have received a blow from which they can never recover. The Hatti-scheriff—let it be of what present value it may—will, at no distant period, be made to tell. The concession of the Euphrates Railway must exhibit us to the Christians as well as to the Mahometans of the East in the light of a people unequalled for enterprise and energy among the nations of the earth; and the Memorial Church at Constantinople will, we hope, set forth our Church in a truer light than that in which Eastern eyes have yet beheld it. It will soon be impossible for the most ignorant Armenian priest to tell his congregation: “You wish to know whether the English are Christians. “They *are* Christians; they even have the Eucharist, such as

* 1. *L'Eglise Orientale: Exposé historique de sa séparation et de sa réunion avec celle de Rome: Accord perpétuel de ces deux Eglises dans les dogmes de la Foi: la continuation de leur Union: l'apostasie du Clergé de Constantinople de l'Eglise de Rome, la violation des Institutions de l'Eglise Orientale, et ses vexations contre les Chrétiens de ce rite: seuls moyens praticables pour rétablir l'ordre dans l'Eglise Orientale, et arriver par là à l'union générale et à la restauration sociale de tous le Chrétiens.* Par Jacques G. Pitzipios, Fondateur de la Société Chrétienne Orientale. Rome: Imprimerie de la Propagande. 1855.

2. *La Russie, sera-t-elle Catholique?* Par le Père Gagarin. Paris: 1856.

3. *Quelques Mots par un Chrétien orthodoxe sur les Communions Occidentales à l'occasion d'une Brochure de M. Laurentie.* Paris: Librairie de A. Franck, Rue Richelieu. 1853.

“ it is. Once a-year the minister goes up into the pulpit with a large basket, containing pieces of bread, on his arm. These he flings about among the people, who thus have a scramble for it in the church. They also have another religious ceremony, called the National Debt, which consists in offering a large sum of money every year to the Emperor of the French; a ceremony much disliked, and murmured at by the people.” —It will soon be impossible for a Mahometan sceptic to say to a Protestant minister,—and intending it as a compliment,—“ Our religions are the same. You eat pork,—so do we: you never fast,—no more do we: you say no prayers,—and we say none either.” And the charity, as well as the worship, of the two separated bodies will become better known to each other. If England sent her Sisters of Mercy, if France despatched her *Sœurs de la Charité*, to Scutari and Balaclava, both France and England saw Russia encourage her Basilian Nuns to stand ankle-deep in blood in the hospital at Sebastopol during the awful cannonade that preceded the fall of its southern side.

Of this opening up of the East, Rome, very naturally, is straining every nerve to take advantage. We have already, on more than one occasion, drawn attention to the Epistle of Pius IX, and the encyclic reply of the Eastern prelates. The former document breathed only the spirit of an unconditional surrender. And such has been the language held by those who have been anxious to obtain the good graces of the papal chair. It will never be forgotten that Archbishop Sibour, of Paris, in his Pastoral at the commencement of the war, declared its real and genuine intention to be, not the bridling the ambition of Russia, not the prevention of the dismemberment of Turkey, but the humiliation of “ the Photians:” the grand aim and object—according to his view of history—of all the Crusades. Again, when the Abbé Michon, in his *Tour in the East*, asserted boldly that the Pope must not proceed as an autocrat; that no real progress could be made without the intervention of an Œcumenical Council; that the Easterns were separated brothers, indeed, but brothers still;—when he quoted as his authorities those who knew the East best, as Marinelli, Missionary Apostolic at Syra, and Salviani, Patriarch of the “ United Armenians,” his work was accused of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and what not else; and is, if we mistake not, at this moment in the Index.

That of M. Pitzipios, which we now propose to examine, will share another fate. Coming forth under the sanction of the Propaganda, and with all the elegance of their paper and print, it forms a goodly octavo of nearly five hundred pages, and is being translated into modern Greek by the author himself. Be-

fore we proceed to its contents, we must say a word or two on some of its minor details.

The author has an undoubted right to plead for himself the excuse: "Quant au style de cet ouvrage, nous espérons que nos lecteurs, surtout les Français, voudront bien user d'indulgence envers un Oriental écrivant une langue qui n'est pas la sienne:" but has the Propaganda no French scholar capable of correcting the extraordinary blunders with which almost every page abounds? Blunders, we mean, not only against the delicate idiom of the language, but against mere orthography and the most ordinary rules of grammar. How can an institution so nobly endowed, that takes for its motto, "*Prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ*" make itself responsible for such mistakes as the following?—

Par cet exposé nous *faisôn* voir.—P. vi. l. 2.

De plus nos exposons *les soit* disant arguments.—P. vii. l. 10.

Nous y constatons ensuite, que les circonstances *politique*.—P. viii. l. 10.

La Grèce ne *depeut* pas du Patriarche de Constantinople.—P. 46, note.

Cantique pour les *mort*.—P. 84.

Aussi *tous* le monde fut-il très-édifié.—P. 104.

And the orthography *soit disant*, as well as such plurals as *faisôn*, occur again and again.

Still worse than this is the slipshod style of quotation in the notes. On pp. 6, 7, we have these three references: "Opera St. Léon, Tom. II.:" "Epist. Simplicis ad Zénon:" "Idem Epist. ad Acacius!" At p. 44: "Zonaras. Anal. Tom. III."

But there are still more serious faults. What are we to say to a note like this? "The Greek word *Ecclesia* was in use among the ancient Greeks to signify the assemblies of the people as well as the place in which they were held. *It is derived from the verb ἐκκαλέω, which signifies to call by heralds.*" Or, again, how are we to characterize such an historical statement as this? "The Patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius, had named, as Patriarch of *Antioch*, a certain Peter Mongus, excommunicated by Pope Simplicius, in the place of John Talaia, elected according to the custom by the Clergy of the patriarchate of *Antioch.*" One might suppose, did this mistake stand singly, that the writer had in a hurry set down Antioch for Alexandria; but no effort of charity will enable the reader to continue such an hypothesis, when we read a little further on, that "Pope Felix III. sent legates to Constantinople to procure the banishment of Peter Mongus from the Church of *Antioch:*" and, at the distance of nearly forty pages,—“we have seen this same Acacius requesting Pope Felix III. to pardon Peter Mongus, and to confirm him in his dignity of Patriarch of *Antioch.*”

The work which we are considering, then, whatever be the sensation which, at the present moment, it is creating in Ultramontane circles, and however much it may induce among them the hope that the East is on the point of an unconditional submission to Rome, is neither more nor less than the composition of a clever Greek Uniat, tolerably well "read up" in the ordinary historical sources of information,—though here and there, as we have seen, guilty of a grievous slip,—and possessing a very considerable acquaintance with the modern ecclesiastical literature and movements of the Eastern, but more especially of the Greek, Church. It is divided into four parts, the subjects of which we shall briefly notice. The first contains a sketch of the gradual division between Rome and Constantinople, from the first personal quarrel between Felix III. and S. Acacius, in 483, down to the completed schism between Michael Cerularius and Leo IX, in 1054. Of course, in these annals, Rome is always right, Constantinople always wrong. We have the gradual widening of the breach when John the Faster took the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, and S. Gregory the Great opposed it with that of "Servant of the Servants of God;" the concession made by Rome after an obstinate struggle,—that of receiving her rival to her communion without insisting on the erasure of the name of Acacius from the diptychs; the elevation of Constantinople to the second rank by the celebrated XXVIIIth Canon of Chalcedon, and the confirmation and extension of that canon by the XXXVIth of the Council in Trullo. Here, again, our author is guilty of one of his unfortunate blunders when he says: "En 692 eut lieu le sixième Concile général convoqué par l'empereur Justinien II. à l'instigation du Patriarche et du Clergé de Constantinople, tenu dans un des palais impériaux de cette ville, nommé Troulle, et connu pour ce motif sous le nomme de *Concile de Troulle*." We should have thought that every schoolboy might have known the difference between the sixth Œcumenical Council, the third of Constantinople, held in 681, and that in Trullo, commonly called the Quinisext Council, as being the supplement to the fifth and sixth Synods which met in 691. Next we are introduced to the more dangerous schism between Photius and the Pope Nicolas I; then to the dispute between S. Ignatius and Pope Adrian as to the possession of Bulgaria; and then to the first dogmatic dissension between the two Churches on the celebrated question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Next, to the uneasy and suspicious union between East and West till the accession of Michael Cerularius; the additional controversy which then sprang

up on the subject of Azymes ; and the final—or rather let us hope the yet unhealed—schism of 1054.

M. Pitziplos sums up the differences at present existing between the Latin and Eastern Churches in the number of eleven ; seven of which he most rightly characterizes as merely differences in rites, which in no sense can be said to affect the faith. These seven are :—

1. The question of Azymes, which, indeed, was so rightly and Christianly concluded in the Council of Florence, by the declaration that the consecration of our LORD'S Body was made rightly and validly either in leavened or unleavened bread, and that each Church ought to retain its own rite.

2. Baptism. Here retaining the ancient practice, the Eastern Church—that is to say, the four Patriarchates and Greece—infirm on the necessity of trine immersion ; and, to use the language of a Constantinopolitan encyclic of the last century, “ abhor, abominate, and spit upon the salt-water affusion ” of the Latins. But, on the other hand, the Church of Russia acknowledges baptism, not only by affusion, but also by aspersion, to be a valid sacrament ; while, remarkably enough, the Church of Constantinople, refusing itself to re-admit converts from the West without rebaptizing them, is ready enough to receive those who have come by way of Russia without any such preliminary requisition.

3. The marriage of the priesthood. This also, by the Council of Florence, was left a question of rite ; the rule in the Russian Church being, it is well known, more opposed to the Roman than is our own. For by it a parish priest *must* be married ; and in the event of losing his wife, either retires from the secular to the religious clergy, or, if he marries again, he lays aside every sacerdotal function.

4. This is merely the trivial question whether the Clergy should, or should not, wear beards. The Easterns must have been greatly edified by seeing this practice prevail during the late war both among the English and Roman Catholic Chaplains.

5. The difference between the Eastern and Western weekly fasts. The former comprehending Wednesday and Friday, but regarding Saturday as a kind of second Sunday ; the latter observing Friday as a fast, and Saturday as a day of abstinence. A difference as old as the time of S. Ambrose, and to be viewed in the same light as it was then ; both edifying customs, if only carried out in the right spirit.

6. The use of kneeling or not kneeling in the prayers of the Church. The horror which the Orientals have of the practice really seems based on no better a foundation than that it is the practice of the West. But it is to be observed that the Russian

Church, here again sympathising with Rome, not only does not condemn genuflexion, but practises it herself; nor has ever been condemned, that we know of, by Constantinople for this usage.

7. The communion of infants. We doubt, however, whether, in the eyes of an Oriental Council, this point would be so easily passed over. We must always remember, while we condemn the denial of the chalice to the laity as a great and crying corruption, that the disuse of the communion of infants is as contrary to primitive practice, is perhaps even more diametrically opposed to the express words of Scripture, and is even a later "development." The Easterns, of course, argue that, if the words of our LORD are express in the one case, "Drink ye all of it," no less express are they in the other, "Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you;" that the same rationalising spirit which, in some denominations of Protestants, has regarded children as incapable of receiving Baptism, has, in the Western Church, debarred them from receiving the Holy Eucharist; and that the first beginning of the new system was adopted from the Pelagians. Our author, however, flurs over the difficulty by observing, that "in the Eastern practice there is more devotion; in the Western, more good sense."

There are, certainly, other points of difference which are scarcely worth notice; as, for example, the question of icons—whether to be sculptured, or merely painted; and the still more trivial disagreement respecting the sign of the cross—whether to be made from left to right, or from right to left. It is not altogether to be wondered at that our author amuses himself with the excessive addition of the Eastern Church to turn that which is a mere matter of rubric into an article of faith; and *they* would, of course, rejoin that the Western usage is to dispose of an article of faith as if it were a mere matter of ritual.

"Even the letters," says M. Pitzipios, "of the Greek and Latin languages have not been able to avoid taking a share in these disputes. For many centuries, in certain islands of the Archipelago, at Constantinople, and elsewhere, thousands of Christians of the Western Church have taken up their abode. They considered it their duty to abandon the usage of the Greek tongue, in order to mark their difference from their fellow-countrymen and brethren of the Oriental rite. But, as they knew no other language than Greek, they, at all events, abandoned its characters, and employed in their books of prayers, and in their correspondence, the Latin letters, with which they even at the present day write the Grecian language, and call this monstrous jargon the Chian tongue."

That is, they would teach their youth from an *Odyssæ* which commenced thus:—

Andra moi ennepe, moufa, polutropon, hos mala polla
 Planchthee, epei Troiees hieron ptoliethron eporthee
 Pollwn d'Anthrwpwn iden astea, kai noon egnw, &c.

Yet it must be remembered that the substitution,—not made by ignorant Chiotes, but by learned scholars of Rome, and under the authority of the Propaganda—of Roman for Cyrillic or Glagolita characters, is not a whit less barbarous or ludicrous than the above ; or rather, that Slavonic suffers more under the transformation than Greek itself.

While dwelling on this subject, M. Pitzipios takes occasion to have a hit at the Greeks also, and remarks :—

In like manner it came to pass, in consequence of principles so scrupulously observed and preached up by superstition or by ignorance, as the chief foundations of Christianity, that the ordinary caps of priests should have a particular form, which form was considered in an article of faith, and as a part of ecclesiastical discipline. Thus, every one was exceedingly edified with the celebrated question which was mooted at Constantinople some fifteen years since, as to the form and colour of the ordinary cap worn by Monseigneur Maximus, Bishop of the Melchites ; a question which, for four years, occupied most seriously the ambassadors of the Christian powers of the Sublime Porte. It was only after the most scrupulous deliberation that they arrived at a final decision ; and, amidst the warm acclamations of orthodoxy, it was definitively resolved, that the cap of Monseigneur Maximus should have eight corners, and should neither be altogether black, nor altogether crimson.

Again, the reformed Calendar has swelled the number of disagreements ; a reform so absolutely needed, that it must eventually break down even Eastern prejudices, as in the course of years it triumphed over the strong prepossessions of Protestant Europe. Were there no other reason for the change, it is impossible not to wish that,—whatever other disputes may divide them,—the highest festival of the LORD of Peace might through the whole Church be observed on the same day. This does sometimes happen ; as it did in 1841, 1844, 1847, 1848, 1851, 1852, 1855, 1858, 1859, 1862. But sometimes the difference is very great indeed. Thus, in 1853, the Western Easter fell on the 27th of March, the Eastern on the 1st of May. In 1869 the former will fall on March 28 ; the latter on May 2. Probably, in any future reconciliation of the Churches, a very great latitude must at first be left on that point.

The three questions which our author allows to present real difficulties in the way of reunion are—the supremacy of the Pope,—the existence of purgatory,—and the Procession of the HOLY GHOST. We shall confine ourselves to the two former, as more especially interesting under our own circumstances ; and shall say a few words on each.

M. Pitzipios tries hard to prove that, according to her own decrees, authorized prayers, and the writings of her acknowledged saints, the Eastern Church is bound to acknowledge an autocratical supremacy in the chair of Peter. How feeble his attempt is may be judged from the quotations which he selects from the *Menœa* of passages which bear on the point. What proof is there of an autocracy in modern Rome in such an *automelon* as this—the first at Vespers on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul?

With what crowns of praise shall we wreath Peter and Paul, them that were separated in the body, and united in the spirit; them that were the *leaders* of the heralds of GOD; the one, as pre-eminent over the Apostles, the other, as having laboured more than they all? For these, verily and worthily, He That hath the great mercy, CHRIST our GOD, crowns with the diadems of eternal glory.*

To what purpose is it to quote passages in which S. Peter is called the *Κορυφαίος* of the Apostles, when the very title of the same festival is:—*τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ Πρωτοκορυφαίων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*; How can any scholar put forth, and how could the Propaganda allow, such a translation as this from S. Chrysostom on the priesthood? “Why did CHRIST pour forth His blood: To acquire to Himself the “sheep which He gave in charge to Peter and to *his successors*,”—instead of *his fellows*? (*τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ*.)† What is the benefit of bringing forward such exclamations as those of the Six Hundred and Thirty at Chalcedon, at the conclusion of the lesson of S. Leo’s Epistle?—“The faith of the Apostles! Anathema to those that gainsay! Peter hath spoken by Leo!” By the same rule, at the same Council, it might have been held that the see of Corinth possesses the primacy of the Church because when Peter, bishop of that Church, passed over from the heretical to the orthodox side, he was welcomed with shouts of “Peter holds the faith of Peter!”

Instead of listening to such forced deductions and stale arguments, it is far more to the purpose to attend to the present teaching of the Eastern Church. Thus it is that the text-book

* Ποίους εὐφημῶν στέμμασιν ἀναδίσωμεν Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον; τοὺς διηρημένους τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ἠνωμένους τοῖς πνεύμασι; τοὺς Θεοκηρίκων Πρωτοστάτας, τὸν μὲν, ὡς τῶν Ἀποστόλων προεάρχοντα, τὸν δὲ, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους κοπιήσαντα; τοὺτους γὰρ ὅτως ἀξίως ἀθανάτου δόξης διαδόμασι στεφανῶι Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἔχων τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

† To show that we do our author not injustice, we give the original and his versions: *διὰ τὸ αἷμα ὃ Χριστὸς ἐξέχευεν; ἢ ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα κτήσεται ταῦτα, ᾧ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρισεν*; Pourquoi Jésus-Christ versa-t-il son sang, si non pour reconquérir ces ovailles, qu’il confia à Pierre et à *ses successeurs*?

of families, schools, and universities, the "Catechism of Plato," speaks on the subject :—

The Church is governed by the ministers of the New Testament under the One Head, CHRIST. The Church is one well-ordered and well-directed communion: it follows that it has a government: a government, nevertheless, not ambitious and tyrannical, but gentle and spiritual: because it is put in trust with souls. . . . Of its shepherds, some are first in authority, as bishops; and others second, as priests. Nevertheless, the Head of the government of the Church and of its ministers is CHRIST; one, one and alone: since as He is the chief Captain and the founder of His Church, so also is He alone its Head and Governor, directing it invisibly with His Word through the HOLY GHOST. Wherefore the Church cannot follow any other than CHRIST and the plain testimony of the Word of God, so far as concerns the faith.

This, it must be confessed, is plainer sense than the symbolical explanation which is given in another text-book of the Eastern Church, the *Πηδάλιον*, of the five Patriarchates. "They are called," says this work "according to the acrostic of their names "in the Greek language, *Οἰκουμένης Κάραι*, since the K signifies "Constantinople; A, Alexandria; R, Rome; A, Antioch; "and I, Jerusalem. But because the first patriarch of the "Church has apostatized, he of Constantinople is now the first. "After this, they added the fifth patriarch, him of Moscow; "but that dignity now exists no longer."

It is true that this doctrine of the apostacy of Rome is only a dogma of the most violent section of the Eastern Church. The whole communion is probably no more accountable for it than is the English Church for the belief of some of her members that the Popedom is Antichrist. Nevertheless, in the latest official exposition of the Oriental faith, the reply of the Patriarchs to the Encyclic of Pius IX, the same statement is made in the strongest language. That document which, as is well known, was, in fact, written by Constantine Cœconomus, and therefore, to a certain extent, represents the Russian Church also, says, in so many words—that as GOD, in His ineffable wisdom, permitted Arianism at one time to extend itself over the greater portion of the Christian world, so He has now allowed Rome to extend her empire throughout the universe. And so the story is well known of the father, a resident in one of the islands of the Archipelago, who was lamenting to his Bishop the apostacy of one of his sons to Mahometanism. "It is indeed a heavy affliction," said the prelate; "but have you not reason to thank GOD that, at all events, he did not become a Latin?" No; it is not by a few detached passages, and those generally taken apart from the sense of the context, that M. Pitzipios will persuade his readers that the Eastern Church, on its own principles,

is bound to submit to Rome ; and not only so, but that, were it not for the inordinate ambition of the clergy of Constantinople, its masses would long ago have embraced the Western communion. It is not so : history is against it ; the popular feeling of the present day is against it ; and the experience of the best and wisest of the Latin missionaries in the East may assure him that it is not by an autocratic exercise of authority on the part of the See of Rome, not by a Pastoral of Pius IX, nor of any other Pope, that the submission of the one Church to the other will be effected ; but that it is only by a free and legitimately assembled Œcumenical Council that the reconciliation of one with the other, as equal bodies, and on equal terms, can be brought to pass.

Let us proceed to the second of our author's *real difficulties*—the subject of purgatory and indulgences. One never can think of this point of dispute between the two Churches without being reminded of the malignant, yet, it must be confessed, amusing sneer of Gibbon at the quarrel raised on this point betwixt Greeks and Latins at the Council of Florence. “With regard,” he says, “to purgatory, both parties were agreed in the belief of “an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the “faithful ; and whether their souls were purified by elemental “fire, was a doubtful point, which, in a few years, might be “more conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants.” But, when we find our author bringing forward the universal use of prayers for the dead as an argument for purgatory, that is, in the ordinary sense of the word, one cannot but remember the exclamation of the very able author of a work which we noticed some few years ago, *Quelques Mots sur les Communions Orientales* : “Poor Latin ! He cannot even pray for a departed “friend, according to his own rationalistic principles, without “believing him to be in penal fires !” Let us give our author the full benefit of what he has to say on the subject :—

The churches, both of Rome and Constantinople, have never ceased, even to the present day, from saying both high and low masses for the deliverance and the refreshment of departed souls ; they have never ceased to celebrate particular days in commemoration of the dead ; on those days to offer special prayers, and to recommend almsgiving to the poor ; to recommend contributions to religious or charitable houses, or offerings to churches on behalf of the dead ; to give indulgences, or acts of remission for the sins of the departed (in Greek, *μετρίωσις* or *συγχωροχάρτια*) ; and, in a word, to exercise everything which has to do with this universal belief. The very beggars in the streets of Constantinople as well as of Rome, of the whole East as well as of the whole West, relying on this belief, endeavour to obtain the compassion of passers-by, by saying—“For the rest of the soul of your father ! For the rest of the soul of your mother ! For the refreshment of the souls of

your relations ! For the souls of those who have been dear to you !” And the like.

It is scarcely possible that any one, unless he chose to deceive himself, should confound the simple and primitive belief of the Eastern Church in this matter with the later additions of the West. Only compare the ordinary expressions employed by the two communions. Compare the pictures that abound through the whole of the south of Europe of the souls in purgatory, identical in everything except eternity with the tablet exhibited by Despair to the Red Cross Knight :—

To bring him to despair, and quite to quail,
He showed him painted on a table plain
The damned ghosts that do in torments wail ;
And thousand fiends that do them endless pain
With fire and brimstone, which for ever shall remain.

Compare also the doctrine inculcated in such hymns as those of our modern English Oratorians :—

In pains beyond all earthly pains,
Favourites of JESUS, there they lie ;
Letting the fire purge out their stains,
And worshipping GOD's purity.
O Mary ! let thy SON no more
His lingering spouses thus expect ;
His ransomed to the LORD restore,
And to the SPIRIT His elect !

Compare them, we say, with devotions not of ten years, but of twelve or fourteen centuries, such as these in the early Syrian Liturgies :—

And at Thy spiritual and holy altar, O LORD, grant rest, a good memory, and felicity to all the souls, bodies, and spirits of our fathers, brothers, and masters, who, in whatever region, in whatever city or part of the world have departed, or were suffocated in the sea or in rivers, or died in journeyings, and of whom there is no memory in the churches which have been established by Thee upon earth. Give, O LORD, to all of them a good memory, who have departed and migrated to Thee in the orthodox faith, together with them whose names are written in Thy Book of Life. And to all of them who, having finished the course of this life, have appeared perfect and illustrious in Thy presence, and, having been set free from the sea of their iniquities, have approached to Thee, our Father and Brother according to the flesh in this life, grant, O LORD, rest in that spiritual and mighty bosom. Give them the spirit of joy in the habitations of light and happiness, in the tabernacles of shade and quiet, in the treasures of blessedness, wherein every sorrow is exiled afar ; where the souls of the pious, without any labour, await the first-fruits of life, and the spirits of just men in like manner look forward to the end of the promised reward ; to that region where the labourers and the weary look towards paradise, and they that are invited long for the wedding-feast of the celestial bridegroom ;

where they that are called to the banquet wait till they may ascend thither, and ardently desire to receive that new garment of glory; where every distress is banished, and where joys are found.

Or again :—

Remember, O LORD, those also who have pleased Thee from the beginning; and especially the holy, glorious Mother of GOD, and ever Virgin Mary; John Baptist; Stephen, the prince of deacons and proto-martyr; with the other Prophets and Holy Apostles, and pious fathers, who have departed. Remember also, O LORD, all the departed faithful who have left this life and have gone to Thee. Receive these oblations, which we offer to Thee this day for them, and give them rest in the bosom of blessed Abraham. With the hope of Thy mercy, all the departed have received rest, and look for Thy mercies, O our GOD that art to be worshipped. Vouchsafe that they may hear that quickening voice to call them and bring them to Thee, and that they may be invited to Thy kingdom. Grant also to us a quiet departure, through Thy grace; and do away our sins through Thy mercy.

Or again :—

By the sacrifice which we have this day offered, may the LORD and His holy and elect angels be appeased; and by it may He bestow repose and good memory on His Mother and His Saints, and all the departed faithful; and principally on him for whom and for whose cause this sacrifice has been offered.

Or again :—

Furthermore, also, we commemorate all the departed faithful who have departed in the true faith from this holy altar, and from this village, and from whatever region, who have in times past fallen asleep and rested in the true faith and have come to Thee, the LORD GOD of spirits and of all flesh. We ask, we beseech and implore CHRIST our GOD, who has received to Himself their souls and spirits, that through the abundance of His mercy, He would make them worthy of the forgiveness of their offences, and the remission of their sins; and would grant that both they and we may attain to His kingdom in heaven. Remember also, O LORD, orthodox priests who have departed this life—deacons, subdeacons, singers, readers, interpreters, choristers, exorcists, monks, religious persons, virgins that have observed perpetual chastity, and those who have lived in the world, who have departed this life in the true faith, and those of whom each one of us is now thinking. LORD GOD of spirits and of all flesh, remember all whom we remember, who have departed out of this life in the orthodox faith: give rest to their souls, bodies, and spirits, setting them free from the infinite damnation that is to come, and making them worthy of the joy which is in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: where the light of Thy countenance shines; whence grief, misery, and lamentation are banished, and impute not to them any of their sins. Enter not into judgment with Thy servants, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified; nor is there any man free from the stain of sin, or free from defilement among men that are upon the earth, except thine only-begotten SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, alone; through whom we trust to obtain the remission of sins which is given, for His sake, both for ourselves and for them.

If any one chooses, in the face of these and innumerable other like examples, to assert that the Western doctrine of purgatory is held by the Eastern Church, it is difficult to see the use of arguing with him further. It is clear, in the first place, that the place—call it by what name you will—in which the souls of the departed faithful have their present habitation, is held, throughout the whole of the Eastern Liturgies, to be a place of rest and gladness, and that there is not one single allusion to, or hypothesis concerning, the “pains beyond all earthly pains,” which modern Latin writers have held: in the second place, that their liturgies pray in exactly the same terms for the saints, and even, in the earliest examples, for the Blessed Virgin Mary herself, as those in which they intercede for every departed Christian. And an additional proof that the doctrine of the two Churches is not identical may be found in the fact that, in those liturgies which have held their ground among certain Latinizing portions of the Eastern Church, the expressions in question have been altered, so as to become more consonant with Roman teaching; and instead of supplicating for the repose of the saints, they now ask for their intercession.

Our author endeavours to maintain the identity of belief between the two communions, by producing a passage or two in which the place of departed souls is named *Catharterion*; a fact which proves nothing in the world except (what no one will deny) that the Eastern Church believes that departed spirits, from the time of their separation from the body till the day of judgment, acquire progressive degrees of holiness, it may also be of happiness, and may therefore be said to pass through various stages of purification. The word *Catharterion* is of very rare use in Oriental books of devotion; but were it the established phrase, it would no more prove that the Greeks therefore held the Latin idea of purgatory, than their employment of the expression *metousiosis* proves them to hold the Latin doctrine of transubstantiation. In the latter case, as is well known, the Eastern Church has authoritatively declared that, while she uses the word as a convenient one, she does not use it in the scholastic sense; but firmly holding, and unalterably teaching, that the bread and wine are really, truly, and substantially changed into the Body and Blood of our LORD, and are therefore to be adored, she leaves the manner in which the change is wrought, as regards all such questions as those of accidents and species, undefined.

The other argument relied on by M. Pitzipios is taken from the indulgences, or moderations, as they are called (μετρίότητες), given by the Eastern prelates; and more especially that remark-

able rite of the absolution of the dead. A very early example of a similar usage occurs in the instance of the Empress Eudoxia, the persecutress of S. John Chrysostom. The legend relates that the sepulchre of that princess was miraculously shaken with an earthquake for thirty-five years after her death; that when the relics of the saint were translated, under Theodosius the Younger, to Constantinople, that emperor desired the patriarch S. Proclus to offer the liturgy for the repose of his mother; and that when that prelate came to the words, "Peace to the people! Peace to Eudoxia!" the trembling of the earth ceased, and never afterwards occurred.

Other tales of a similar character are to be found in Oriental history, but they have no more to do with any belief in a Latin purgatory than our popular traditions of haunted houses, or spirits that "walk," prove our poor people to hold the Roman dogma. As the absolutions of the dead are explained by the best writers, they mean nothing more than a declaration to others either that the deceased would have died in the communion of the Church, or with the open profession of repentance, had time and space been allowed. For it is certain that prayers are also said in the East for those who are held to be lost (*ἀφωρισμένοι*), and to have become, as the popular superstition goes, "*katakhanades*," "*vrukolakai*," or vampires, to the effect that it may please GOD that their bodies should return to dust; it being held that, in the case of those who have died under the ban of the Church, a part of their punishment consists in the indissolubility of their corpse.

We will now turn to another portion of our author's work. In its second portion he relates, at considerable length, the acts of the Council of Florence, and exposes with some ability the impossibility of any general Council of the East having been held at Constantinople subsequently to that Synod, and previously to the fall of the Byzantine empire, in which the act of reunion was solemnly repealed. Long before him, Lequien had proved that the acts of that pretended Council bore on their very face evident tokens of imposture. Thence our author argues that the reunion, having been formally accepted by the East as well as the West, is still binding on both. But, in real truth, there was no necessity for any such Eastern Council to repudiate the union; an union in which, under the miserable pressure of circumstances, and under the hope of at any rate staving off the fall of the imperial city, the Greeks gave up everything, and received nothing in return. It was received with one burst of disapprobation throughout the whole of the Oriental communion; and the hero of the day was then, and is still, Mark of Ephesus,

the uncompromising opponent of Latinism, and of the union. It is impossible to think of the Council of Florence, which, with all its failures, was certainly a memorable assembly, without being struck with the enormous consequences which sometimes hinge on apparently trivial circumstances. Had the Eastern prelates joined the Council of Basle instead of that of Ferrara, probably the whole state of Christendom would have been changed. Even single-handed, the Fathers of Basle had very nearly accomplished "the reformation of the Church, its head and members," and deposed Eugenius, as their predecessors of Constance had deposed Gregory XII. and John XXII. If they so nearly succeeded when the balance of Papal power had received such an increase by the arrival of the Greeks, their success must have been absolutely certain had that balance been thrown on their own side. And to what remarkable consequences might their own opposition to Ultramontaniam, strengthened a thousandfold as it would have been by the intermixture of Oriental prelates among them, have given rise in the future destinies of Europe and its future history of the Church! And this great question was solved—by what?—by the superior swiftness of the Papal galleys over those employed by the Council. Both commanders had orders to sink, if they could, their rivals in the passage; and it was on the superior skill of Condolmieri, the Papal admiral, that the fate of Christendom hung. One remarkable circumstance connected with the Council is not generally known, and it would not have suited our author's purpose to mention. The first edition of the Acts of the Synod that were published entitled it the *Eighth Œcumenical Council*: the Church of Rome thus tacitly allowing that the Synods between the second of Nicæa and that had no claim to the title of universal.*

But although it is very true that no general Council of the East did immediately repudiate the union,† our author forgets, or finds it convenient not to remember, that a general Oriental Council has been held since, which completely assumes the separation of the two Churches. We refer, of course, to that of Bethlehem, in 1672, taken in connection with that of Jassy, which immediately preceded it. Though several of the Fathers who assisted at each, including the patriarch Dositheus himself, were suspected of Roman tendencies, nothing is more clear than

* [See "The History of the Council of Florence," translated from the Rus', [by Mr. Popoff. *Moscow*, 1861.]

† [At the same time, the Eastern patriarchs did, unitedly, before the fall of Constantinople, repudiate the Council.]

that the whole spirit of both Councils repudiated every idea of the reunion at Florence then existing.

It is only natural that a Uniat like our author should make the most of the great corruptions and disorganization which undoubtedly exist in the mutilated and dismembered Church of the East. He dwells principally on two; the secular power—or, as he calls it, tyranny—exercised by the Eastern bishops over those of their own rite, and the final appeal in some ecclesiastical questions lying in a Mussulman court. On the latter point, he tells a story which, whether true or not, is at least amusing; and if we translate the Vizier's court into the Privy Council, and the Armenians and Greeks into the Bishop of Exeter *v.* Gorham, or Ditcher *v.* Denison, we may learn a useful lesson for ourselves. He writes:—

“That is to say, the Ottoman government (which cannot judge any affairs upon other principles than those of the Koran) is the authority which ought to judge and decide in final appeal, religious questions, and explain, define, and solve all the doubts and discussions of the Eastern patriarchs, when they cannot agree among themselves in the exercise of their functions. Indeed, we have had a very striking example of this sort of jurisdiction. About fifty years ago, the Clergy of the Oriental rite, and those of the Armenians, disputed at Constantinople, accusing each other of having corrupted the customs of the Christian religion. The former accused the latter of not mixing water with the wine which they used in the Holy Sacrament; and the Armenians accused those of the Oriental rite because they made use of it; the dispute increased, and at last, according to the *existing rules*, the affair was brought before the Reiz Effendi of that epoch. The Mussulman minister, after having heard the complaints of the two parties, pronounced the following sentence:—‘*Wine is an impure liquor, accursed and forbidden by the Koran; it ought not, therefore, to be employed at all; why do you not use pure water?*’”

It will be well that we should give a glance at the affairs of the Constantinopolitan Church immediately after the capture of the city by the Turks. The Œcumenical throne was then vacant, and Mahomet II. was at a loss how to treat with the vast body of Christians which abounded in his new empire. He inquired for the patriarch, not knowing of the vacancy of the see; and on being apprised of it, gave orders that the Christians should proceed, according to their usual custom, to the choice of his successor. They obeyed, and the election fell on George Scholarius, who had distinguished himself at the Council of Florence by his promotion of the union, and who took the name

of Gennadius. The Sultan resolved on investing the patriarch elect, as the Christian emperors had done; and, accordingly, seated on his throne, delivered the pastoral staff to him, and a mantle, with the words pronounced in Greek, "The HOLY TRINITY, which has given me the empire, elects thee, by me, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch." At the same time, he gave him unlimited jurisdiction over the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the members of his Church; and, at the emperor's request, Gennadius drew up an epitome of the principles of the Christian religion, which he presented to Mahomet. Now, Pitzipios argues that the union of Florence did *bonâ fide* subsist during the patriarchate of this ecclesiastic; that if he did not request his confirmation from the Pope, it was because he feared to irritate the Sultan; and that if, in his principles of the Christian religion, he made no reference to the necessity of communion with Rome, it was because the Papal See was engaged in the most vigorous efforts for the re-establishment of the Byzantine empire; as, for example, when Pius II. convoked a Council at Mantua for that purpose in 1459, or when, three years earlier, the Turkish army of 160,000 men had suffered a disgraceful defeat from Huniades and the Papal Missionary S. John Capistran. But there does not seem any reason to regard Gennadius as any further a Roman partizan than as he might hope for Western aid by pursuing a temporising policy; and it is certain that Mark of Ephesus, the undaunted defender of the Oriental faith, would have denounced the new Patriarch as inclined to the Latin communion, had such been the case. To Gennadius succeeded Isidore II, who held the see but a very short time; to him Joasaph I, surnamed *Cocas*, or *Cufas*, who, after various disputes with his Clergy, was banished by the Sultan; and to him again, Mark I, surnamed *Xylocarabes*. These four were legitimately and canonically elected as their predecessors had been; but after that time began the system of simony, which has inflicted so severe a wound on the discipline of the Church of Constantinople. M. Pitzipios relates the history as a Latin; but there is, unfortunately, only too much truth in his narration:—

In the year 1467, a simple monk of Trebizond, named Symeon, made use of simony in the nomination of the patriarch. This villain had, in the court of the Sultan, some friends among his countrymen who had embraced Islamism since the taking of Constantinople; he succeeded, through their intervention, in buying the patriarchal see, by offering to the government an annual tribute of 1,000 ducats; and, moreover, on condition of renouncing the pension which the patriarchs had till then received from the public treasure. But the following year, Dionysius, Bishop of Philippopolis, enjoying the protection of the Sultan's mother, increased the patriarchal tri-

bute to 2,000 ducats, and having caused Symeon to be deposed, he became himself Patriarch of Constantinople. A Servian, named Raphael, a vulgar and dissipated man, who passed his life in taverns and in other public places, found means of offering the government to add to the tribute of 2,000 ducats, a sum of 500 ducats, payable at one time, as a present for each new nomination; and having caused Dionysius to be driven away, he occupied, in his turn, the patriarchal see of Constantinople. From this time, the annual tribute of the patriarch was fixed at 2,000 ducats, and 500 ducats as a present to the government for the nomination of each new patriarch. In the meantime, these wolves in sheep's clothing, struggling to seize upon the patriarchal dignity, in order to procure the means of sucking, like vampires, the blood of these unfortunate Christians, soon caused the annual tribute of the patriarch to amount to 3,000 ducats, and 500 ducats present to the Ottoman government for each new nomination. Besides this sum, there were others also, much more considerable, which they paid to the powers of the day, to the eunuchs of the palace, and the favourite women; to the janissaries, to the Jewish bankers in favour with the Turks; to the servants of the great, and to all the most vile intriguers who could favour in any way their efforts to occupy this eminent post. The unhappy Christian people paid by their sufferings and their toils all these enormous sums to procure for themselves tyrants and torturers.

The patriarch, in concert with his Council, or Synod, endeavoured also to obtain the right of naming arbitrarily, and without observing any of the Canons of the Church, all the bishops, and even all the curates. The same system of plunder was employed in the choice which he made of the spiritual, at the same time temporal pastors, which this *soi-disant* chief of the Eastern Church gave to this unfortunate flock. Nevertheless, very often the bishops found it more advantageous to purchase their see through the intervention of some powerful person, or some courtesan, than directly from the patriarch.

Even the Turks were so much struck by the infamous conduct of the patriarchs and higher clergy of Constantinople, that the Sultans no longer themselves gave the new patriarch the investiture with attributes of his dignity. It was the Grand Vizier who subsequently filled this office; he caused the new patriarch to be invested before him with a cloak, recommended him to love and protect the people who were confided to him, to keep them faithful to the government, and to direct them like a true pastor. After this ceremony he dismissed him, and the new patriarch returned to his residence, accompanied by some janissaries. This ceremony is scrupulously observed to the present day.

“The Ottoman government,” says our author, in a note, “deprived the patriarchs of Constantinople of the honour of investiture by the Sultan, at the ignominious death of Parthenius III. in 1657.” Would not any one think, taking this note in context with what has been quoted before, that it was on account of some great crime on the part of the patriarch that this custom had been interrupted? The real fact being that Parthenius was most unjustly accused of a treasonable correspondence with the Tsar, Michael Theodorovitch, and, without any form of trial, was hung at the gate called Barnak-capi. In like manner, some fourteen years before, Cyril Lucar had perished by the Sultan's order; and in our own times a similar tragedy was enacted, when the aged and venerable patriarch was hung in his

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episcopal robes at the door of his own house in 1821, on occasion of the Greek war of liberation.

It is not, then, to be wondered at, that, exposed to deposition as an ordinary punishment, and occasionally in danger of death itself, Œcumenical patriarchs should have exhibited a blind subserviency to the will of their Mahometan lords. Add to which, that there came down to them, from the times of the Byzantine empire, as strong a tradition of passive obedience and non-resistance as the non-jurors inherited from their predecessors, the divines of the Stuarts. Nevertheless, there *have* been noble examples of resolute opposition to the will of the Sultan; and not the least remarkable of these occurred at the beginning of the Russian war. At that time, when there was considerable fear of a Christian outbreak in Constantinople, and throughout Turkey in Europe,—an outbreak which would beyond measure (on the modern principle of non-interference) have perplexed the allies,—it also happened that a practical difference had arisen, as we have seen, between the Church of Constantinople and that of Russia on the validity of Latin baptism. The Turkish ministry, availing itself adroitly of the dispute, and not, we fear, unseconded by the influence of Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, proposed to the then patriarch, Anthimus, to issue a formal declaration that Russia had severed itself from the orthodox Church, and that the religion for which she professed to be fighting was not the religion of Constantinople. “No,” said Anthimus, “I am ready, if need be, to lay down the patriarchate, but such a declaration I will never make.” And his conduct is deserving of the higher commendation, because it is well known that Constantinople has always regarded, first the patriarchate of Moscow, and, subsequently, the holy governing Synod of all the Russias, with some natural degree of jealousy. How far this boldness of His Holiness was remembered by those whom it offended, and led to his deposition, is a different question.

At the same time it cannot be denied that the system of the *Pescesium*, the gratuity demanded by the Sublime Porte at the nomination of every patriarch, has led to the most disastrous consequences. Those who have not freely received have in their turn been unwilling freely to give. And making all allowance for the exaggeration of the picture which Pitzipios draws, here again, also, we must confess there is too much truth in the following picture :—

“The metropolitans of Chalcedon, Ephesus, Derki, Heracleia, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia, are of the number of the eight metropolitans who are members by right of the Supreme Council or Holy Synod of the patriarchate of Constantinople.

“ They have in their hands the administration of all the Church
 “ of the Oriental rite in Turkey, the funds of the general com-
 “ munity of Christians of this rite, and that of the provinces of
 “ the same rite, inhabitants of the Ottoman empire ; they only
 “ can be *Ephori*, or agents, of all the other bishoprics of the
 “ provinces of Turkey which belong to the jurisdiction of the
 “ Church of Constantinople ; they only can also establish banks,
 “ called by them *εφορικαὶ κασσαι*, give letters of exchange, and
 “ transact other similar business of a banker, with their clients,
 “ clergy, people, Jews, and foreign merchants of every nation.
 “ They have also by distinction the qualification of *Peers* and
 “ *Senators*, or *Primates* (*ισοδύναμοι καὶ γέροντες*), and the title of
 “ *σεβασμιώτατος*, which is considered equal to that of the *Eminence*
 “ of the Cardinals of the Church of Rome. These metropoli-
 “ tans had anciently these high ranks and privileges, (which have
 “ been for this reason afterwards confirmed by the Sublime
 “ Porte, on the foundation of a regulation proposed by the
 “ Patriarch Samuel in 1740,) because their sees were formerly
 “ illustrious cities, or chief towns of great provinces. But now
 “ Chalcedon, Ephesus, Derki, Heraclia, Cyzicus, and Nicome-
 “ dia, on account of political changes, are nothing more than
 “ villages, or little hamlets. Now, if the principle is admitted,
 “ that the political change of a country ought to affect the hier-
 “ archical order of its ecclesiastical see, the above-mentioned six
 “ eminent bishoprics ought, since the decay of the cities of their
 “ own sees, to give up their superior rights, as well as their titles
 “ and privileges, to the Bishops of Smyrna, Candia, Thessalo-
 “ nica, Joannina, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, Mitylene, and those
 “ other cities which are the most illustrious and the most populous
 “ of the existing cities of the East. Nevertheless, the bishops
 “ of these actually great and illustrious cities only reckon in the
 “ hierarchical order (which is acted upon in the present day in
 “ the Church of Constantinople,) fifteen, twenty, and thirty
 “ degrees below the above-mentioned privileged eminent metro-
 “ politans, although the sees of the latter are no more than
 “ villages. They preserve, however, intact and entire, all their
 “ ancient rights and privileges, because the Church of Constanti-
 “ nople acknowledges and supports the immutable principle that
 “ *things divine are not to be regulated according to the changes of*
 “ *things human.*”

Or again :—

“ This fund was first created to provide for the fines which
 “ the local authorities, and more often private Mussulmans, ex-
 “ acted in the time, of the Janissaries, from indigent Christians

“under various pretexts. They are of two different kinds : the
 “fund of the general community of all Christians of the Oriental
 “rite in the Ottoman empire, and the fund of the provinces of
 “Christians of the same rite, which was created also for the same
 “end. These funds are both administered by these privileged
 “metropolitans, and some of the laity, chosen from among the
 “old servants of their Eminences. These individuals form a
 “sort of band of robbers, called by courtesy, ‘*Commission for
 “the debts of the National Community!*’ The capital of these
 “funds is formed of sums, greater or smaller, especially the fund
 “of the general community, contributed by all the Christians of
 “the Ottoman empire, under the titles of legacies, gratifications,
 “aids, fines, &c., and loans which their Eminences, and even
 “the bishops of the provinces, make in the name of the com-
 “munity and of the provinces. The people are responsible for
 “the extinction of this debt : their Eminences also would render
 “them an exact account of the employment of the enormous
 “sums which fell into their hands, as well as of those which they
 “borrow, if unfortunately, and through the ordinary malevolence
 “of the devil, the flames of various conflagrations did not de-
 “vour from time to time all the archives of the Commission, and
 “if prudence did not oblige these excellent pastors never to mark
 “in the documents of the Commission either the names of the
 “different Mussulmans to whom they continually give consider-
 “able sums as a present, or the circumstances in which these pre-
 “sents are given. What, then, do these good people know of
 “the destination of the sums which they offer, and of those
 “which are borrowed at their expense, and which one day they
 “will have to pay a second time for the extinction of that debt ?
 “All that the people know of this debt is, that in 1830 it
 “amounted to the sum of 400,000 piastres, and that since that
 “time till the year 1851, though there no longer existed in
 “Turkey either Janissaries or pecuniary fines on the part of the
 “local authorities, or of private Mussulmans, the sum of this
 “debt suddenly rose to the extraordinary amount of 7,000,000
 “piastres !!! Doubtless, it is not to such administrators that
 “the LORD will say—‘Well done, good and faithful servant ;
 “‘thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler
 “‘over many things : enter thou into the joy of thy LORD.’ ”
 “The aforesaid eight eminent metropolitans have shared
 “among themselves for about sixty years the superintendence
 “and the protection of the other 134 bishops of the provinces,
 “of which they call themselves Ephori. The number of the
 “bishops of the provinces that each metropolitan Ephor has
 “under his superintendence, or especial but official protection, is

“very variable. It is not regulated by any relation or proportion ; it depends absolutely on the skill and address of the metropolitan Ephor, or the temporal influence of the protector, or associate of this Ephor, who is always one of the lay Christians in favour with the Ottoman Porte. Thus, there are Ephori who have had at certain times a clientage of from thirty to forty bishops. These metropolitan Ephori alone have the right of forming the above-mentioned banks. Each has his Ephoric funds. The capital of these funds is composed of the pence of widows and orphans, and others of the people, from whom their Eminences borrow.”

The last portion of our author's work is devoted to a consideration of the possibility and practicability of a union between the two Churches. He lays down three preliminaries as necessary to such an end. The first is, a clearing up of the absurd mistakes which exist on the one side and on the other with respect to the Communion ; the second, the complete emancipation of Eastern Christians from the temporal power of the Patriarch of Constantinople ; the third, the re-adjustment of the hierarchical system of the East in agreement with the requirements of the present age.

It is very easy to see one side of any question. Our author forgets to take into consideration the re-adjustment of the Western system, at least equally necessary before any true union can be realized. For consider : let us imagine, for one moment, that a doctrinal union between the two Churches were to-morrow to take place ; how would Rome find herself situated with respect to the patriarchal system, which the Orientals regard as the basis of the whole government of the Church ? In the first place, Antipatriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, personages whose chief function appears to be to swell the ranks of processions at Rome, or to figure with the greater lustre as censors of books. Here is a difficulty to begin with ; but this is only the commencement. Next, having already a Roman Patriarch of Antioch, we have also a Roman Patriarch of the Jacobites, a Roman Patriarch of the Nestorians, and, besides all this, a Spanish ecclesiastic with the title of Patriarch of the Indies ; and add to these four, a Patriarch of the Maronites. All these are recognized and distinct officials, whose functions have merely had their rise in that piecemeal system of proselytism which the Roman missionaries have adopted. Surely, before it could be expected that the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch could come into the communion of Rome, these other pretenders to his see must be swept away and abolished. Add to this, the further complication of the Patriarchs of Venice and

Lisbon—titles which naturally, and indeed rightly, would give the deepest offence to the Oriental Church. It is all very well for M. Pitzipios, and such as he, to point out the Eastern reforms which would be necessary before any union could take place; but it is equally natural that Oriental divines should have their eyes open to the crying abuses of the Roman hierarchical system in the East, and should set down these as *their* preliminaries for the intercommunion of the Churches.

Then, with respect to Eastern rites and liturgies. We will give our author the advantage of excusing what he considers the faults of Rome in this respect in his own words.

It is true that, for some time, circumstances arising from the anomalous state of the Eastern Christians, have caused the unchangeable system of the Church to be mixed up with the different manners of acting of some Catholic missionaries in these countries, and have occasioned the wish of drawing the Orientals to the Latin rite, to be attributed to the Church of Rome. The clergy of Constantinople, profiting by the temporal power which the Ottoman government had conceded to them, since the fall of the Byzantine empire, over all Christians of the Oriental rite, subjects of the Sublime Porte, fraudulently suspended the continuation of the union of the Churches, accomplished by the act of the Council of Florence, and insensibly led these poor Christians into a new schism, unjustifiable and imposed by force. Then the Church of Rome, as soon as circumstances allowed her to do so, despatched, as it was her duty to do, missionaries, whose task was to preach and endeavour to re-establish in the East the union of the Churches, conformably to the act of the Council of Florence, fraudulently suspended. But the missionaries delegated to the East by the Holy See for the purpose of bringing back these people to the unity of the Church, and especially those who, animated by zeal for the faith, took upon themselves such a charitable and important task, have not all followed the line of conduct which the Church had traced out for them, and from which she herself has not for one moment deviated. Instead, therefore, of preaching to these Eastern Christians the re-union of the Church, without attacking their customs and rites, which the Catholic Church has always respected, several of these missionaries, carried away by a zeal without knowledge, thought it their duty to convert these Christians to the Latin rite. It is exactly the conduct of these missionaries, so praiseworthy, nevertheless, for their zeal, which increased the antipathies of Oriental Christians against the Church of Rome, since these missionaries, without understanding it, and without desiring it, kindled the fire of discord and the hatred of the masses against the Holy See, and rather served the interests of the clergy of Constantinople than those of the Church. For these clergy, having based the consolidation of their schism solely upon this hatred of the Eastern Christians against the Holy See, applauded this mistake of the missionaries! They profited admirably from this vicious manner of seeking for the re-establishment of the union, and made the people believe that it was the aim of Rome to destroy the Eastern rite. Nevertheless, though she has suffered all the consequences, the Church of Rome cannot be accused of, nor considered responsible for, a system which she has never tolerated, but, on the contrary, has always authentically disapproved of and condemned in all her official acts. Never has the Holy See, nor the Propaganda, which is her only official organ, given to any one the mission of converting the Eastern Christians to the Latin rite.

This, thanks to the superior ecclesiastical knowledge of modern times, is true to a certain extent. But never let it be forgotten that the same Rome which abolished the early Gallican liturgies—which crushed the Mozarabic rite till those of that system can be numbered by hundreds—which, at the English Reformation, refused to tolerate the Sarum and York books—which is now extirpating in France the national offices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—would have, had it lain in her power, destroyed, with equal readiness, the venerable liturgies of the East. One of her most zealous missionaries, and, spite of all his faults, a true-hearted and excellent man, Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, so completely extirpated the rites of one of the most ancient Churches in the world—the Christians of S. Thomas—that they are now absolutely unknown. Of him it is recorded that, holding all their ordinations as invalid, because not performed according to the Roman ritual, he caused those priests who adhered to him to be re-ordained; and then, because some mistake had occurred in the details of the ceremony, to be ordained over again the third time. Every one knows—and no one complains more bitterly than Renaudot—that the Roman revisions of Eastern liturgies make them absolutely worthless; and that the changes wrought in the Syrian and Armenian offices have rendered them utterly unlike their original selves.

If any one desires to know the view which the more intellectual portion of the Eastern Church takes, both of its own position, and of that of the “two Western Communions,” namely, Romanism and Protestantism, it cannot better be learnt than in that most able pamphlet to which we have already directed the attention of our readers, and which stands third on our list. There it will be seen that, just as a Protestant eye can see no difference between Romanism and Orientalism, so an Eastern eye can discover no essential discrepancy between the Latin and the Protestant Communions; regarding both as the religions of intellect, not of faith; both as the mere development, though it may be in different directions, of rationalism. To an Oriental, the substitution of affusion for immersion in baptism differs only in degree, not in kind, from the procrastination of that sacrament, as among Anabaptists, or its absolute rejection, as among Quakers. The Easterns can see no essential difference between the denial of the chalice to the laity, the refusal of confirmation and communion to infants, and the utter rejection of every pretence at apostolic ordination, which is the badge of so many dissenting bodies.

It must be confessed, that one remarkable feature of the Eastern system is the check which it holds—and which Rome is perfectly

unable to hold—on rationalism. Our author relates, at some length, one of the most remarkable instances of its propagation.

Theophilus Caïry, priest of the Eastern Church, native of Andros, a man of great learning and exemplary morality, had, after the Greek revolution, travelled over all the cities of Europe, where there were any Christians of his rite, and made a rich collection for establishing, in Greece, a school destined for the education of the orphan and indigent children of that nation. He founded it at Andros, in 1834, under the name of the *Institution for Orphans*. The order, good morals, and progress which the pupils made in this school, attracted thither a great number of young people from Greece and Turkey. Caïry, either from unmeasured ambition, or for some political end, or from some other motive, then undertook to introduce into the East a new religion, under the name of Caïrism, which was nothing else but the system of the Deists, modified by some innovations of his own. In short, he succeeded in attracting to this new religion, not only all the pupils of his school, but also almost all the inhabitants of Andros, and even a great part of the curates of the villages, and a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands. The pupils of this school, going to pass their holidays with their parents, or returning to their country after having finished their studies, propagated everywhere the new religion, and in less than six years Caïrism extended immensely in Turkey and in Greece. The Government in Greece, on the one side, and the Patriarchate in Turkey on the other, put everything into motion to prevent its propagation. But, notwithstanding their persevering efforts, the committees of Caïrism exist to the present day in the East, and work, although in secret, with the greatest activity. Caïry was arrested for the last time in Greece in 1851, for teaching religious principles forbidden by the laws of the country. Notwithstanding the powerful opposition of his partisans, the government caused him to be tried. He was condemned by the tribunals to seven years' imprisonment. He died in prison at the age of eighty-two years, some days after his condemnation.

Our author does not relate—perhaps because it would not have strengthened his position—the sublime manner in which this deist was compelled to unmask himself. Called before an assembly of the prelates of Greece, he had prepared a long and sophisticated speech, in which he had endeavoured to blind the eyes of his judges to his real designs. “We are perfectly ready,” said the president of the assembly, “to hear anything which you can allege on your own behalf, and to give you every advantage which you may fairly claim. But we are bishops, and you are a priest of the holy Eastern Church. Before, therefore, we proceed further, we should wish you to repeat to us the Creed of Nicæa.” “With all my heart,” said Caïry; and he was about to begin, when the president again stopped him. “Stay,” he said; “that which you are now about to repeat with your lips you of course believe in your heart: and in that sense only my brethren and myself will hear you.” “Why,” returned Caïry, “in that case—I—in that case—perhaps it would be better that you should hear my apology, and then I am ready to repeat anything that you may desire.”

"You will repeat the Creed of Nicæa," returned the president, "as that which you yourself hold, or you will not be heard at all." "I cannot do that," replied Caïry; "but I will defend myself, if you will allow me." And on his refusal to take this watchword of the Church in his own lips, this unhappy man was condemned without further ceremony.

From the brief account, then, which we have given of its contents, our readers will see that we consider our author's work—awkward as is its arrangement, and barbarous as is its language—well worthy of their perusal. But it is not by publications such as these, where the one side is to gain, and the other to surrender, all, that the real cause of union will be promoted. It is of no use to tell us that the act of the Council of Florence has never been formally rescinded; nor that—another argument of our author's—till the treaty of Münster, the Pope was recognized by European diplomacy as the chief of all baptized Christians. And the work of a convert will always fare ill with the communion from whom he has been converted: to them it will be the composition of an apostate, and, in the very nature of things, is sure to be written with unnecessary bitterness. We never have been, we never will be, advocates of that system which would regard the English Church as perfection. But, nevertheless, it does seem as if, in the inscrutable providence of GOD, a way were open to us to take the lead in that reconciliation of Christendom, which we can hardly hope to see, but which those who come after us certainly will. "Show Thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory." Once before, at all events, British bishops have trembled on the verge of a reconciliation with the East. Once before, negotiations were far advanced between the English and Gallican churches. In treating with the East, *we* come with no pretensions of superiority, with no claims to domination; we come, free from many of the stumbling-blocks which Latin Christianity presents to their eyes—purgatory, indulgences, the denial of the cup to the laity, azymes; and in two of the liturgies out of the three branches of our communion, the Scotch and the American, we approximate very closely; we are identical, on all essential points, with those of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil. The question of a married clergy would be no stumbling-block to the Orientals: and even our acknowledged faults, our miserable Erastianism and dependence on state tribunals, would not so much shock those who are accustomed to the supremacy of the Tsar at S. Petersburg, or of the Sultan at Constantinople.

We hear much of the proselytism exercised by Rome in the East, and of her great success in bringing over converts to her-

self. It may be very much doubted whether the loss of the Uniat Church in Russia has not more than counterbalanced all the gain which, whether among individuals or scattered parishes, the Papal See has made during the last century. It is well known that the Armenians have a greater readiness for reconciliation with Rome than any other communion of Oriental Christians. Yet according to the account of Roman missionaries, during the last one hundred and fifty years, 200,000 is the outside limit of converts. It must also be remembered, that besides the great event of 1839, a perpetual profelytism is carried on on the other side, and that the results of the two depend rather on political than on religious influence; much more on the preponderance of France or Russia than on the zeal of Latin or Greek missionaries. Add to this, the paralysed state of the Roman church in Greece, its bondage and Erastianism, since the time of the infamous Siezenstrevitch, in Russia, and the degraded state to which the Unia had been reduced in Poland, where Uniat and serf, noble and Catholic (that is, not merely of the Roman Church, but of the Latin rite) were convertible terms. In Russia, then, in Greece, in the Principalities, and in the Oriental communion of the south-eastern Austrian empire, the Eastern Church may be considered to be gaining ground upon her western rival. But at Constantinople itself, in Asia Minor, and, above all, in Palestine, the state of things is reversed, and there Rome reaps a plentiful harvest, as well from the orthodox as from Armenians, Jacobites, and Nestorians.

Although it is scarcely to be expected in our time, yet there can be but one conclusion to this miserable state of disruption and laceration; the one remedy, which moderate Latins, like the Abbé Michon, have proposed, which moderate Orientals, such as his late Holiness, Methodius of Antioch, would accept, a free and legitimate Œcumenical Council; not a council in which, like that of Florence, the extreme political distress of one party would oblige them to accept any conditions from the other, but the meeting of equals on an equality, and the settlement of differences, not by autocratic influence, whether secular or religious, but after a full and fair discussion, and by an unbiassed decision. So, and so only, may we hope that that blessed prophecy will be fulfilled—"The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim; but they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines, they shall lay their hands upon Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon shall obey them."



X.

THE LAW OF PRIMATES AND METROPOLITANS.



IT is curious to observe how the increasing strength and wide spread of the English Church has made some questions of immediately pressing importance, which, fifty years ago, would only have had an antiquarian interest. Had any one,—in the days, say, when the *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews* were first set up,—sat down to furnish a paper to either of them on the nature and extent of metropolitan jurisdiction, he would have known that he was only writing it for those who took an interest in Ecclesiastical antiquities, and that the so-called practical man, whether concerned with the politics of the State or the Church, would pass it by. The case is now widely altered. The authority of the metropolitans over their suffragans is a subject which must shortly be settled in some way or other; and the right or wrong settlement of which will further, or will retard, the welfare of the English Church and its various branches, more than almost any other that can be named.

Up to the beginning of the present century, what was the case with regard to our foreign possessions? When we had discovered, too late, that the want of a national Episcopate had been one of the causes which brought about the separation of the United States from the British Crown, we planted a Bishopric in Canada. The enormously increasing interests of India at length shamed us into sending a bishop to Calcutta. But with those two exceptions all our foreign dependencies were, or were supposed to be, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Truly, when one looks back to that time, and compares the then with the present state of the English Church, it is enough to make us

exclaim, "This is the LORD'S doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." The poor little "United Church of England and Ireland," out of communion with Scotland, out of communion with America, with only its two foreign bishops: that on the one side. On the other, the English Church now, with its Scotch sister and American daughter, the latter outnumbering in its Episcopate the mother, and the colonial churches in all parts of the world increasing in a ratio to which past Ecclesiastical history affords no parallel.

In those old times what was the Metropolitcal system as regards ourselves? At one period,—for nearly thirty years, eight metropolitans held rule in great Britain. The two of England, Canterbury and York; the four of Ireland, Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, and Cashel; the two of Scotland, S. Andrew's and Glasgow. The accession of William of Orange abolished the two last. Tuam and Cashel fell before Lord Stanley's spoliation bill. But, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands."

And behold, we have already four, and ought to have five new metropolitans. Calcutta for India, Capetown for South Africa, Sydney for Australia; New Zealand; those we have already gained. It is clearly necessary that Canada should have its own metropolitan; and surely the West Indies are important enough to have a metropolitan of their own. The question, then, which will soon have to be solved, is this: Do these new metropolitans owe any obedience whatever to the See of Canterbury? If so, what are its limits? In case—which is not only within the limits of possibility, but far within those of probability—that Australia should some day contain within itself five or six independent republics, united only by good-will and Anglo-Saxon blood with England,—and we may make the same supposition with regard to Canada,—and how should we stand in an ecclesiastical point of view then?

Notice further this: that while the primacy of Canterbury is almost, and that of York entirely, a dead letter, in the new metropolitanates the primatial power is a living and moving thing. The Bishop of Calcutta is bound to visit, metropolitically, the dioceses of his suffragans once in three years; and, in order to do so with the utmost freedom, he is in the habit, when entering the diocese of his suffragans, of suspending the inferior bishop from all authority during his visitation. Also we must notice that, in consequence of their being unshackled by the State, the colonial dioceses, with their independent synods, with, in Canada, their free election of bishops, and with their further removal from the seat of political government, are sure to out-

strip the Mother Church in energy and progress. The two questions then, are: "What authority has the Colonial Metropolitan over his suffragans?" and, "What authority has the Archbishop of Canterbury over him?"

Now we will go back to the past, and see what we can learn from that. It is not worth while to carry our investigations earlier than the fourth century; because, till the Church was at external peace, it was hardly at liberty to attend to its internal organization. Look, then, at this organization as it existed after the Second Œcumenical Council. In the time of S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine, and S. Jerome, what was it?

And first we have the three great patriarchates, though not as yet known by that name; Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. Next to them in position, though far inferior in power, Jerusalem. Next came the three exarchates; Ephesus, with the diocese of Asia, and twelve provinces; Cæsarea, with the diocese of Pontus, and thirteen provinces; Heraclea, with the diocese of Thrace, and six provinces. Next again to these came the primates of Thessalonica, Carthage, and Milan. Now let us see of what size were the metropolitical provinces which made up these patriarchates and exarchates; and as Asia Minor was then the garden of the Church, let us take that for our example. And first look at the diocese at Pontus. The first of its metropolises was that of Cappadocia, afterwards divided into three, but at this time one ecclesiastical province. This was something more than 330 miles in its greatest length, and 220 in its greatest breadth. Truly an enormous province, and with singularly few bishops. In this vast province we know but of fifteen sees; each of which must therefore have been considerably larger than English bishoprics of the present day. The next province was Armenia, afterwards in like manner divided into two, with its eighteen bishoprics. Then we come to Galatia, also subsequently divided into two; about 220 miles in length, by half that distance in breadth. Here we have nineteen bishoprics. Next comes the province of Pontus Polemoniacus, with eight bishoprics, and about two-thirds the size of Galatia. Next to this Helenopontus, with eight bishops also. After this we come to Paphlagonia, with Gangra for its metropolis. This, less in size than the other, had six bishops. Bithynia, afterwards split into three, holds the next place, with its metropolis Nicomedia; and could boast as many as thirty bishops. These compose the Pontic diocese; a total of seven, afterwards thirteen, provinces, and one hundred and four bishops.

If we go on to the Asiatic diocese, very much the superior of the others in wealth and population, we shall find the number

of bishoprics increase in the same proportion. The province of Asia, which included nearly Lydia and Mysia, had forty-three bishops. Hellepontus, under Cyzicum, had seventeen. Phrygia, afterwards divided into two, had under the metropolis of Laodicea no less than sixty-two. Lydia, under Sardis, only a part of the secular province of that name, had twenty-six. Little Caria, under Miletus, had also twenty-six. The scattered Cyclades, under Rhodes, had nineteen. Lycia, the smallest of the provinces, about fifty-five miles in breadth by sixty in length, that is, not half as big again as Suffex, had no less than thirty-two bishops. Pamphylia, under Side, had thirty-seven. Pisidia, under Antioch, also a small province, twenty-five. And lastly, Lycaonia had eighteen. This gives a total for the Asiatic diocese of more than three hundred bishops; a number exceeding all those of Roman Catholic Europe, Italy excepted.

Now at that early period we find the metropolitan exercising a veto on the election of a bishop, in some cases apparently alone, in some acting with a synod of the com-provincials. The twelfth canon of Laodicea speaks very plainly; "Bishops are not to be instituted without the consent of the metropolitans and of the neighbouring bishops,"—by which last expression we understand the suffragans of the same province. But the Council of Antioch is the fullest in its Canons with respect to the duties and rights of a metropolitan. The ninth canon forbids that anything of great moment be undertaken without his sanction; he is to be the mover of all that goes on in the diocese; no bishop is to visit the Court without his metropolitan's leave. That of Sardica says much the same thing; while that in Trullo plainly lays down the rule that the Civil is also to be the Ecclesiastical metropolis. And it cannot be doubted that this was a very prudent regulation. The Pro-consul, or Prefect, or Count, or by whatever other name he might be called, concentrating the civil power in a city which only possessed an ordinary bishop, would have been apt to overwhelm the Church with Eraftianism: by the precaution taken, the Church concentrated her strength on the same place, and met the civil authority on more equal grounds. It is worth while considering whether in this country, from the very beginning, the neglect of that rule has not been attended with disastrous consequences. The position of our metropolitans in cities which, but for them, would be perfectly insignificant, has left the Church at a disadvantage in connection with the secular power. So greatly was the inconvenience of a similar arrangement felt in France, that Paris, after long remaining suffragan to the metropolitan of Sens, at length obtained

her own archbishop : who naturally, though not officially, has ever since been considered one of the highest ecclesiastics in the kingdom. The miserable state of Spain we all know ; and there Madrid, far from being the seat of a metropolitan, has not even a bishop. The case was the same in Scotland, where the Primate was put away into a corner of the kingdom, if not very far from the civil metropolis, at least in a place not to be got at without extreme inconvenience and difficulty ; nor had Edinburgh a bishop till the time of Charles I. Ireland was better off ; since if Armagh were primate, the Metropolitan of Dublin took precedence at least of the others. We may notice that it was in the fifth century that metropolitans attained their highest power. At that time they were not over-balanced by the absolute supremacy of the patriarchates. The three exarchs hardly claimed much authority : Antioch had so vast a diocese, that its further metropolitans were necessarily pretty well autocephalous : Alexandria was the only metropolis of Egypt : the primate of Carthage exercised no very great control over the other metropolitans, as of Numidia and Mauritania. We must not forget to notice, that in Africa that canon of Antioch was never observed. There the metropolis of each province was not fixed ; the eldest or most influential bishop exercised the functions of metropolitan. The twenty-eighth canon of the third Council of Carthage forbids the bishops of each province to cross the sea without the leave of the *primæ sedis Episcopus*.

Let us draw lessons for ourselves as we go along. Surely it would be well if that canon were re-enacted for our colonial churches. The bishops of the suffragan sees there seem to have the most singular vocation for being in England. In fact, judging from the proceedings of many of them, one should imagine that they had been consecrated prelates abroad, merely that they might preach charity sermons with greater emphasis at home. And besides the harm which the lengthened absence of the diocesan must effect among his own people, there is a serious question arising out of this very subject. It may very well happen that the presence of every bishop in the province, who is capable of travelling, may be necessary for the consecration of a new prelate. Either from objecting to an increase of the Episcopate, or from personal dislike to the newly appointed bishop, a suffragan takes himself off, and renders the consecration impossible. A metropolitan surely ought to have the power of saying, "Go afterwards if you will, but at all events I will have you stay for this office."

If we go on in the fifth century, we shall find its conclusion distinguished by an endeavour in the Western Church, among

the greater metropolitans, to become primates. There surely never was a more vague authority than that which this much coveted office bestowed; and the absolute titularity into which it sank before long, would almost seem absurd if we were not so used to it. It served, however, as one of the many stepping-stones by which Rome attained to her present exaltation. In the fifth century the primacy of any kingdom was little more than the attachment of the Legantine office to its holder. At this time Seville was, beyond all doubt, the primatial see of Spain. And how does S. Simplicius of Rome write to S. Zeno in 482? "We have thought it fitting to support thee with the vicarial authority of our see, in order that, propped by its strength, thou mayest in no wise permit the decrees of apostolical institution, or the bounds of the holy fathers, to be violated." And thirty-five years later, S. Hormisdas, writing to Sallust, Bishop of the same see,—it is the twenty-sixth epistle of that Pope,—appoints him his vicar through Bætica, the modern Andalusia, and Lusitania, which was then nearly continuous with the kingdom of Portugal. He does so, he says, for the better observation of canons and ecclesiastical discipline: but then, there is a "*salvis privilegiis quæ metropolitani episcopis detulit antiquitas*." But then we find the same Pope in the same year appointing John of Tarragona his vicar over the rest of Spain. Seville, however, obtained the primacy over that see also; for S. Leander, in the Third Council of Toledo,—he that drew up the first rough draft of the Mozarabic Office,—took precedence of the other archbishops: and so, at a later period, S. Isidore of Seville presided at the Fourth Council of Toledo, taking precedence of the Archbishops of Narbonne, Merida, Braga, Toledo, Tarragona. And their primacy continued at least till the Twelfth Council of Toledo.

We find a similar primacy attached in the fifth century to Arles, as regarded the Church of France. S. Hilarius, writing to Leontius of that see, constitutes him primate, with the power of assembling yearly national synods. By the strength of this commission, and as if to keep his hand in, we find the worthy primate calling S. Mamertus of Vienne to account for ordaining a Bishop of Die, which was out of the bounds of his province. S. Cæsarius of Arles was in 514 made primate, not only of Gaul, but of the neighbouring provinces of Spain. It would appear that the consent of the civil power was necessary for these arrangements: thus Vigilius, continuing the primacy to Auxanius of Arles, does so at the request of King Chilbert, and, what is more strange, with the permission of the Emperor Justinian.

There seems to have been no similar arrangement in the Eastern Church. There the rank of the different metropolitans was exactly ascertained, as indeed it is to this day; and changes were from time to time made in their precedence, but always by the secular power. When a patriarch attached a kind of vicerency to any distant see, that see was sure in time to become virtually autocephalous. Thus Alexandria committed a vicarial jurisdiction to Axum in Ethiopia: and the Ethiopic Church, except that it always applied to head-quarters for a new primate, became perfectly independent. So Constantinople appointed a vicar, whether at Kieff or Moscow, for the Russian Church; and the metropolitans of Moscow were virtually independent long before that city was raised to a fifth patriarchate. So again Georgia had its own autocephalous metropolitan; who for his part threw off another into Kartalenia. Antioch did the same thing in two ways: in the one direction, the Catholic of Chaldæa fixing his see first at Seleucia, then at Mosul, became independent, and he formed another primatial shoot in Malabar. On the other hand, a second autocephalous primate for Armenia appeared first at Etchmiadzine, then at Sis and elsewhere. In fact, the different geniuses of the East and West appear in nothing more strikingly than in their different arrangements about primates. Yet doubtless "all these worked That One and the self-same Spirit."

To return to the West. It is difficult to say whether Rome gave or received most in the fifth and sixth centuries by the institution of primacies and the donation of the pallium. Now of course every metropolitan calls himself a primate of something or other. If York cannot be Primate of All England, he will at all events be Primate of England; and so Dublin of Ireland. In France they managed in a different way. Thus the Archbishop of Rouen is Primate of Normandy; the Archbishop of Auch, of Novempopulania; the Archbishop of Lyons calls himself Primate of all Gaul; while he of Vienne, to be a step above the others, calls himself Primate of the Primates of Gaul. But these titles are infinitely less unmeaning than those of the East. Thus the Bishop of Cæsarea calls himself Most Excellent of the Most Excellent; while the metropolitan of Heraclea contents himself with that of the First of the Most Excellent. The name of Primate is not in use, but every little prelate is Exarch of something or other. The Archbishop of Mesembria, having nothing better by way of a title, is Exarch of the Black Sea; and the petty bishoprics of Lemnos and Embros strive together for the title of Exarch of the Ægæan Sea; of the sea itself, that is, for the exarchy of the islands in it

is already occupied. However, we are still writing of times when the primacy was not a mere title of honour. As Seville in Spain, and Arles in France, so Salzburg in Germany very soon claimed the like authority, though not quite so early. Arno, sixth bishop of that see, obtained the pallium, the title of Metropolitan, and the primacy of that part of Germany, in 792. As say the tuneless lines :—

In quâ pontifices multos post rite sedentes
 Arn successit ovans rector ovile regens.
 Quem Carolus Princeps regni superauxit honore
 Archi-sacerdotis, dignior ut fieret :
 Quem Leo Papa sui veste vestivit honoris
 Et privilegia dans mox solidavit eum :
 Ut regionis apex et summus episcopus esset
 Urbisque hæc metropolis tempus in omne foret.

One great work of the fifth and sixth centuries was the erection of new bishoprics ; and in this the consent of the metropolitan, as well as of the bishop from whose diocese the new diocese was taken, was necessary ; and this without any reference to the see of Rome. The metropolitan still had the right of putting a veto on the election of a suffragan ; and this again without any appeal to the Roman see.

In the sixth century, a Metropolitan schism began, which continued for many years, and led to some curious consequences. The Archbishop of Aquileia, with the prelates of Istria, breaking off communion with Rome on the question of the Three Chapters, formed themselves into a distinct patriarchate ; and as the Eastern emperors held the sea-coast of that part of Italy, the insurgent bishops were not easily to be reduced to the obedience of the Roman pontiff. After the extinction of the schism, the Bishops of Aquileia had the bare title of Patriarch left them, and a certain pre-eminence of honour above the other Italian metropolitans. These privileges were guaranteed by Leo VIII. in 980, and John XX. in 1023 ; and though withdrawn by Clement II. in 1047, who gave Ravenna precedence over Aquileia, they were restored by Alexander II. in 1049.

In the seventh century, Seville lost the primacy of Spain to Toledo as the residence of the Visigoth kings ; and this was completely in accordance with the early principle that the chief city of the state should be the ecclesiastical metropolis. This primacy seems to have been bestowed at the request of King Cindaſuinth, by the National Council, and confirmed by the see of Rome. In the same century, the Archbishops of Rheims had a kind of secondary primacy in the Church of France ; so that, at all

events, they were themselves exempt from any kind of subjection to the see of Arles.

As the first dynasty of French kings drew to its close, the state of the Gallican Church was most pitiable. The appointment of primates fell into disuse; every metropolitan was his own primate: by consequence, no one had any authority of convoking the others to a synod, and all kind of discipline fell to the ground. The few weak councils which met, made canons, which were framed only to be broken; and it seemed as if the whole ecclesiastical and civil state of Europe were together verging to barbarism. Then came the marvellous era of Charlemagne, and the young life of the Church burst forth in all its vigour. Now, then, we find primates exerting their authority again. And first Bourges was made the primatial see of Aquitaine. This was done by Adrian I, at the request of Charlemagne, in favour of Ermenbert, a prelate whose sanctity of life and ecclesiastical learning rendered him well worthy of the dignity. But the Pope hesitated for a little while; for the old ecclesiastical divisions were so thoroughly broken up, that he was uncertain whether the proposed primatial see ought not itself to be subject to some other jurisdiction. That point having been made out to his satisfaction, the Archbishop of Bourges became Metropolitan of the provinces of Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and Auch. It is curious to trace how the fluctuations of secular affairs affected these primatial claims. When the kingdom of Aquitaine was broken up, and the duchy of Narbonne attained political importance, the Archbishop of that city shook off the yoke of Bourges, and under the auspices of Urban II. obtained the primacy of the province of Aix. After that, when the dukes of Occitania became powerful, the Archbishop of Auch in like manner refused to acknowledge the primacy of Bourges, which was now left with the single province of Bourdeaux besides its own. When the great schism broke out between Pope Innocent II. and the Anti-pope Anacletus, a bishop of Angoulême, a partizan of the latter, was raised to the see of Bourdeaux. On this, all the comprovincials of that province appealed to the Archbishop of Bourges as their primate against the sentence of excommunication with which they were threatened. But when the English obtained Bourdeaux and the adjacent country, this last relic of its primacy was snatched from Bourges, though the two strove together for many years, the one for liberty, the other for sovereignty. Gregory IX. tried a compromise by giving leave to the Archbishop of Bourges to visit the province of Bourdeaux, provided he concluded his visitation within the space of fifty days. But Clement V, who had been Archbishop of

Bourdeaux himself, completed the freedom of that Church ; and now all that remains of the primacy of Bourges, is a singular custom or privilege, which seems to be much valued in the diocese. The Archbishop appoints two vicars, one as metropolitan, the other as primate. Any appeal from one of his suffragans goes in the first place to the metropolitanical vicar ; if either of the parties is not satisfied with his decision, he can then appeal to the primatial vicar.

And now, in this same century, an event occurred which has a bearing on our own ecclesiastical state at this time. Drogo of Metz, a simple bishop, was sent by Lothaire to Rome on political business. He was the uncle of the king, and obtained very great influence with Sergius II. then Pontiff. He returned with a brief, whereby he was appointed—but it seems to have been only personally and for his life-time—Primate of all the bishops of Gaul and Germany. The Council of Verneuil took the claim into consideration. They had, said the Fathers, the greatest possible respect for their brother Drogo ; his learning and piety were known to all ; his relationship to the king was an additional argument in his favour ; personally, no one could be more fit for the dignity to which it had pleased the Holy Father to advance him. But they were bound to be careful guardians of the boundaries of the Church : it was an unheard of thing, that the possessor of a simple see should claim precedence over so many metropolitans, whose dignity was derived from remote ages ; and therefore they begged to defer acting on the Pope's instructions till a larger council (it was then mid-winter) could be summoned. Drogo, on this, showed himself worthy of the dignity to which he had been appointed, by saying modestly, that he would do nothing which could offend his brethren, and resigning the primacy.

Now, it must have struck all English Churchmen as an anomaly, that the Metropolitans of Calcutta, Sydney, and Cape-town should be Bishops. The question of title is said to have come before the highest authorities, and to have been deferred for the present. It may, of course, be asked, What is there in a name ? A bishop, with the authority of a metropolitan, does just as well as if he had an appellation of finer sound. Now, most certainly, we place not the least value on a title which is a mere title, or a decoration which is a mere decoration. Nothing seems more contemptible to us than the privileges as some of the Spanish Churches have, where the bishop or dean is treated as a cardinal, the canons as bishops : nothing more silly than when prelates of this or that little island call themselves Exarchs of this or that sea. But this is a very different question. We

profess to follow the early Church in our organization ; we allow ourselves in a very comfortable contempt towards the darkness of the eighth or ninth centuries ; but here we are doing what the prelates of those very ages knew to be contrary to early discipline. And besides this, there are two tangible reasons for the re-adoption of the title of Archbishop. In the first place, talk and reason how you will, you will not get people generally to see that the Metropolitan of Calcutta or Sydney is on a level with York or Dublin, unless he has the same title. People will naturally say, " Oh, but he is only a bishop !" And in one sense he is only a bishop ; for we do not for a moment imagine that the Bishop of Capetown, for example, takes, *as he ought*, precedence of the Bishop of London. We know very well that, in the colonies, there is a very great difference between the metropolitan and his suffragans ; that the newspapers always speak of him by his peculiar title ; and we imagine that he takes a very different precedence from theirs. But what we desire is, that the rank, freely given in the colony, may be freely allowed at home. Then, though the Church of England cannot in these evil days look for more than fair play as regards other communions, at all events she ought to have that ; and it is not fair play with regard to Rome, that while *she* appoints an Archbishop of Sydney, we should only have a Bishop. Those who are always crying out against Roman encroachments and the like, would use their time much more profitably if, instead of raising an outcry against that which Rome has already obtained, they would enable us to obtain the same also. Remember, too, this. Where there is a difference between Metropolitan and Archbishop, there the former title is the highest ; if, then, you have given the higher rank, why find any difficulty in bestowing the lower ?

While on this subject we may relate a rather amusing incident which lately occurred in the Danish communion. There, as every one knows, the prelates are merely nominal—Tulchan bishops, as they call them in Scotland. The third centenary of the Reformation was celebrated at Copenhagen with the usual Protestant enthusiasm. On that occasion Dr. Mynter, the then Tulchan Bishop of Zealand, waited on the King, and with the proper preface, that he was actuated by no principles of ambition, but only from regard for the dignity of the Church, ventured to request that his Majesty would raise the Bishopric of Copenhagen to an Archbishopric in honour of the Tercentenary which they were then so happy as to be celebrating. " There cannot be a happier thought," replied the King. Dr. Mynter bowed, looked modest, and prepared himself for what was to come ;— " except in one little particular ; it strikes me that this mark of

“dignity would be much better bestowed on the Church at the completion of the fourth centenary, and I have no doubt that my successor will be most happy to confer it on yours then.” So Dr. Mynter went away abashed.

We have wandered a great way from good old Drogo. We will return to his century again. Ansegisus of Sens obtained from John VIII. the Primacy of France and of Cis-Rhenane Germany. But at the Synod of Pontyon (*Concilium Pontigonense*) these letters were stoutly opposed, especially by Hincmar of Rheims, who naturally stood up for his own primacy. However, favoured by Charles the Bald, Ansegisus became primate of Gaul and Germany as aforesaid; and to improve his title, tacked to it the addition of “and Second Pope.” A worthy monk of Sens, Odoranus by name, celebrates this event in a poem, where he says:—

Ut primas fieret Gallorum, Papa Johannes
Concessit meritis hoc tribuenda suis.

In the same century Hamburg was raised to the dignity of a metropolis, the largest at that time in the Christian world. It stretched right away from that city over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Orkneys, Shetlands, and Færoes, to Iceland, and even to the Christian colonies in Greenland—those colonies so sadly and so mysteriously swept away in after years by the Black Death.

Again, as the Mahometans had now overrun the better part of Spain, though there was still a little kingdom in the mountain fastnesses of Asturias, Oviedo was raised to be its metropolis. The province extended, when at its largest, from Cape Finisterre to the mouth of the Mondego, then, narrowing as it advanced eastward, it abutted on the province of Narbonne. To this metropolis Leon was subject; and in consequence of its former dignity both Oviedo and Leon, though they would naturally be included within the limits either of Burgos or of Santiago de Compostella, are to this day autocephalous: you will find them entered in the Spanish Ecclesiastical guide as *Obispados Esentos*. In the same century the conversions of the barbarians requiring additional superintendence for the new folds, Prague became an archbishopric, pushing its jurisdiction to the confines of the Eastern Church. We have a very instructive detail of the ideas entertained at this epoch, regarding the authority of metropolitans, in the writings of one of its most celebrated ecclesiastics, Hincmar of Rheims, and, above all, in his fierce controversy with his namesake of Laon. Hincmar was one of the last metropolitans who seems to have retained the primitive idea of their power and

dignity. The enormous encroachments which the See of Rome was so soon about to make, rendered them, at a later period, almost titular offices.

Let us now give a glance at the metropolitical division of Europe at the accession of Gregory VII.—that great epoch in ecclesiastical history.

We will begin from the south-west. Draw a line from the mouth of the Mondego to the city of Tarragona. All south of this, and a considerable indentation to the north, was Mahometan. Seville and Toledo retained some faint traces of their metropolitical rights, but scarcely such as to deserve mention here. In the kingdom of Castile and Leon, beginning from the west, we have the province of Oviedo. This extended right across Spain, as far as the Ebro to the east. Here it was met by that of Narbonne, flanking away towards Arles. Above the Pyrenees comes Auch, bounded by Narbonne to the east, by Bourdeaux to the North. Parallel with Bourdeaux, and taking the whole centre of France, is the province of Bourges. Above Bourdeaux is Tours; then, forming a good part of Brittany, the schismatical province of Dol. To the east of this, Rouen; under Rouen, Sens. South-east of these, Lyons; still south-east, the five small provinces of Vienne, Tarantaise, Arles, Aix, Embrun. Returning northwards, east of Rouen and Sens, we have Rheims; still east, Cologne; to the north-east, the enormous province of Hamburg, stretching from Iceland, through Scandinavia, to pagan Pomerania. South of Cologne, Trêves; south of that, Besançon, which touches Milan. East of Cologne, the vast province of Mayence, reaching from Worms and Spire almost to Cracow; between this and Hamburg, Magdeburg; east of the latter Gnesen. South of Gnesen is Strigonia, which touches to the eastward on the Pagans, to the south on the Eastern Church. South-east of Milan and Salzburg, Aquileia. The little point that runs out into the sea beyond Aquileia is Grado. Then, in Italy, Milan, Rome Proper, Beneventum, Salerno. To the south-east of Aquileia and Salzburg, and west of Strigonia, Dialecta. It may be worth while to put this into a tabular form.

At that time, the principal European kingdoms were thus divided :—

England and
Scotland . . . Canterbury.
York.

Ireland . . . Armagh.
Dublin.
Tuam.
Cashel.

France . . . Rheims.
Rouen.
Dol.
Tours.
Sens.
Bourdeaux.
Bruges.
Auch.

<i>France</i> . . .	Narbonne.	Ravenna.
	Lyons.	Milan.
	Besançon.	
	Vienne	<i>Spain</i>
	Tarantaife.	Oviedo.
	Aix.	Seville.
	Embrun.	Toledo.
	Arles.	<i>Germany, &c.</i> .
		Cologne.
	Strigonia.	Magdeburg.
	Hamburg.	Mayence.
		Salzburg.
		Trêves.
<i>Italy, Savoy,</i>	Rome.	
<i>&c.</i> . . .	Salerno.	Gnesen.
	Aquileia.	Dioclea.
	Grado.	

Forty provinces in all.

Advancing now into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have to notice the rapid diminution of the rights of primates, on account of the exorbitant claims put forward by the papal legates. They completely superseded the ancient authorities in summoning councils. And, indeed, when the doctrine became gradually received, that a synod could not be convoked, much more, could not publish its canons, without the licence of the Papal See, it followed almost of necessity, that legantine, should take the place of primatial, authority. And it is curious to see how in this also, as well as in matters regarding simple bishops, the Court of Rome, and the secular powers of the various European states, played into each other's hands. This was the meaning of Pragmatic Sanctions, Concordats, and to a certain extent also, of the so-called Gallican Liberties. If you will only hinder your canons from independently electing their bishops, said the Court of Rome to that of Paris, and your monks their abbats, we will allow you to nominate both. And the secular power was only too glad to comply with so pleasing a suggestion.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the great city of Lyons obtained the primacy over four provinces; those, namely, of Tours, Sens, Rouen, and its own. This, however, occasioned disturbances, which almost ended in a schism. The Archbishop of Tours, who had no traditions of authority to fall back upon, made no objection to the new primate; those of Sens and Rouen, more particularly the former, refused in any way to acknowledge it. Philip the Fair brought the secular arm into operation, and reduced Sens to obedience; but Rouen pertinaciously stood out, and was gratified with the title of Primate of Normandy, though he had nothing but himself to be primate of. See what a mere title of honour the thing was becoming.

Not more than thirty miles from Lyons, is a city as ancient and as interesting, Vienne—Vienne the Holy, as it proudly calls itself, because thirty-eight of its archbishops are reckoned among the Saints, a greater number than that of any other see, Rome only excepted. This place had been capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, and the archbishop had been *ex-officio* chancellor, and afterwards arch-chancellor of the kingdom. Calixtus II, who had himself been metropolitan, advanced the see to the primacy of seven churches : Bourges, Bourdeaux, Auch, Narbonne, Aix, Embrun, Tarantaise, the latter the metropolis of the Pennine Alps. Hence it is that the Archbishop of Vienne calls himself Primate of Primates, since Bourges had long been primatial, and Narbonne had been made so by Urban II. However, this Bull had not the least effect, except in the assumption of the strange title just mentioned.

When Alfonso VI. had liberated Toledo from the Moors, May 25, 1085, Urban II. immediately constituted the Archbishop, Primate of All the Spains ; and after considerable resistance, especially on the part of Tarragona, so far as Spain itself was concerned, this precedence was established. But Braga, in Portugal, has never ceased to claim the primacy to itself ; and every parish church of that interesting city has the double-barred cross, to indicate this right. The dispute was very wisely left undecided at Trent ; but both Braga and Toledo have since sunk into a secondary position in their own countries by the institution of the patriarchate of Lisbon and that of the Indies. It was also in this century that the respective claims of Canterbury and York were settled, or rather, purposely left unsettled. The two archbishops were first declared equal, and the right of York allowed to carry his cross even through the province of Canterbury. On the appeal of Canterbury, the latter privilege was withdrawn ; but on a further representation from York, it was again allowed *pendente lite* ; and finally, by the distinction of Primate of All England and Primate of England, peace was made. It must be remembered that the province of York had been larger than, and was even then as large as, that of Canterbury, embracing as it did the whole of Scotland till 1466. In fact, we must not forget that the present archbishopric of Canterbury contains three provinces : its own ; that of S. David's, which till 920 embraced Wales ; that of Lichfield, which in the time of Offa, king of the Mercians, embraced these sees : Worcester, Leicester, Sidnachefer, Elmham, Hereford, and Dunwich—all of which, up to the elevation of Lichfield, belonged to York, but were afterwards annexed to Canterbury.

As to metropolitans, those in the eleventh and twelfth cen-

turies were fast multiplying; especially from the favour with which a pope, raised from some suffragan see, regarded his original Church.

It is curious to see how the tendency of ecclesiastical progress has served to break up the provinces into smaller fragments. Look, for example, at the Iberian peninsula. We have seen it, before the irruption of the Saracens, divided into the provinces of Seville, Toledo, Tarragona, Merida, Braga. How is it divided now?

<i>In Spain.</i>	Toledo.	Tarragona.
	Seville.	Saragossa.
	Santiago de Com-	Valença.
	postella.	<i>In Portugal.</i> Braga.
	Granada.	Lisbon.
	Burgos.	Evora.

Again; take North and Central Italy. We have:—

Bologna, made an Archbishopric in	1582.
Fermo	1589.
Urbino	1563.
Florence	1420.
Pisa	1092.
Sienna	1459.

After this period we hear very little about primates, but the great increase of metropolitans deserves notice. Thus the little island of Sardinia has no less than three,—Cagliari, Sassari, and Oristano; the two former call themselves alike, Primates of Corsica and Sardinia. These three archbishops have but eight bishops between them; and the eleven sees are contained in an island 130 miles long by about 40 in breadth; that is, in a space considerably less than the three counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex: and a population of about 500,000. Tuscany, again, about three-fourths of the size of Sardinia, has four archbishops and sixteen bishops, though there the population amounts to 1,300,000. So again, the natural fondness of a pope for the see from which he had been raised, induced Sixtus V. to cut out a little slice from the patrimony of S. Peter, of some forty square miles, and to constitute it into a province for Fermo.

Never was a more fearful demolition of a national Church than that pressed upon the Pope by Napoleon, and brought to pass by him in the bull *Qui Christi Domini*. By that document, —to issue which Pius himself confessed that his right was very doubtful,—he suppressed the following metropolitans: *Paris, Rheims, *Bourges, *Lyons, *Rouen, Sens, *Tours, Alby, *Bordeaux, Auch, Narbonne, *Toulouse, Arles, *Aix, Vienne, Embrun, Cambrai, *Besançon, Trèves, Mayence, Avignon,

*Malines, Tarantaise ; and in their stead re-erected ten out of the twenty-three,—those, namely, which we have marked with an asterisk. Of the old sees, Tours, Bourdeaux, Auch, and Narbonne had the greatest number of suffragans. Tours had eleven : Le Mans, Angers, Remus, Nantes, Quimper, Vannes, S. Pol de Léon, Tréguier, S. Brieuc, S. Malo, Dol. Bourdeaux had nine : Agen, Angoulême, Saintes, Poitiers, Périgueux, Condom, Sarlet, La Rochelle, Luçon. Auch had ten : Bax, Lestoure, Comminges, Conserans, Aire, Bazas, Tarbes, Oleron, Lescars, Bayonne. And Narbonne had ten : Beziers, Agde, Nîmes, Carcassone, Montpellier, Lodève, Uzès, S. Pons, Aleth, Alais, Elne. Those that had fewest were Besançon, who had only Belley for suffragan ; and Mayence, who had no one to be archbishop to but himself.

While on the subject of French bishoprics, it may be well to notice one or two historical facts connected with that Church that bear on our subject.

The last time, probably, that an appeal was made to a French primate, was by the Sisters of Port-Royal, when condemned by the Archbishop of Paris, their Diocesan as well as Metropolitan : they appealed from him to the Archbishop of Lyons, as his Primate—of course without any effect.

The Council of Embrun, held in 1727, for the purpose of crushing poor Soanen, throws some light on the question we have in hand. The province of Embrun contained but six suffragan sees ; of these, Soanen himself occupied one, namely, Senez ; and another, Nice, was not in French Territory. But as twelve bishops are required for the degradation of a bishop, the question was how to procure a sufficient number. The infamous Tencin, who was president, applied to his brother-metropolitans of Arles, Aix, Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne, and ten more bishops joined the synod from those provinces. On this, Soanen protested to the new comers that they had no right to sit as his judges, except in a national council ; and that they had no voice in any provincial synod save their own. But, persecuted and unrighteously overborne as Soanen was, and monster of iniquity as was Tencin, we cannot think that in this instance his protest was valid. The fourteenth canon of the great Council of Antioch says expressly : “ If any bishop shall be judged concerning certain crimes, and it shall fall out, that the comprovincials disagree concerning him, some of them believing him innocent, some of them holding him guilty ; it has seemed good to this holy Synod that, for the settlement of the difficulty, the metropolitans should convoke other judges from a neighbouring province who shall hear the cause ; and by them and the provincial

“bishops together, that which is right shall be decreed.” It is true that this canon does not exactly touch the case in question, because here there was no dissension between the bishops, and only a want of the canonical number ; but the spirit of one seems to justify the other. And perhaps the third and fourth canons of Sardica, the latter of which speaks of the deposition of a bishop by the judgment of those prelates who live in neighbouring places comes still nearer to the mark. If Soanen’s argument were just, there was not one province in France of which the synod could have deposed an unworthy bishop, the highest number of suffragans being, as we have seen, eleven—twelve, that is, in all, but then the accused bishop must have been one of the twelve.

Again : we may refer to the attempt of Dol to erect itself into the metropolis of Brittany, as another fact bearing on our subject. It was clearly prejudicial to the dukes of Bretagne, who were in the height of their power, kings in all but name, that their dukedom should be subject to a foreign metropolis ; that of Tours. With all their might, then, they upheld the claims of Dol ; and for more than a century that see, disregarding the censures of Rome, exercised metropolitical power over the province. In this very year [1859] Bretagne has at length been constituted a separate province ; only Rennes, not Dol, is the seat of the metropolis. It happened to the writer of this paper to be in Brittany at the erection of Rennes to its new dignity ; and also at Valladolid when the intelligence arrived that the Holy See had consented, at the request of the Spanish Government, to erect it into a metropolis. The contrast between the sensations occasioned in the two places was not a little curious. In Valladolid no one seemed to care about the change—not one decoration did we observe in any church, not one peal did we hear from any tower. But in Brittany it was perfect ecstasy ; every parish sermon seemed to dwell on the happy event ; the bells announced it perpetually ; and, indeed, it almost rivalled Solferino in attracting public attention.

Again : that was a remarkable erection of metropolises which occurred just before the outbreak of the war which made the Seven United Provinces independent. The enormous extent of the sees of Utrecht, Liège, Osnabrück, Münster, and others in that part of Europe, had been the destruction of the Church. Warriors instead of prelates, secular instead of spiritual potentates, these bishops waged their own battles, made their own treaties, marched at the head of their armies, in all points as any Margrave or Free Count might do. By one stroke of his pen, Pius IV. made three metropolises for the Netherlands : Utrecht,

Cambray, Mechlin. The two former had been sees before ; the latter was a new episcopate, but it was endowed with the primacy of the three, probably on account of Rome's old jealousy of Utrecht. If these new provinces and dioceses could not preserve Holland, they were at all events effectual to the saving of Belgium.

A rather curious creation of a metropolis was that of Funchal, in the island of Madeira. At the time when the Portuguese discoveries both in Brazil and India were raising that little kingdom to a high rank among the states of Europe, Funchal in Madeira was erected into a bishopric, and one Lobo appointed to its incumbency. On his death, at the request of Dom João III, D. Martinho de Portugal was appointed by Paul III. Archbishop of Funchal and Metropolitan of All the Indies,—the Indies, be it observed, embracing Brazil as well as India. Such was the knowledge of geography at that time, that a little island, only four or five days' sail from Lisbon, had a province which embraced about one-half of the known world ! The absurdity of this arrangement was soon discovered. D. Martinho, finding it, we suppose, impossible to look properly after his province, determined not to visit it at all ; and accordingly never even took the trouble of going to Madeira. On his death, the Primacy of the Indies was transferred to Goa ; and Funchal obliged to content itself with its own diocesan rights. The bishop, however, has on certain solemn occasions a crozier borne before him instead of a pastoral staff, in remembrance of his short-lived metropolitanical dignity, in the same way that the Bishop of Meath, alone of all simple prelates, terms himself Most Reverend.

We have said that in the West there is absolutely no difference between the titles of archbishop, bishop, and metropolitan. Every archbishop is a metropolitan ; every metropolitan is an archbishop. But in the East the case is widely different. There an archbishop is merely a title of honour given to some prelates in order to distinguish them from the common herd, but not implying the existence of a province or the possession of any metropolitanical rights. The reader may probably remember Mr. Curzon's account of the astonishment expressed by the Œcumenical Patriarch, when presented with letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury under that title, instead of the proper name of Metropolitan. "What !" he exclaimed, "a simple archbishop to have, as you tell me he has, authority over so many prelates and so vast a tract of country !" The adoption of the other name would have prevented all mistake. In point of fact, the first

eighty-three prelates, reckoning in order of precedence from the Protothronos of Cæsarea down to the metropolitan of Veleſſa in Thrace, who are ſubject to the ſee of Conſtantinople, are all metropolitans. Then come the archbishops; and there are only two, Lititza and Carpathus. In the Ionian Iſlands, again, there are three metropolitans and two archbishops. But in the dioceses of Alexandria and Antioch there are no archbishops at all; in that of Jeruſalem there are ſix. In Ruſſia, however, the caſe is very different. Here all the ſees are divided into eparchies of the firſt, ſecond, and third claſs. The eparchy of the firſt claſs conſiſts of metropolitans only, in number four; but virtually only three: Kieff and Novgorod, which are at preſent united; Moſcow; and S. Peterſburg. Eparchies of the ſecond claſs are almoſt all archbishops, but with a few biſhops intermixed. Eparchies of the third claſs conſiſt of biſhops with a few archbishops intermixed.

But when we ſpeak of metropolitans throughout the Eaſtern Church, we muſt not imagine that now they have each their ſuffragans; or that their title, in moſt caſes, is anything more than one of honour. Out of the whole number there are not more than fifteen or ſixteen who have any biſhops; and the greater number of theſe have but one or two. The greateſt number of ſuffragans poſſeſſed by any metropolitan belongs to Theſſalonica: here there are eight. Crete comes next, with ſix; then Lariffa, with four; then Tirnova, Wallachia and Servia, with three each. Nor muſt it be imagined that the ſo-called biſhops in Ruſſia owe obedience to any metropolitan. Thoſe who do ſo—and they are very few—are called vicar-biſhops. Only one metropolitan, namely, he of Lithuania, has two of theſe: Brzezſch and Kovin.

Such being the caſe, a remarkable difficulty occurred at the political organization of the Roman Church—we mean as diſtinct from the now happily extinct Uniats in Ruſſia. It was in the time of the Empreſs Catherine, and the circumſtances are ſingular enough to merit relation. After almoſt endleſs negotiations, it was reſolved by the Concordat that there ſhould be five biſhops, Vilna, Samogitia, Luceor, Camenſk, and Miñſk. Theſe were placed under the Archbiſhop of Mohileff—and a moſt diſreputable Archbiſhop he was, as the reader ſhall hear. There was, at that time, in the light cavalry of the Pruſſian army, a young Proteſtant officer of the noble Poliſh family of the Sieſtrenezevitch-Bohüſz. This man loſt two fingers of the right hand in a ſabre duel; was thereupon forced to leave the army; and happening to have picked up a ſmattering of Latin and Greek, he offered himſelf as tutor in a rich Roman Catholic

family in Poland. When the youth whose education he superintended had grown up, the father, who had no other way of recompensing Bohüsz, offered, if he would embrace the Catholic faith, to present him to a living which he happened to possess. Bohüsz, who had never troubled himself much about forms of religion, consented. In the occupation of Poland by Russia, he made himself useful to the governing powers; and Catherine, who saw in him the able unscrupulous minister whom she loved, offered him the archbishopric of Mohileff. Then there arose a difficulty with respect to Rome. "I will have the possessor of 'this see,'" said the Empress, "a metropolitan as distinguished from an archbishop." "We have no such distinction," Rome replied; "an archbishop will have the authority you want, and 'it will be just the same thing.'" "I will have it my own way," returned Catherine: "he shall be a metropolitan and not an archbishop, or there shall be no see of Mohileff at all." And so the Pope gave way. Paul further demanded that this metropolitan should wear the costume and receive the title of a cardinal; and this also was conceded. His province extends from Poland to the frontiers of China—certainly the largest in the Catholic world. With respect to Bohüsz himself, his life was a scandal to his flock. He had a brother who remained a Calvinist. This man he made superintendent of his finances, and married his daughter to a Greek priest. The archiepiscopal table was usually filled by the Calvinist brother, the orthodox son-in-law, and one Fessler, an apostate Capuchin, who had turned Lutheran, and was made nominal Bishop of the Lutherans in Russia. This amalgamation of religion gave unutterable offence in a country so scrupulous as that in which it occurred.

If we desire to see the grandest specimen which has ever been exhibited to the Church of the metropolitical system, we must turn our eyes to mediæval Asia. It is very difficult to realize what was the state of the Nestorian Church at the time of its glory, before Jenghis Khan commenced and Tamerlane finished its extirpation. Certainly, it presents the most marvellous history of any Church in the world. At the time of the First Crusade, the Nestorians formed a larger communion than the Eastern and Western Churches put together; and now they are reduced to a few hundred families, in an obscure corner of that continent which once they dominated. We are accustomed to marvel at the sudden fall of the African Church: in the time of S. Augustine, the most flourishing communion in the world; two centuries later, non-existent. Its disappearance we are accustomed to attribute to its failure in action as a missionary body; to its

forgetfulness that the charter by which every Christian communion holds its life is aggressiveness; that as soon as it ceases to propagate, it ceases to exist. This cannot be laid to the charge of the Nestorian Church, whose missionaries went out into all parts of Asia; whose blood was poured forth by pailsful on the steppes of Tatar, and amid the jungles of India. Here we have the mortal effects of heresy. What could it matter, a reasoner might ask, whether the Blessed Virgin were called Mother of GOD, or merely Mother of CHRIST; whether our LORD were in two Persons or in one? It mattered just this: that the one united body of the eleventh century has disappeared from the face of the earth, while the two, together not its equal, have gone on and increased, subjugating to themselves one whole continent, and the half of another, since that period.

However, let us attend now, not to the heresy, but to the wonderful discipline, of the Nestorian Church. And first, think of its patriarch, seated at Mosul, with a province of his own, as any other archbishop; and with twenty-five metropolitans, each of them ruling over fifteen or twenty bishops, dependent on him. There in the rich country of Irâk, the paradise of Persia, is the metropolis of Gondisapor, Prot throne of all: there, further west, is Nisibis: there, ruling over Chuzistan, is the Bassora with which the "Arabian Nights" familiarized us in the nursery: there is Arbela, with its remembrances of the overthrow of the Persian empire. Then, as we advance further into the continent, is Holwan: if we go west, we have Aleppo and Damascus: if we go to the Caspian, we have Raia, the Rages of Tobit: still further, and among all the Romance of Prester John and the Tataric Khans, we have Samarcand: pass into the Persian Ocean, the fertile island of Zocotra has its metropolitan: go south-east, there is the province of India: still pass eastward, and we come to China, which we now know to have had a flourishing Church in the year 780: and then returning west, Central Tatar and South Siberia had their own archbishop. This was a patriarchate indeed! scorning comparison as it did with the territory of even Constantinople or Rome! And then, for the most part, it was unbroken by schism, or any kind of division. In its western portion, indeed, the Jacobites were mingled among the Nestorians, but as an altogether inferior communion, and without any hostile feeling. Once every year, the nearest metropolitans (Nisibis, Seleucia, Gondisapor, Diarbekr, and the like) came up to pay their respects to the patriarch, and to receive his blessing. Once in three years came those at a middle distance, such as ruled in Samarcand, Beloochistan, and Zocotra; and once in six years the distant and virtually autocephalous metropolitans

of India and China crossed those intervening mountain ranges and trackless deserts, to give and to receive a realization of the feeling that the great Nestorian Communion was one Church. Nothing in the annals of Rome ever equalled this. The most distant prelates in mediæval times could make the journey to St. Peter's see in eight weeks : it took the Metropolitan of China eight months to reach Mosul ; thus his sexennial visit involved a two years' absence from his diocese, including his rest at Mosul and the synod which he attended.

Let us now, in conclusion, see what lessons we can gather for ourselves from the facts that have been stated before.

In the first place, we may observe that, having four colonial metropolitans, we ought also, in the judgment of those who established them, to have at least a fifth. Canada, as the most enterprising and most thoroughly Anglo-Saxon dependency of the British Crown, ought to claim its own archbishop.* His see would, of course, lie in the civil metropolis of the kingdom ; and the Archbishop of Ottawa would, for the present, have the metropolitanical supervision of all British North America. As that enormous district continues to people itself—a district which may expect the finest future of any country in the world—more metropolitans will be needed. And another reason why that province more than any other stands in need of that supervision is to be found in the fact, that Canada, first of all the British possessions, has obtained a free election of her own bishops.

Then the next thing to be endeavoured after is the change of name. Those who are so nobly interesting themselves in the development of our Colonial Church, can scarcely consult her real interest more than by pressing this on the Government of the day at the next vacancy of Calcutta, Cape Town, Sydney, or New Zealand, that the succeeding prelate should assume the title of archbishop. If in the life of the present incumbents, so much the better ; but it stands to reason that this is exactly the one step in advance which those bishops themselves would be less willing to take. Men who will spend and be spent for their provinces, like the Bishops of New Zealand and Cape Town, whose one end and aim is the welfare of those infant Churches which will probably increase and multiply so vastly, would yet find it a difficult and delicate matter to propose the bestowal on themselves of the name of archbishop. It might have a look, in the eyes of those who are determined to suspect evil, of a desire of self-aggrandizement. They are too well acquainted with the real benefit of the title to refuse it when offered ; it must be the part of their friends

* [It needs not to be said that this has since been carried out, though not at Ottawa.]

to press its offer on those who have the power of making it. If report is to be trusted, it was a very near point when Sydney was constituted a metropolitan see ; probably a little more effort in this direction would gain the day.

Again : the patents of institution give the metropolitan the largest possible power over his suffragans, even to suspend them, if it shall seem necessary. Now the question is, how far this power may be, and when it is to be, exercised.

There are some cases in which the metropolitan may, no doubt, by his own individual act, reverse the judgment of his inferior ; there are some in which he could scarcely venture to do so without the authority of the provincial synod. Let us take an example of each.

Imagine that a priest, accused of immoral life, is suspended by his diocesan. He forthwith appeals to the metropolitan, who re-hears the case, finds him innocent, and reverses the suspension. This is a mere matter of fact, on which no further appeal should be allowed.

But imagine, what we know unfortunately to be the case in one of the African dioceses, that the Bishop has ruled a point, which is abominable in the eyes of the clergy. There, for instance, it has been ordered, that a candidate for Christian baptism, if married to more wives than one, need not put away all except one. Imagine that a chief in this condition offers himself for baptism, but declares his intention of retaining all his wives. The priest refuses to receive him as a catechumen. The chief complains to the bishop, who, for his part, admonishes the priest, and the latter remaining firm, suspends him. The priest appeals to the metropolitan. Now, a point of general discipline like this is one that the metropolitan could hardly rule on his own mere dictum. He would receive the appeal with a promise of laying it before the provincial synod as soon as it could be assembled : and in the meantime, the appeal having been received, and its reception notified to the original diocesan, the priest would continue his functions as usual till the case was heard and decided. And this kind of cases is most likely to occur in the first settlement of any heathen country.

An even more objectionable course was, if we remember right, proposed, if not carried, in New Zealand ; namely, that a heathen wife and husband, if both converted, and desirous of having the Church's benediction on their marriage, should not be allowed to receive it unless they had lived apart for some time—we think it was thirty days—by way of penance, their former marriage being regarded as merely legalized adultery. Any priest might well feel indignant at, and resolved to oppose

to the last, so cruel an enactment : and thus would have arisen a question for a provincial synod.

We have seen before, how desirable it would be that no suffragan should be allowed to cross the sea without the leave of his metropolitan : a canon which seems to have been universal in primitive times.

Again : another point which is likely to be invested with more importance as the rights of chapters become better known, is this : whether the metropolitan chapter possesses over the province the same right which the episcopal chapter has over the diocese.

It has always been held, that the bishop, *quâ* bishop of a certain diocese, forms one body with his diocesan chapter ; does the metropolitan *quâ* metropolitan form one body with his chapter ? This may be a point of the greatest importance, as it has been before now. For, as every one knows, a diocesan chapter, or its vicars, may perform, the see vacant, everything which a bishop may perform, those acts which require the episcopal character alone excepted. Can a metropolitical chapter claim the same rights with regard to a metropolitan ? It has been held by the best canonists that they can.

Now, here are two most important acts which belong to the metropolitan. In the first place, the designation of bishops to heathen countries beyond the British dominions. Many have been the services which the Bishop of Cape Town has rendered to the Church. This is the greatest benefit of which, under GOD, he has been the cause, and it will carry down his name to all future generations. Thanks to his indefatigable exertions, it has now been conceded by the law officers of the Crown, that no English law is broken if a colonial metropolitan, without applying for any leave or licence, consecrates a bishop for extra-British territory.* In this way, the proposed mission to Central Africa may be headed by a bishop ; in this way, the Metropolitan of Calcutta might supply prelates to Java, or Sumatra, or Celebes. Now, in this case, the Metropolitan has the pure and simple right of choosing the bishop-designate ; and—let this point also be marked—the metropolitical chapter, the see vacant, would have the same right of designating a missionary bishop, and requesting one of the suffragans to consecrate him. This is a right of inestimable value. For it might so happen, that he who was about to become, or was expected to be, the new metropolitan, might, through private feelings or prejudices, be unwilling to nominate for prelate him whom the chapter knew to

* [This must, of course, since the Honolulu difficulty, be said more doubtfully.]

be the best man ; and, therefore, without waiting for his consecration and arrival, they designate him themselves.

Again, everything seems tending to this : that the prelates of colonial dioceses will be elected by the diocese, but nominated by the Crown. May we be permitted, leaving our own immediate subject for one moment, to say a word or two on this subject of election ? It has been our duty to oppose, so far as we were able, the intrusion of the laity into offices to which they have no claim,—as, for example, into diocesan synods. We have always endeavoured to show that this is not a clerical question ; that it is not a right which the clergy might concede to the laity if they so would, but one which by the institution of the LORD JESUS CHRIST Himself has been forbidden to the *Ecclesia discens*, and confined to the *Ecclesia docens*. So much the more bound are we to stand up for the rights of the laity when they really exist. And that one of these rights is a voice in the election of a bishop, as much their bishop as that of the clergy, it needs little knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity to allow. Every communicant of age, and not under Church censure, has a voice : the only question which may admit of discussion is, whether the laity and clergy should vote together, forming one majority, or whether they should be divided into two houses, and a majority in each be essential to election. What was the primitive custom is less easy to be certainly known ; but the modern custom, which forms two houses, is surely by far the wisest ; and, apparently, has been found to work well. Otherwise, when the clergy are very few, their influence would be entirely swamped by that of the lay communicants.

The election, when over, needs confirmation by the provincial synod. And in this another question arises : has the metropolitan merely his vote among the other bishops,—a casting vote if need require, and such influence as his station will necessarily give him,—or has he a vote external to, and independent of, that of the synod, so that after they have approved, he can veto ? The primitive canons certainly seem to give him this ; since they always mention the metropolitan as distinct from the provincials, and lay down that the elect must be approved by both.

One more question still remains to be discussed ; namely, what authority of supervision the See of Canterbury has, and whether it ought to have any, over the colonial metropolitans. The terms of the act by which Calcutta was made a metropolis, and those of the patent which conferred the same dignity on Cape Town and Sydney, are not exactly the same, and are both very vague : the act, perhaps, seeming to attribute more to the English archbishop than the patent does. We have already seen

that there is nothing contrary to mediæval practice, at least, in an appeal from Cape Town or Sydney to Canterbury. Regard the latter as primate of these sees, and he would then bear the same relation to them that Bourges did to Bourdeaux and Tours : Toledo to Seville and Tarragona, and the like. But then there is this vast difference: the distance that separates Canterbury from the Australian sees is so infinitely greater, even with all our increased facilities for locomotion, than was that which intervened between the primatist and other metropolitan sees of the Middle Ages. There seems no reasonable hope that we shall live to see New Zealand brought within less than five weeks of Canterbury; and at present, as every one knows, the distance is far greater. Let the distance, however, be shortened as much as steam can do it, there will always be the expense; and an appeal case, so important as to be taken half round the world, must almost always involve a considerable number of witnesses. Add to which, it is certain, if the present rate of possession increases, that Australia must, ere long, be divided into more metropolises than one. One metropolitan for that island will in time be no less absurd than one metropolitan for Europe. Adelaide, no doubt, will have its own cluster of bishoprics: Victoria, the same: Perth, the same. Four metropolitans at least in that one island. How far more natural to make one of them primate of the others, than to attribute the primacy to a bishop thirteen thousand miles off! And there never can be such a thing, except in name, as a primate of primates: you get to a patriarch at once: and nothing but the authority of the Œcumenical Church can establish that dignity. It might not, perhaps, be an impossible, or even undesirable arrangement, supposing Ottawa to be the archbishopric of the Canadas, Barbados of the West Indies, Cape Town of South Africa, that Canterbury should have the primacy over these; but the time must come, and the sooner it comes the better, that all appeal from Australia to England should be done away with.

What then must be done in case of an appeal against one of these primates? The only authority which could adjudicate on such a case, would be a national council of the English Church, and those Churches which are in communion with it. True, such a body could not pretend to infallibility; but yet the united voice of at least a hundred and forty bishops ought to have no small weight. Though not infallible, it would be entitled to as much respect as such councils as those in Trullo, and of Sardica, and Trent, and Bethlehem.

And this brings us to one brief observation with which we will conclude. It is more to be desired than words can express

that the American and Scotch Churches should submit themselves to metropolitan jurisdiction. What precedent have they for the aggregation of autocephalous bishops, owing no obedience except to a synod? None, but the example of Russia; and that example the invention of Peter the Great. The Scotch Church may, indeed, in some degree refer to the pattern of the African, where the chief bishop in each province was rather a *primus* than an archbishop. But surely the miserable fall and sudden extinction of that Church, notwithstanding its most glorious saints, Cyprian, Augustine, and Fulgentius, ought to make it a warning to, rather than a pattern for, us. As to Scotland, in point of fact, the Church has its metropolitan: only at Lambeth, instead of S. Andrews. Since the removal of the penal acts, the ecclesiastical independence of Scotland has been a very sham affair. No one, we suppose, imagines that the episcopal synod would venture to propose or to veto any measure which was known to be disliked by or desired at Lambeth. Much, much better to lean on themselves: to nominate one see,—and why not S. Andrews again, unless Edinburgh should seem more convenient for the metropolis? The objection would be, that in that case the presbyters of that one diocese would give a head to the Scotch Church. But surely, while the episcopal synod hold, and that very properly, a veto in their own hands, this objection is of small consequence. And truly, however objectionable is the system of translations, it is preferable to the anonymous condition of a Church without a metropolitan.

From the present state of affairs it follows that America and Scotland are governed by bodies which are neither councils nor yet committees; which must be without the promises divinely attached to the former, or the regularity by organization certain to attend the latter. "I have heard," said an eminent prelate to the writer, "of the grace of GOD promised to an individual; "I have also heard of its being promised to a council; but I "never heard of its being promised to an episcopal committee." And truly, judging from late occurrences in Scotland, we do not think that it is often found there.





XI.

THE SIBYLS.*



THE Sibyls ! Familiar as is the name to us, how little we realize the place which they occupied in the Christian Mythology of the Mediæval Saints ! How difficult to feel that ages which received the Decretals, received also the pseudo-

prophecies of Sibyllic composition with unbounded faith—received them, fed on them, built on them ! And yet we doubt whether there are many English scholars who have ever read them through, while their sublime poetry is all but unknown to ordinary students. Till lately, the huge compilations in which alone the χρησμοὶ were to be procured, rendered such ignorance more excusable. But Dr. Friedlieb's reprint, however grave its faults, at all events made the study of the Sibylline fragments open to all. And now M. Alexandre has produced a work which has fully exhausted the subject. His good taste, his learning, his grasp of his matter, his appreciation of the place which the Sibylline poems held in the centuries before our LORD—in primitive and in mediæval times—render his work the best French edition of a Greek book which it has ever been our lot to see.

We are to regard the Sibylline Oracles as a text-book of prophecy for early and mediæval times ; and as such we proceed to consider them.

* Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt ; nach neuer Handschriften-Vergleichung, mit Kritischem Commentare, und metrischer Deutscher Uebersetzung. Herausgegeben von Dr. T. H. Friedlieb, Professor an der Universität zu Breslau. Leipzig : T. O. Weigel. 1852.

Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλικαὶ Oracula Sibyllina : Textu ad Codices MSS. recognito : Maianis supplementis aucto : cum Castalionis versione innumeris pæne locis emendatâ, et, ubi opus fuit, suppletâ : Commentario perpetuo : Excursibus et Indicibus. Curante C. Alexandre. Parisiis: Firmin Didot. 8vo. T. iii. Tomm.

*Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat seclum in favillâ
Teste David cum Sibyllâ.*

It pleased the French Reformers of the Breviary to alter the two last lines after this fashion :—

*Crucis expandens vexilla
Solvat seclum in favilla.*

But the original reading gives a far better idea of the influence which the Sibylline Oracles exerted over the whole of mediæval lore. To those ages it seemed nothing wonderful if the GOD Who had inspired Balaam to say, "I shall see Him, but not now; I shall behold Him, but not nigh; there shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise out of Israel;" Who had inspired Caiaphas with the declaration, "It is expedient that one man should die for the people;" that He Who had even put those words into the mouth of Virgil—

*Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna :
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto :*

that He should also have vouchsafed to turn the oracles of darkness into the means of propagating the light. And certainly there are indubitable instances in which the devils, as of old time, confessed Him Whom they equally hated and feared. To say nothing of the tale related by Plutarch—which yet there seems no reasonable ground for doubting—how the pilot Tamois, on the very evening of our LORD'S Passion, was commanded by an aerial voice to proclaim, near the promontory of Phalacrum, that "Great Pan is dead;" and instantly the whole surrounding atmosphere was filled with the sounds of wailing and lamentation: there are the irrefragable accounts of the cessation of the oracle of Daphne, when the remains of S. Babylas were there interred; and of the oracle which, silenced by S. Gregory's having passed a night in the temple, could not resume its functions till the evil spirit was formally permitted to reassert his ancient power. Let us now, therefore, give a few quotations from the earliest Fathers, which shall show how widely and how deeply the belief in the Sibylline Oracles had permeated the Church. In the first place, there is that passage in the Similitudes of S. Hermas, where there appears to the writer an aged woman, in glorious apparel, who begins to read from a volume. And some time afterwards the angel asks:—"The aged woman from whom thou didst receive this book: whom thinkest thou her to be?" I replied, 'The Sibyl.' 'Wrong,' said he; "it is not so." 'Who then is she, lord?' said I; and he

"answered, 'It is the Church of GOD.'" Then, again, we find S. Justin Martyr over and over again quoting the same testimony, and using the witness of the Prophets in verification of the truths of the Gospel. S. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the time of Commodus, in his Apology for the Christian religion to his friend Autolycus, quotes largely from the Sibyl: and with respect to these early apologists one consideration must strike us with great force. Against whatever they said, it was certain that the whole learning and ingenuity of the heathen world would be taxed to discover a reply. What entire confidence, then, must they have felt in the authenticity of these poems, who thus seem to imperil the being of the Christian religion on such an issue! S. Clement of Alexandria cites no less than forty-six verses from the same poems. Origen, however, seems to have had a truer view of the subject. He does indeed maintain the authenticity of the Sibylline writings against Celsus as a matter of argument; but one cannot but feel him to be arguing against his own convictions, on the principle of not yielding an inch of ground to his adversary. And in confirmation of this belief, we may observe that he never quotes the Sibyl but once, and then merely by way of allusion rather than of argument. The same thing may be said of S. Hippolytus; he never makes an absolute citation from the Oracles, though he twice alludes to them; once, in the fifty-second chapter of his work on Antichrist; the other, in his book on the consummation of the world. At the same time, that the ordinary run of the Greek-speaking Christians during the second and third centuries deeply studied, and were entirely imbued with the spirit of, these oracles, is made certain by the fact, that in the third century so many fresh forgeries of the same kind were published; so that, in fact, the more beautiful, and to a certain extent the more valuable, portion of the existing books are to be referred to that period.

But in the Western Church, where criticism was at a much lower ebb, the Sibylline Oracles were quoted without any kind of doubt. Let us hear Tertullian: "I will speak a little more concerning Saturn, and will not omit those testimonies of Divine literature to which so much faith is due on account of their age. The Sibyl, before literature existed at all, speaks thus concerning the birth and the history of Saturn. In the tenth generation, says she, of men, after the Deluge, reigned Saturn, and Titan, and Japetus,* the most mighty children of earth and heaven." He is quoting that which we now read as the 108th verse of the third book. In like manner in his treatise *De Pallio*,

* *Japetus* is a most easy and certain correction for *Jam satus*.

he tells us that the Sibyl spoke truth with respect to Delos and Samos, in manifest allusion to Book viii. line 165.

Half a century later, Arnobius, in his treatise against the Gentiles, derides the heathen for affirming it to have been by the inspiration of Apollo that the Sibyl uttered so much truth. In the same century, but later, that most excellent man, and most barbarous poet, Commodianus, transfers some of the Sibyllic rules into his own uncouth lines.

And next we come to Lactantius, who, of all Latin writers, is the most imbued with the spirit of these Oracles. There are in the works of this writer more than seventy quotations from the Oracles; and these of such length, that from them no inconsiderable portion of the present Sibylline writings might be recovered. And it was probably from the works of Lactantius that the Emperor Constantine, in his oration to the Fathers of Nicæa, quoted the Sibyl; and more especially referred to that most touching passage:—

αἱ, αἱ, ἐγὼ δεῖλὰ, πότε' ἐλεύσεται ἡμερ' αὐτῆς,

which one cannot but imagine to have been in the mind of Thomas of Celano, in that pathetic verse of the *Dies Iræ*:—

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quam patronum rogaturus?
Cum vix iustus sit securus.

And, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, Constantine dwells on the celebrated acrostich of the LORD'S Name, as one of the most convincing proofs of the Christian religion.

If we proceed in ecclesiastical history, S. Cyril of Jerusalem opposes one Sibylline passage to Julian; but, as it will appear, not taken from the original work, but a second-hand quotation from the report which Eusebius gives of the oration of Constantine to the "Saints." In like manner, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and S. Epiphanius have no reference whatever to the Sibyl; and if S. Gregory Nazianzen alludes to her, it is rather in his character of poet than of bishop. Sozomen, however, quotes one line from the Oracles regarding the Cross:—

ᾧ ξύλον, ᾧ μακάριστον, ἐφ' ᾧ Θεὸς ἐξεταίνεσθι.

But it is singular that at an epoch which was supposed to be sinking into darkness, Procopius passes a juster opinion on these Oracles than most of his predecessors. He says that he cannot attach any importance to their prophecies as prophecies, because they seem to have been written subsequently to the events of

which they spoke ; but that as works of a certain value in their way, he brings forward their testimony.

It is singular to find, in the fifth century, an Armenian author alluding to our Prophetesses. Monsieur Alexandre quotes from the Whistons' edition of Moses Khorensis a passage in which that author speaks of the Sibyl. That edition we have not at hand ; but either he quotes, or the Whistons translated, incorrectly. We give the actual sentence from the edition published at the Mekhitarist press in 1841 : " But at first I am glad that " I can begin my account from my dear Berosian Sibyl, who is " much truer than the greater part of historians. Before the " Tower, and the multiplication of languages in the human race, " after the navigation of Xisuthris into Armenia, Zerouan, Titan, " and Japhetos were princes of the earth. These persons ap- " pear to me to be Shem, Ham, and Japheth."*

The derivation of the word Sibyl, " she that hath the counsel of GOD,"† seems next to certain. The number of the prophetesses honoured‡ with that appellation is more doubtful ; Varro, who, as cited by Lactantius, was the mediæval authority, mentions these :—1. The Persian ; 2. Libyan ; 3. Delphian ; 4. Cimmerian ; 5. Erythræan ; 6. Samian ; 7. Cumæan ; 8. Hellepontic ; 9. Phrygian ; 10. Tiburtine ; and their legends or attributes are usually, in the Cathedrals of the Middle Ages, given as we shall presently notice. Of the lists which we know—in stalls, in stained glass, in stone sculpture, in rood screens, or in the illuminations of the huge choir-books—these cathedrals or minsters supply the best examples :—Ulm, in Würtemberg ; Ribe, in Jutland ; Amiens, in a South Chapel ; Palencia, in Spain ; Chaise-Dieu, in Burgundy ; and Chartres. But Ulm, on the whole, is the best, and we may as well here repeat the prophecies of each Sibyl as there given. When the reader has acquainted himself with the interest of the productions themselves, he will be the more ready to enter into an inquiry as to their date and authorship. We give the names as there spelt ; the work dates 1469—1474.

1. *Sibella Eretria*. She holds the famous acrostich, which, on

* Բայց եւ այժմ ուրախացոյց հաւ առնելով առաջիկայից իմաց բանից 'ի տիրութիւնս Ի մէջէ քան զշատս յարգարարօտողէ, իբրեւ առեւանն Սիրիզիէոյ, &c.

† Σιδε=θεός. Σύλλα or βύλλα=βουλή. No one will now follow the derivation which Pausanias tells us was in fashion at Delphi (Phocæa xii.), that σβύλλα was a mere metathesis for λιβύσσα.

‡ Tacitus says, Annal. vi. 12, " Quod a majoribus quoque decretum erat, post exultum civile bello Capitolium, quæsitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias, carminibus Sibyllæ (*una seu plures fuere*) datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent, vera discernere." This was in A.D. 32. See Walther, tom. i. 391.

account of its world-wide reputation, it will be proper hereafter to quote. The Ulm version, admirably carved in an oaken scroll against the south pier of the chancel arch, is that of S. Augustine.

We shall have occasion to enter more at length, by-and-bye, into the subject of this most celebrated acrostich; at present we merely pass on to—

2. The Delphian Sibyl. “He shall give his back to the strokes, and when He is smitten shall be silent.” (These fragments of prose are not from any of the Sibylline Oracles, but from the words of Lactantius, who intends to give their substance.)

3. The Libyan Sibyl. “He shall take our intolerable yoke on His own neck, and wear it for us.”

4. The Tiburtine Sibyl, called Albuna. “They shall hang Him on a tree, and it shall profit them nothing; for on the third day He shall rise again, and shall show Himself to His disciples, and shall be seen by them; He shall ascend into heaven, and of His kingdom there shall be no end.”

5. The Hellepontic Sibyl. (Here we have an attempted translation from the original Greek, and in verse.)

Felix ille Deus ligno qui pendet ab alto.

6. The Cumæan Sibyl, called Amalthea. “The veil of the Temple shall be rent, and there shall be pitch-black night in the mid-day.”

7. The Cimmerian Sibyl, foretelling to Octavianus that GOD should be born of a Virgin. (The line of Virgil.) “Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.”

8. The Phrygian Sibyl, called Antico. “He shall fall into the hands of the unbelievers, and with wicked arms they shall strike the LORD, and shall with impure mouths spit poisonously upon Him.”

These eight are all that seem to have been known to the German architect; for there is no reason why, had he been so disposed, he might not have introduced more. In other places we find eleven, or six. In a very exquisitely illuminated manuscript Breviary, now preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, there are sixteen; but evidently with the design of matching each prophet—for all the prophets are in like manner thus represented—with a Sibyl. Each of the latter has a legend, consisting of one hexameter verse, proceeding from her mouth, just as each prophet has his clearest prediction of our LORD attached to him the same way. But, in addition, the Sibyls

have each, it would seem, their own peculiar attribute ; distaff, spade, wheel, plumb-line, and so on, in a way which the present writer is not able to explain.

We now come to the periods at which the several poems at present joined together in one work, as the Sibylline Oracles, were actually written.

And part of that which is now called the third, has undoubtedly the claim to the highest antiquity. Only here we must carefully distinguish between the various parts of that book. They are four in number. The first (ver. 1 to 97) seems to have been a later addition. The second, commencing at ver. 97, extends to ver. 294, and contains an account of the various empires of the Egyptians, Persians, Medes, Ethiopians, Assyrians, and Macedonians. Then there appears to be another long insertion, which extends to verse 489 ; and then the fourth part of this book begins, and only ends with the book itself. Without entering deeply into their reasons for so determining, it seems certain that the commentators are right in attributing the older part of this book to the time of Ptolemy Philometor : and, in all probability, to the Jew Aristobulus, the preceptor of Euergetes, brother of Philometor, as we learn from 2 Maccabees i. 10. "In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people "that were at Jerusalem, and in Judæa, and the Council, and "Judas, sent greeting and health unto Aristobulus, king Ptole- "meus' master, who, as of the stock of the anointed priests, and "of the Jews that were in Egypt." These parts, therefore, of the third book, are entitled to very considerable authority ; an authority equal to that of the Maccabees, and superior to that of the apocryphal books of Esdras. On this subject, no critics have written better than Bleek, Gfrörer, and Chaufen.

The commencement of the oldest part, consisting of verses 97—294, and 489 to end, very probably intended to imitate the rhapsodical beginnings of the true Sibyls, opens thus :—

But when the threat of GOD shall be fulfilled,
The threat pronounced on mortals, when they raised
That unblest turret in Assyria's land—
For of one speech were all ; and so they willed
The starry heav'n with vain intent to reach :
Wherefore th' ALMIGHTY gave His winds command
And forthwith fell the Tower, so huge, so vast,
And in its builders wild contention reign'd :
And Babel is the name men give their work.
But when that tow'r had fall'n, and human speech
Was cleft to various languages, the earth
Was soon replenish'd with divided tribes,
And parted out 'twixt monarchs. Then at last
Rose the tenth race of men, succeeding that

Whelm'd by the Deluge. Then too Cronus reign'd,
 Then Titan reign'd, then reign'd Iapetus,
 The offspring of the earth and sky—so men
 Gave them their title, making earth and sky
 Their parents, for that they were greatest far
 Of human progeny :—in threefold shares
 They measured out the earth, and each had rule
 O'er the third part, peace reigning over all.

The writer then goes on to imitate the Theogony of Hesiod, twisting it without much ingenuity to Scripture history. After running through a considerable portion of the world's annals, the writer says that there is a race

κατὰ χθονὶς Οὐρ Καλδαίων
 ἔξ ἧς μοι γένος ἔσσι

of righteous men, who live holily among the gentiles ; and, proceeding to describe the Jews, he predicts terrible punishments on other nations, while they shall be restored to their own land :—

καὶ τότε δὴ πάλιν ἔσσιται, ὡς πάρος ἦν.

Next in time to the Erythræan Sibyl's prophecies, (for to her the third book has, from its superior value, been attributed,) comes the fourth book, as we have it now ; the fourth, in every recension, except the Munich manuscript, where it is called the tenth. But this is evidently the composition of a Christian, and probably of a Christian Jew. The mixture of past history and future prophecy—the wild fragments so natural in a state of excitement such as those of the early persecutions—gives a lively idea of the immediate expectation which the Christians of the first and second centuries entertained of the coming of Antichrist, and the Advent of the LORD. Thus (book iv. line 137) Antioch is to fall under the arms of Italy, led on by Antichrist ; Cyprus, by means of an earthquake, is to be overwhelmed in the sea ; an inundation of the Meander is to destroy the inhabitants of Caria ; and all these things are but the precursors of the final judgment. This book is undoubtedly the most interesting to the ordinary student ; and is absolutely necessary to be read by those who would form an idea of the hurried life of excitement in which the most primitive Christians lived,—so different from the calm, quiet repose in the overruling providence of GOD, which our fancy is apt to attribute to them.

We may observe that our poet was not a millenarian—which, at the time of Titus or Domitian, in which this book was undoubtedly written, is worthy of notice. Let us give a specimen or two of this book.

At verse 157 :—

Woe! miserable mortals! Dare not thus
 The utmost phials of GOD's fullest wrath!
 Lay down the sword: forget the quarrel: leave
 The murderous feud unfollowed. Learn to lave
 Your bodies in the eternal stream, and spread
 Your supplicating hands to GOD's high throne,
 Beseeching pardon, and with godly deeds
 Healing the bitter spring of sin: then GOD
 Shall send His mercy on you, nor destroy
 According to your merits: He shall cause
 His burning wrath to cease, if only all
 Shall exercise their souls with holy works.
 But if, O hard of heart, ye hear me not,
 But, for ye love transgression, turn away
 To crime and violence, a fire shall rage
 Throughout the world, and this shall be the sign:
 About the hour of sunrise, swords shall blaze,
 And trumpets echo, and the whole wide earth
 Shall hear the mighty uproar and dismay.
 Then the great globe's rotundity shall burn:
 And men and cities perish: and the fire
 Shall lick up streams and sea, and all be dust.
 But when destruction is fulfill'd, GOD's Hand
 Shall quench the fire it kindled; and the dust
 And ashes with a human form endue,
 And mortals re-create as first they were.
 Then shall the judgment be; then GOD shall sit
 Dooming the world Himself. Who sold themselves
 To foul transgression, shall again be piled
 With funeral heaps: but every pious soul
 Shall live again, on earth by GOD endued
 With spirit, breath, and vigour: they His grace
 Shall endlessly adore. O man, thrice blest'd!
 Who so shall see that day, and seeing live!

These last lines, which conclude the book, are preserved in their fulness only in the Apostolic Constitutions (book 7). The concluding verses in the Sybilline MSS. were probably mutilated by some over-orthodox transcriber, for the purpose of bringing them into better agreement with the Apocalypse.

Next in age to the fourth book, comes that which is usually called the Proem. This was first edited in the *Princeps Editio* of Theophilus to Autolycus,—the same work which has been of late so ably translated by Mr. Flower,—in 1545, and at once created a sensation among the learned of Europe. From that time to this, it has stood as the preface to the whole collection of Oracles. Nothing is clearer than that this is the composition of a scholar in the Christian school of Alexandria: not only the general species of ratiocination is sufficient to prove the fact, but the reference made over and over again to the unfortunate cats

whom the Egyptians turned into gods, is a proof in the same direction. Thus, in verse 60—

αἰσχυθῆντε γαλᾶς καὶ κνάδαλα θειοποιῶντες.

And again—

προσκυρόντες ὄφεις, κύνας, αἰλουῦρους, ἀνῶτα,
καὶ πετίενα σίβισθε, καὶ ἱρπετὰ θηρία γαίης.

It has been made a question, indeed, whether this Proem were not the work of an Alexandrian Jew, coeval with Ptolemy Philometor. But the references to the joys and glories of paradise which constantly occur here and there; and again, and especially, the mention of “the Bread of Heaven,” “the Bread of Angelic Hosts:” “the Sweet Bread of the starry heaven”—must be sufficient to settle the question; for what Alexandrian Jew ever thus spoke? And again, the phrase, *ζωὴν κληρονομοῦσι*, is not to be found in the Old Testament; and only twice is a similar expression to be met with, namely in Ecclesiasticus iv. 14, and xx. 25. Again, Paradise, spoken of as eternal felicity, occurs nowhere in the Old Testament, except in Eccclus. xlv. 16; and then not in the Greek, but only in the Latin, version.

The so-called eighth book comes next. This is divided into four different portions by great lacunæ, and of these the two last are of a later date. The first is cited by Lactantius, but is manifestly later than the second. This second part begins with the celebrated acrostich, of which we will first give S. Augustine's version—that which is engraved at Ulm:—

Judicii signum, tellus sudore madescet.
E coelo Rex adveniet per sæcla futurus,
Scilicet in carne præsens ut judicet orbem.
Unde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
Celsum cum sanctis, ævi jam termino in ipso.
Sic animæ cum carne aderunt, quas judicat ipse,
Cum jacet incultus densis in vepribus orbis.
Rejicient simulacra viri, cunctam quoque gazam :
Exuret terras ignis, pontumque, polumque,
Inquirens; tetri portas exuret Averni.
Sanctorum sed enim cunctæ lux libera carni
Tradetur; fontes æternum flamma cremabit.
Occultos actos retegens tunc quisque loquetur;
Secreta atque Deus referabit pectora luci.
Tunc erit et luctus; stridebunt dentibus omnes.
Eripitur solis jubar, et chorus interit astris;
Volvetur cœlum; lunaris splendor obibit:
Dejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo:
Non erit in rebus hominum sublime vel altum:
Jam æquantur campis montes, et cærula ponti
Omnia cessabunt, tellus confracta peribit:
Sic pariter fontes torrentur fluminaque igni.

Sed tuba tunc sonitum tristem dimittet ab alto
Orbe, gemens facinus miserum variosque labores;
Tartareumque chaos monstrabit terra dehiscens;
Et coram hic Domino reges sistuntur ad unum;
Recidet e cœlis ignisque et sulphuris amnis.

The initials of S. Augustine's version run thus :—

Jesucs Creistos Teu Dnios Soter.

The *c* in the first word is simply the effect of a desire to imitate the shape, as well as the sound, of the Greek sigma. The *c* in *Creistos* is the faithful copy of the original. The *Dn* in the fourth word seems to have been intended to express the soft sound of the *Y*. The other translations given by Alexandre are—that of an anonymous writer, quoted by Onuphrius Pannius, which simply gives the Greek letters: one by Onuphrius himself—Jesus Christus Dei Filius Servator Crux: one by Castalio—Jesus Chreistus Dei Filius Servator Crucis: by Aitzema—Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Servator. Cruc.: and by the Editor—Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salus in Cruce.

After so many attempts, it is surely our own duty to try this bow of Ulysses :—

J udgment at hand, the earth shall sweat with fear:
E ternal King, the Judge shall come on high:
S hall doom all flesh: shall bid the world appear
U nveiled before His Throne. Him every eye
S hall, just or unjust, see in majesty.

C onsummate time shall view the Saints assemble,
H is own assessors: and the souls of men
R ound the great judgment-seat shall wail and tremble
I n fear of sentence. And the green earth then
S hall turn to desert: they that see that day
T o moles and bats their gods shall cast away.

S ea, earth, and heaven, and hell's dread gates shall burn:
O bedient to their call, the dead return:
N or shall the Judge unfitting doom discern:

O f chains and darkness to each wicked soul:
F or them that have done good, the starry pole.

G nashing of teeth, and woe, and fierce despair
O f such as hear the righteous Judge declare
D eeds long forgot, which that last day shall bare.

T hen, when each darken'd breast He brings to light,
H eaven's star shall fall; and day be changed to night;
E ffaced the sun-ray, and the moon's pale light.

Y

S urely the valleys He on high shall raise ;
 A ll hills shall cease, all mountains turn to plain ;
 V effel shall no more pass the watery ways :
 I n the dread lightning parching earth shall blaze,
 O gygian rivers seek to flow in vain :
 U nutterable woe the trumpet blast,
 R e-echoing through the ether, shall forecast.

T hen Tartarus shall wrap the world in gloom,
 H igh chiefs and princes shall receive their doom,
 E ternal fire and brimstone for their tomb.

C rown of the world, sweet wood, salvation's horn,
 R earing thy form, shalt then for man be born :
 O wood, that Saints adore, and finners scorn !
 S o from twelve fountains shall its light be poured,
 S taff of the Shepherd, and victorious sword.

With this acrostich may be well compared the remarkable epitaph, discovered at Autun, and first transcribed by Dom Pitra in 1839. We here give it, as restored partly by him, partly by Alexandre ; with one reading, to be mentioned in its place, of our own. The acrostich is *ιχθὺς εἰς αἰεί* :—

Ἰχθύος οὐρανόθεν γένος ἦτορ σιμεῖν
 Χρῆσι λαλῶ[ν φωτὶ]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτοῖς
 Θεοσπισίων ὑδάτων τῆς σῆς, φίλε, θάλασσο ψυχῇ
 Ἰδασιν ἀνέμοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης
 Σωτήρος δ' ἀγίην μελιχρία λάμβανε βρῶ[σιν].
 Ἔσθι, πίνε, δ[υσί]ν ιχθὺν ἔχον παλάμαιν
 Ἰχθὺ Χ[ριστὸν] μέγα, Γαλιλαίων δισποτα Σῶτερ,
 Συγ[γινῶν] ῥ[ι]νὴρ, σὲ λιτάζομαι, φῶς τὸ θανόντων,
 Ἀ[λὲξ]ανδρὸς πάτερ, τῷ μὲν καχαρισμένη θυμῷ,
 Εὐμν[ήστω] σὺν μητρὶ καὶ αἰθαίμ[ουσιν] ἡμεῖσιν
 Ἰ[λαθι, καὶ παιδὸς] μνήστο Πεκτορίου.

The *συγγενέων* seems to us, next to certain. Alexandre's reading is *συσσίτων* which may be right : the acrostich forbids that which others read, *εὐσεβέων*.

The minute prophecies of our LORD'S life, which occur in this book, are thus referred to by S. Justin (Cohort. § 38) :—
πείσθητε τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ καὶ σφόδρα παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ, ἧς τὰς βίβλους ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ σώζεσθαι συμβαίνει, περὶ μὲν τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν ὡς μὴ ὄντων ἀπὸ τίνος δυνατῆς ἐπιπνοίας διὰ χρησμῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκούσῃ· περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης ἐσεσθαι παρουσίας καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γένεσθαι μελλόντων σαφῶς καὶ φανερώς προαναφαινούσῃ.

Next to this, in respect of antiquity, comes the first part of the eighth book. This describes very clearly the date of its own composition. After the reign of fifteen Roman emperors there shall be a king, says the Sibyl, with white hair : and the effigy of Hadrian is then drawn to the life. After this, *in the*

last days, (and notice that expression,) there shall be three kings, whose names shall resemble that of Adonai—that is, the Antonines : and the misery of the human race during the period of their empire is most graphically described. After this we come to a mere guess-work of prophecy : how, when a fiery dragon shall come across the water, carrying in its belly a body of troops who shall fight against Rome,—then will be the end of the world, the signs of which are described again at length. It is next to certain, then, that this part of the book was written under Antoninus Pius ; but not immediately after his accession : because he is here called old, whereas he was but fifty-four when he ascended the imperial throne. It is also almost certain that our poet had before his eyes that which we now call the fourth book, and that which is reckoned the second part of the eighth, from which he appears to quote two lines. Of this also let us give a specimen :—

And after him, in Time's approaching end,
Three shall have rule, who bear God's highest Name,
That Name, whose might and glory lives for aye.
Of these, the first, now aged, yet shall hold
The sceptre for long years : a gloomy king,
Who shall shut up all wealth of every realm
Within his treasure-house, that when from far,
The matricide, returning, claims his own,
He may enrich his Asia with the spoil.

We shall have occasion shortly to unravel this prophecy : at present we may observe that after the eighth we may place the fifth book ; the authorship of which is a question of great difficulty. It would appear, however, that, although some passages seem to be taken from the New Testament, the probability on the whole is, that the writer was a Jew ; but whether Christian or Jew, he was undoubtedly an Egyptian, and therefore an Alexandrian. Alexandre makes him almost contemporary with the writer of the first part of the eighth book—perhaps a few years later. But to us the reference to the extinction of the fire of Vesta seems too clear to be passed over as an index to the real date. Now, according to Herodian, the destruction of the Temple of Vesta by fire took place in the year 191 ; and very soon after that this book would appear to have been composed.

Not to be tedious, next would follow the third part of the third book ; then the sixth and seventh ; then the first and second, which as poetical compositions, perhaps, claim the first place. Let us give a few specimens of them. The first book commences thus :—

Beginning from the earliest race of man,
 Until the latter day, my song shall tell
 That which hath been, and is, and must be yet
 In this world's history through human sin.
 And, first, the GOD commands me that I say
 How this world sprang to being. Thou, give ear;
 Left thou forget that mightiest King of kings
 Who said, "Let all things be," and all things were.
 He set the earth on chaos, gave sweet light,
 Arched high the heavens and smoothed the hoary sea,
 And crowned the pole with stars, a tire of flame,
 Adorned the earth with flowers, and fed the deep
 With flowing rivers; through the air dispersed
 Thick mists and dewy clouds. And next he formed
 The fishy tribes of ocean; gave the birds
 To soar amidst the air, and filled the woods
 With beasts of divers races, and with them
 That creep upon the ground; yea, all that is,
 All that man views around him, owns his hand.

Then comes, in close accordance with the Book of Genesis, the history of the Fall; and partly from that and partly from the poetic tradition of the gold and silver ages, an account of the gradual deterioration of the human race. In the description of the Deluge, the pseudo-Sibyl has evidently in mind that most noble passage in Hesiod where Jupiter is represented as putting forth all his strength to crush the rebellious giants; and—which we do not remember to have seen noticed by any of the commentators on Milton—our own poet seems to have availed himself of the Sibylline description. Let us give the two passages. Thus Hesiod speaks (we quote from Elton's translation):—

—No longer then did Jove
 Curb his full power: but instant in his soul
 There grew dilated strength, and it was filled
 With his omnipotence. At once he loosed
 His whole of might, and put forth all the god.
 The vaulted sky, the mount Olympian, flashed
 With his continual presence; for he passed
 Incessant forth, and scattered fires on fires.
 Hurl'd from his hardy grasp the lightnings flew
 Reiterated swift; the whirling flash
 Cast sacred splendour, and the thunderbolt
 Fell: roar'd around the nurture-yielding earth
 In conflagration; for on every side
 The immensity of forests crackling blazed:
 Yea, the broad world burn'd red; the streams that mix
 With ocean, and the deserts of the sea.

The Sibylline Oracles read thus:—

Then pass'd his wife, his sons, then pass'd their wives
 Into the wooden castle: after them
 Those other tribes, whom GOD had willed to save.

But when the key had loosed its iron bolt,
And made all fast, the LORD's celestial will
Began its own accomplishment: He drove
Cloud over cloud, and hid the fiery disk:
And moon and stars, and heavenly coronet
He cover'd with His darkness: thundering loud,
O dread alarm to mortals! forth He sent
The whirlwind of His wrath; all winds that blew
He heap'd up one on other: at His word
The founts of the great deep were broken up:
The cataracts of heav'n descended, all
The abysses measureless of earth, unseal'd,
Pour'd forth their flood of waters: yea, the waves
Ten thousand times ten thousand, leapt and whirl'd
Over the boundless plains: and from the house
Of GOD Himself, with wind and waters black,
The fierce loud billows dash'd adown the sky,
And all was wildest uproar; while the ark
Cutting the boundless foam, securely rode
On the wild motion of the plangent waves.

The last line, in the original, may vie with that of Homer, in his epithet of the sea:—

στείρα, κυνηγέον ἰδάτων καλαρυζομένων.

At the conclusion of the deluge the poem—greatly to the surprise of its annotators—without any connecting link or other notice of the vast gap of time between the two events, proceeds to the coming of the Son of GOD. But most naturally: the Christian author, under the heathen impersonation, had been taught by S. Peter that “the like figure, even baptism, doth also now save us:” was led from the ark to remember the Church; and by the Church was called at once to the Founder of that Church and His Incarnation. And thus he proceeds:—

But when the unmeasur'd billowy surge that seethed
Out of the huge abysses, now at length
Shall hear GOD's voice, and lessening, lessening still,
Sink back rebuked; and once again the heights
Of mountain peaks, and bold sea-breasting capes
Shall beetle as of old: then He, GOD's Son,
Son of the Living GOD, shall take man's flesh
Incarnate, and converse with Adam's race.
Now mark His name: four vowels shall it bear;
One consonant repeated: in its sound
Eight hundreds, decads eight, and monads eight.
Thus shalt thou know, and knowing shalt adore,
The eternal FATHER's co-eternal SON,
Anointed for His mission. He the law
Shall not destroy, but rather shall fulfil
In all its full significance of type,
And teach its holiest meaning. Priests shall come,
And bring their gold, their frankincense, their myrrh,
As seers have prophesied.

And running very briefly through our Blessed LORD's life, the Sibyl thus concludes the first book :—

But when He shall extend those quickening hands
And measure all things, and shall wear the crown
With thorns inwoven ; when His glorious side
Is wounded with the spear, and night shall reign
For three hours' space amidst the height of day,
Then shall the Solomonian Temple show
A mighty sign, what time the King descends
To Hades, preaching freedom to the dead.
But when three days shall pass, then, death o'erthrown,
He shall ascend to light, and teach the way
That mortal steps must follow ; and at length
He, rising glorious to His native heaven,
Shall point the road which leads His followers there.
Thenceforth the apostles shall be this world's guides,
And prophets' voice be silent evermore.

Or if Hexameters shall seem to give a better idea of the Sibylline works, take the following passage from the same book :—

This is the contest for man,—the prize proposed for the soldier,
This is the Gate of Life, and sweet Immortality's portal :
God shall extend it to those that are greatest and truest of athletes,
In that they fought this fight,—and they that shall merit the guerdon,
Thus having won the reward, shall enter the Kingdom of Glory.
Then shall the end be at hand, when many a prophet of falsehood,
Filling the earth with his lies, shall deceive those ignorant thousands.
Belial also shall come, and performing deceivable wonders,
Draw away crowds to his worship. With mighty and dread devastation
Shall the elect be o'erwhelm'd—o'erwhelm'd both Gentiles and Hebrews.
Happy beyond compare, thrice happy and blessed the servant,
Whom, when He knocks, the LORD shall find awaiting His advent !
Noon it may be when He comes, or midnight ; cock-crow, or twilight :
But of a truth come He SHALL,—and prophecy then be accomplish'd.

We must not, however, pass without notice, the curious insertion, in the second book, of about a hundred verses from the moral poem of Phocylides. For an insertion it clearly is, and the way in which the coarsest and foulest lines of the original poem are either omitted or softened by the Christian compiler is very curious ; and a complete proof that the poem in question was not for the first time composed by the writer of the Sibylline oracles.

Last of all, in age, come the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth books—first published by Cardinal Mai, at Rome, in 1828 ; except that the fourteenth had been already brought to light by Struve, at Milan, in 1817.

We will now call attention to a few theological peculiarities of these books.

We have the most clear evidence of the orthodoxy of the Christian writers as to the Divinity of our LORD :—

viii. 2. οὗτος ὁ νῦν προγραφείς ἐν ἀπροστιχείοις Θεὸς δὲ ἡμεῶν.

Again : viii. 462 :—

δίξαι ἐν ἀχράντοις Θεὸς δὲ σοῖς, Παρθένε, κόλπος.

And still more plainly at v. 474 :—

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μέγα θαῦμα Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Θεῷ Τῷ.

And so again, in the same book, v. 264 (it is a passage which Milton may have studied)—

αὐτὸν γὰρ πρῶτιστα λαβὼν σύμβουλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
εἶπεν ὁ Παντακράτωρ, Ποιήσωμεν, Τέκνον, ἄμφω
εἰκότος ἐξ ἰδίας ἀπομαζάμενοι βροτὰ φύλα·
νῦν μὲν ἰγὼ χερσὶν, σὺ δ' ἔπειτα λόγῳ θεραπύσεις
μορφῇ ἡμετέρῃ.

Nor are the poems less explicit as to the Incarnation :—

xii. 32. καὶ τότε δὴ κρύφιος ἤξει λόγος Ἰψίστου
σάρκα φέρων ὁμοίῳσιν ὁμοίῳσιν.

But here an exception must be made.

The sixth and seventh books, orthodox on our LORD'S Divinity, are grossly—though we may fairly hope, unintentionally—heretical on His Incarnation ; which they appear to connect, in some extraordinary way, with His Baptism ;—a heresy which Irenæus attributes to some of the Cerinthians, and S. Epiphanius to the Ebionites. The passages are too long to quote, but may be found in vi. 3 and vii. 66.

The signs which our poets give of the end of 'the world' are principally these :—

Mighty appearances in Heaven, iii. 334 ; v. 154 ; ii. 34.

Children with grey hairs at birth, ii. 154.

General barrenness of women, ii. 163.

The Fall of the Roman Empire, in numberless passages.

Antichrist.

The coming of Elijah.

The reign of a woman.

As to the grey hairs of children, it seems to have been simply a Gentile tradition.

Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 178 :—

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μέροισι ἀνθρώπων
εὖτ' ἂν γυνόμενοι πολιορκήταφοι τελέωσι.

With respect to the fall of the Roman Empire, the Sibyl gives credit to a common prophecy, drawn from the numeral letters of *Ῥώμη*.

τρεῖς δὲ τριακισίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ
πλήρωσις λαμβάνεται, ὅταν σὺ δίσματος ἔξῃ
μᾶρᾳ βιαζομένη, τὸν αἶμα πλεονάσῃ.

That is, that the 948th year of the city would be fatal to it.

But though the writer of this prophecy did not live to see that 948th year, the 2nd of Severus—in which nothing happened—yet his continuer in the thirteenth book had actually outlived the time, and was forced to make another prophecy; something after the fashion of Dr. Cumming's errata in respect of the period of the Last Day. The second guesser, however, was no more fortunate than the first. He devised the theory, that Rome had really been founded 105 years later than her *fasti* declared; and the fatal year, thus postponed again, fell in the 5th of Diocletian, by which time the bard—of the age of Aurelian—was doubtless sleeping well in the Catacombs, and very little concerned with the failure of his augury.

Antichrist. The Sibylline idea seems to have been that this was Nero; an idea which long survived that monster's own life. One of those strange popular delusions, which also fixed on Sebastian of Portugal, and our own Edward V.—and, long before, on Arthur—affirmed that Nero was not really dead; that he had escaped the vengeance of the Senate by flying into Parthia, that he would thence some day return, and again possessing himself of Rome, become the Antichrist of prophecy. The way in which the Sibyl interprets the prediction in the Revelation appears to be this (*Rev.* xvii. 8): "The beast that thou sawest, was and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition. . . . The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen"—Augustus, Tiberius, Calus, Claudius, Nero—"and one is"—Galba—"and the other is not yet come"—Otho—"and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not," namely Nero, "even he is the eighth"—that is to say, is rising again under the form of Vespasian, "and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet,"—that is, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Aurelius, Pertinax, Commodus.

But when it was manifest that the fifteenth Roman emperor had departed this life, and still no appearance of Antichrist, while the length of time that had elapsed since the reign of Nero rendered the expectation of his return impossible, another belief

began to possess the Church. It now began to be said that Antichrist, though he might have found a type in Nero, would be a Jew; by his father of the tribe of Dan, by his mother a Samaritan. There are various reasons to be drawn from Scripture for the selection of that tribe. In the first place, its omission in the list of those that each afforded their twelve thousand in the Revelation. Next, that in the prophetic declaration, after the mention of Dan, the patriarch exclaims, "I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD;" as if there were another salvation, and another Lord in some way connected with that tribe. And this belief lasted down into the Middle Ages; inasmuch that in such writers as S. Hrabanus Maurus, Abælard, Rupert, and the like, the current opinion seems to be that when a pope of the tribe of Dan shall ascend the chair of S. Peter, it is he that will be Antichrist. And in the writings of the later Sibylline bards, Belial, or Beliar, is the name by which Antichrist is called.

The next sign of the end of the world is the coming of Elijah. This is distinctly referred to in book ii. line 187. The poet writes thus:—

And then the Tishbite in a fiery car
Descending from the heavens, shall show these signs
That herald the approach of this world's end.
Woe, woe, for them that then shall bear the load
Of near maternity? Woe, woe, for them
That to their helpless babes give suck! For them
That dwell beside the sea! Woe, woe, for all
That shall behold that day, if day it be,
When o'er the boundless earth a pitchy cloud
From east to west, from north to south shall roll.
Then shall this stream of blazing flame go forth
Before the heavenly throne, and laying waste
Both earth and ocean, every creek and bay,
Each lake and stream, each fountain, and the depths
That lie beneath the earth, shall glitter, high
Even to the heavenly poles.

What the three miracles are that Elijah, in his character as one of the two witnesses, is to perform, does not seem so certain. Probably the Sibyl, applying Rev. xi. 5, 6, to that prophet alone, reckoned them thus:—1. "If any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies." 2. "These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not, in the days of their prophecy." 3. "And have power over waters to turn them to blood."

Of the heterodox teaching of the Sibylline books, that which has excited the greatest attention is the denial—occurring, however, only in one place, ii. 300—of the eternity of future punishment:—

τοῖς καὶ ὁ πανταράτωρ θεὸς ἀφθίτος ἄλλο παρέξι
 εἰσεβίσειν, ὅπῳ ταν θεὸν ἀφθίτον αἰτήσονται
 ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς μακραίωνος τ' ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
 ἀνθρώπων σώσει δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει.
 λεξάμενος γὰρ ἔκαστον ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτου
 ἄλλος· ἀποστήσας πύμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 εἰς ζῶν ἑτίραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτῳ
 ἥλιουσιν πεδίῳ.

This is the very doctrine of Origen : but is emphatically denounced by the copyist of one of the best Sibylline MSS. in certain tuneless lines, which favour of the seventh or eighth century :—

ψευδῇ προφανῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήξει ποτὶ
 τὸ πῦρ κολάζον τοὺς κατακερμένους.
 πᾶν γὰρ ἂν εὖξαιμι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν
 οὐλαῖς μεγίσταις σφαλμάται ἐστιγμένους,
 αἱ μείζους χρήζουσι φιλανθρωπίας.
 ἀλλ' αἰσχυνέσθω φληναφῶν Ὀριγῆνης,
 πέρας γενέσθαι τῶν κολάσεων λέγων.

The teaching with respect to angels is very full and well developed. We read, in the seventh book, of a kind of angelic guardianship, though perhaps not precisely that which the later Church has held :—

οἱ δὲ διαγγελητῆρες ἵπαι ποτὶ κοιμήσονται,
 οἳ τε πυρὸς φαίνουσι, καὶ οἳ ποταμούς φαίνουσιν,
 οἳ τ' ἄστυ σώζουσι, καὶ οἳ πέμπουσιν αἵτας.

The names of some of the angels are clearly taken from the apocryphal books, and more especially from that of Enoch :—

ἔξουσ' Ἰρμυήλ, Ὀριήλ, Σανιήλ, Ἀζαήλ,

—or Ἀζαζήλ. Oriel is, of course, Uriel ; but Azazel in the book of Enoch (chap. xlii. and lxviii.) is a demon. Hence our great poet, whose learning really seems unfathomable :—

that proud honour claim'd
 Azazel as his right, a cherub tall.

It had been our intention to add somewhat on the—we can only call them so—*vagaries* of the Sibylline metre. But we fear that the subject is not, to the greater part of our readers, of sufficient interest to warrant such a disquisition. We will, therefore, end by simply recommending the study of these curious books to those who would learn the politico-religious views of the third and fourth centuries ; to those who are interested in prophetic interpretations of the Apocalypse ; and to those who would see the gradual shading off of Alexandrine Judaism into Alexandrine Christianity : the two so clearly presenting a cer-

tain community of features ; and yet so marvellously, so irreconcilably, at variance.

And we are bound once more to express the great obligations which ecclesiastical scholars have incurred to M. Alexandre, for this most laborious, most accurate, most admirable edition of one of the hardest—most corrupt—most obscure—of all works. Surely he will apply his learning and talent to the elucidation of some other monument of antiquity, if not more intrinsically valuable, at least probably more universally interesting.





XII.

PRESENT STATE OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.*



THE publications which we have grouped together form, more or less, a proof of the renewed struggle between Gallicanism and the Ultramontane tenets which, till lately, have seemed to hold undivided sway in France. Twenty years ago it almost appeared as if the four famous Articles of 1682, as if the truths for which Bossuet wrote, and acted, and suffered, had been utterly forgotten. All the earnest religion of France was Ultramontane. Under the dynasty of the Orleans family, the old views of the established Gallican Church were simply impossible; and we have seen in the later years of Louis Philippe a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in referring to some abuse in the arrangement of a church, declaring (as if he were ashamed to confess that he had been inside one) that he only was there accidentally, on the occasion of a marriage.

It appears, however, that beneath the Ultramontane surface, there was a deep working of the old principles, which was destined to bear fruit in due season. And within the last ten years,

* *Histoire de l'Eglise de France, composée sur les Documents originaux et authentiques. Par l'Abbé Guettée, Tomes 12. Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie., Rue de Tournou, 6. 1845—1856.*

Supplément aux Décrets du Concile de la Province de Bordeaux, célébré à la Rochelle en 1853, et publié en 1855; ou, Défense de l'Histoire de l'Eglise de France contre les Imputations contenues dans ces Décrets. Par l'Abbé Guettée.

L'Observateur Catholique: Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques et des Faits religieux. No. 1—23.

Correspondance de Confesseurs de la Foi relativement au nouveau Dogme de l'Immaculée Conception. 1855.

Lettres Parisiennes; ou, Discussion sur les deux Liturgies, Parisienne et Romaine. Deuxième Edition. Paris: Danton; Huet. 1855.

from every part of France, evidence has been given that the tenets of Gerson and Bossuet were only dormant, not extinct; and the exertions of the Abbé Laborde, of Lectoure, in opposition to the Bull *Ineffabilis*, manifested to Europe that struggle between the two parties in France, which has now attained such proportions as to threaten the disruption of the entire Gallican Church.

The "History of the Church of France," which stands first in our list, is undoubtedly the greatest literary effort of the revived party. To quote the author's own preface, "Baronius in his ecclesiastical annals has not forgotten *the fairest province* of the kingdom of JESUS CHRIST; Bollandus and the Bollandists, Noël Alexander, Sirmond, Baluze, D'Achery, Martene, De Sainte Marthe, Tillemont, Bouquet, Mabillon, Rivet, Pagi, Ruinart, and many other learned men whom we might name, have reproduced its monuments, or discuss the obscurest points of its history; Lecoigneux has compiled its annals. Finally, Longueval took in hand his '*Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*,' continued by Fontenoy, Brumoy, and Berthier, until the middle of the sixteenth century. I respect," continues the author, "the work of these learned Jesuits. It has been of the greatest utility to myself, and it is a duty, therefore, to proclaim my obligations. Nevertheless, I think that something more perfect may now be expected. The history of the Gallican Church has undergone the fate of the greater part of human productions; perfect, perhaps, for the time in which it was written, it is no longer in harmony with the taste of the present day; questions of Christian art, liturgy, and philosophy, ecclesiastical and monastic laws, are not treated as they now should be with the development which modern history has presented to us."

The history of this history is in itself worth relating. Abbé Guettée's work is comprised in twelve large octavo volumes. Published successively, they attracted from their very commencement considerable attention, and were received with general applause. Prefixed to the third volume is a dedication to Monseigneur Fabre des Essarts, Bishop of Blois, (March 15th, 1848,) accepted by that prelate with the attestation that from his own knowledge of the already published portion, and from the reports of certain priests to whom he entrusted its examination, he was convinced of the conscientious care expended on the author's researches, the exactness of his doctrine, and the good spirit of the whole work. The sixth volume is ushered in by a still more emphatic approbation by his eminence De la Tour d'Auvergne-Lauraguais, Cardinal-Bishop of Arras. "This history," writes

that prelate, "is an everlasting monument to the glory of the Gallican Church. By its help greater light will be thrown over the annals of the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church. . . . We have no hesitation in recommending it to the Clergy of our Diocese." This approbation is of the 28th of May, 1850. A prefatory notice, however, which ushers in the same volume, shows that the author was already suspected of Gallican principles, then, as now, so offensive in high places. He contents himself in replying to the question, "Are you Gallican or Ultramontane?" by requesting his readers to suspend their judgment till the history should have reached that epoch in which the opposing principles came into collision (the volume in question embraces from 1226 to 1351), and briefly asserts, "Nous déclarerons purement et simplement que nous sommes avec les Ultramontains sur certaines questions et avec les Gallicans sur d'autres." The preface to the seventh volume (June 1st, 1851) shows that Ultramontane writers were vigorously attacking its author; and finally, on the 22nd of January, 1852, the "History of the Church of France" was put in the Index of prohibited books. On learning this, not by a formal intimation, but merely through the medium of the "Augsburg Gazette," our author addressed a letter to Monseigneur Garibaldi, papal nuncio in France, requesting to be informed whether the intelligence was authentic. By that authority he was referred to Rome, and accordingly wrote to Cardinal Brignole, president of the Congregation of the Index, to solicit further information.

"As a priest devoted to the Church," it is thus that he expresses himself, "I could not but be deeply afflicted in finding that I was classed, without any previous notice, by a Roman Congregation, among the writers whose orthodoxy the faithful are more or less enjoined to suspect. I know not on what motives the Congregation of the Index can have based its censure; for I can see nothing in my work which is not capable of a perfectly orthodox sense." He concludes by requesting to be furnished with the document on which the censure was founded—"in order to profit by the observations therein contained, and thus to make the book irreproachable." The reply was to this effect: That it was not the custom of the Congregation in question to communicate the pieces on which its decisions were based; that the author should address himself to learned and orthodox ecclesiastics of his own nation; and after adopting the corrections which they might propose, should submit his revised work to the Congregation. The Abbé forthwith addressed himself accordingly to four prelates, who either de-

clined the proposed examination, or coupled it with conditions to which the author found it impossible to submit. He again applied to Rome, with the reasonable observation that in order to correct his errors, it was necessary to be informed of them ; and that his own efforts having failed in France, he now trusted to be furnished with the memoir for which he had previously applied. The answer was the same ; the Congregation never communicated such documents, and the author must apply to other critics. He accordingly inserted a notice in the succeeding volume, that he should be thankful for any criticisms whatever ; and this done, applied himself to the completion of his work.

In the eleventh volume, which contains the history of the Jansenist struggles, and of the four famous Gallican Articles of 1682, the author proceeds to far greater lengths than he had ventured at the commencement of his work. To this and the twelfth volume we shall presently direct the reader's attention at some length.

Matters were however brought to a head by the Council of the Province of Bourdeaux, which assembled at La Rochelle in 1853. Under the presidency of his Eminence Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, it was composed of the Bishops of La Rochelle, Perigueux, Agen, Luçon, Poitiers, Angoulême, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and S. Denis de la Réunion. The sixth and seventh sections of the first chapter are thus expressed :—

We declare that, without scandal and injury to souls, and without insult to, and contempt of, the Holy See, it is impossible to use the expressions which are constantly employed by some with respect to the Roman Congregations, and more especially with respect to the Congregation of the Index ; namely, that its decrees, approved by the sovereign pontiff, are of no value and no weight ; a temerity happily contradicted in our day by the conscience of the faithful.

For this reason we are astonished at, and deeply lament, the blindness of spirit which has possessed the author of a work entitled “ A History of the Church of France, composed from original and authentic documents ;” who in the eighth volume of his history not only renews, but aggravates, the erroneous statements of the seven first, condemned by decree of the sacred Congregation of the Index.

Paying no regard to the admonitions of pastoral charity, making vain efforts to defend his faults, he repeats the same thing here and there, that is to say :—

That the sovereign pontiffs have overstepped their rights ; that, only desirous of governing, they have wished to attribute to themselves all ecclesiastical power ; that they have not made Concordats for the good of the Church, but for their own interest, which Concordats could only injure religion ; and, as the temporal power has too often invaded the sacred rights of the Church, that the sovereign pontiffs have strengthened these impious usurpations with a canonical sanction by means of the Concordats ; that they have thus created modern Gallicanism, or rather that they have con-

secrated it by a kind of baptism; finally, he dares to affirm that the right even of making Concordats derives its origin from the sovereign pontiff's desire of domination, and that it is entirely foreign to the power which has been divinely given to them. It is needless to recall the other errors of the same writer on the authority of the sovereign pontiff, liturgical right, religious orders, and vocal prayers; on the guilty abandonment of ancient discipline, still more, on the change in ancient doctrine, of which he complains *in an impious manner*. Let it suffice to notice his bitter zeal, his malevolent spirit, his want of feeling for the ignominy of his spiritual fathers, his love of insulting them; his injustice towards the good and the friends of the Church; always favourable to its enemies, always willingly and easily sacrificing historical fidelity to their known calumnies.

The decrees of the Council, though held, as we have said, in 1853, were not published till June 3rd, 1855; and the Abbé Guettée lost no time in putting forth the pamphlet which stands second on our list. He undertakes to establish, and does establish, the following propositions; that the Council of La Rochelle had judged him without giving him an opportunity of defending himself; that of the ten bishops who censured his eighth volume, two only had opened it; and even these two professed to have read but a portion of it. He then defends himself against the particular charges brought forward in the decree of the Council, especially that of his partiality to heretics, by which title, as he shows, the Port-Royalists are intended.

Among the journals which most powerfully undertook the Abbé Guettée's defence, the "Observateur Catholique" more particularly signalized itself. This review was established for the support of Gallican principles, and to oppose "the pernicious tendencies of the party which finds its organ in the 'Univers.'"

Depuis assez longtemps ce journal a seul la parole. Il a abusé de sa publicité pour répandre dans le monde catholique de nombreuses erreurs; et, ce qui est plus déplorable encore, il a prêché ces erreurs au nom de l'Eglise et du Saint-Siège. Il nous a semblé qu'il était bien temps de prendre, contre cet organe exagéré de l'ultramontanisme, la défense des vrais principes catholiques. On finirait par identifier l'Eglise avec son école, si des catholiques sincères n'élevaient pas la voix pour rappeler que l'ultramontanisme ne fut jamais qu'un système rejeté par tout ce que l'Eglise a possédé plus nobles intelligences; et qu'en voulant transformer en dogme ce système faux, anticatholique et anti-social, le parti ultramontain veut nous imposer un joug que la foi aussi bien que la raison repoussent.

From the very commencement the nerve and vigour of the new periodical gave it considerable influence; and in order to be thoroughly independent it was determined that the writers should be laymen only. The law by which contributors to periodicals are compelled to attach their names to their articles, would have exposed any priest who might write in the pages of

the "Observateur" to serious trouble, and, therefore, where a paper is received from an ecclesiastic, one of the committee of directors makes himself responsible for its contents. The introductory article, which developes the scheme of the paper, is from the pen of M. Guélon, one of the ablest and most frequent contributors. MM. Eugène Secretant, Parent Duchatelet, and Virey, are also in the same rank.

In addition to reviews, theological dissertations, and notices of books, each number contains a *Chronique Religieuse*, which to a foreign reader is its most entertaining part. If any one is desirous of learning the lengths to which French Ultramontaniasm is pushing the worship of S. Mary, he can hardly find a better study than this chronicle. It must be confessed that there is here and there a bitterness which is scarcely suited to a religious periodical; but the constant and unscrupulous attacks of the "Univers" are but too likely to provoke a reply in its own strain. Some of these notices may interest our readers.

We have received a pamphlet containing the act of Consecration to the Blessed Virgin, pronounced April 4, 1855, by Cardinal Goussier, at Rheims. We remark in it the following passage:—"We are happy to be able on this day, on occasion of a ceremony so august and so consoling to our heart to renew, on the faith of an oath, the vow which we long ago made, to teach and to defend the privilege which has made thee holy, more holy than holiness itself, from the first instant of thy conception." Holiness, (remarks the editor) considered generally, is GOD Himself, Who is essential holiness. Are we to conclude that Monseigneur Goussier regards the Blessed Virgin as holier than GOD Himself?

A preacher, in his sermon of the 16th of December, delivered in his church in this city, informed his astonished auditors that "perfect contrition is an easy thing, much easier than is generally imagined. Think of the enormity of your crimes and of the goodness of GOD—and you have perfect contrition and are justified. To say that perfect contrition is not an easy thing, is a monstrosity; it is to turn a religion of love into an impracticable religion. A hundred thousand sins! it is nothing in the world. One moment's repentance, and all is blotted out!" O Father Pichon, (exclaims the editor), verily you have fervent disciples!

Much speculation has lately been excited by a journal called the "Rosary of Mary." The number which is in our hands is that of Saturday, January 19th, 1856. . . . We especially notice an article which contains such blasphemies as the following:—"You who fear the face of JEHOVAH, who tremble when the hour of prayer to Him has arrived, pray to Mary with the faith of our fathers, and she will lay your wants before the Divinity; for it is by Mary that the incense of prayer ascends to the throne of GOD; it is by Mary that the virtue of grace, and the ineffable blessings of the Most High descend." Thus Mary is better, so far as we are concerned, than GOD; GOD is deprived of the infinite goodness which is His essential attribute; Mary takes the place of JESUS CHRIST as the Mediator between GOD and man. That no doubt may remain on the subject, we read as the motto of the "Rosary"—*All by Mary: nothing except by Mary*. This unfortunate magazine has recourse to simony in order to procure subscribers; for, at the head of the number which we hold in our hands, appears the following notice in bad Latin:—

"Priests who will promise to send us twenty-eight intentions in the space of six months will receive our journal gratis for a year, reckoning from the day of their promise." Subscriptions to a newspaper is a temporal object. To pay for it by masses is to apply to a temporal object a thing which in its very nature is spiritual. This traffic is, then, simoniacal; for, says the Canon Law, simony is committed by giving, or even by promising, the temporal for the spiritual, or the spiritual for the temporal, as principal end and object, and not gratuitously.

And here is another notice of a French abuse which will apply with equal force to some of our own fashionable churches, at least at watering-places:—

The Archbishop of Paris has just forbidden the clergy of his diocese to advertise in the newspapers the names of the artistes who have promised to sing in their churches. It was time to put a stop to this scandal; for it seemed that our churches were about to rival the opera. It was to be hoped then, that there will be an end to the demand of three francs for a chair, as at the Mass of the Holy Innocents in the Church of S. Francis; or one franc, as in the Madeleine. Under similar circumstances, the countryman showed his good sense when he said, "If you demand this sum for my chair, well and good, but then I shall carry it away with me at the end of the service; for I could buy it at the same price!" Let us hope that the order which has just emanated from the Archbishop will put an end to the quantity of profane music which has been daily increasing, to the great sorrow of true Catholics.

It may easily be conceived that a journal with such principles as the above, would direct its attention to three points connected with the present state of the Church of France—the so-called miracle of La Salette, the Bull *Ineffabilis*, and the substitution now taking place in Paris and other dioceses of the Roman for the Gallican Missals and Breviaries. The two former subjects are so intimately connected with the life—there have not been wanting those who have whispered also with the *death*—of the Abbé Laborde, that a short notice of that distinguished writer may not be out of place.

Jean-Joseph Laborde was born at Lectoure, a town which was a stronghold of so-called Jansenism in the eighteenth century, and which seems to have retained the same bias in the present. First curate of S. Mary at Auch, and then incumbent of a country parish in the same diocese, he distinguished himself by his "Censure of Twenty-two Propositions of corrupt Morality, extracted from the Writings of a modern Author:" which "modern author," M. Gouffet—seeing that corrupted morality is no obstacle to high places—subsequently became, what he still is, Cardinal-Archbishop of Rheims. For this censure our author was compelled by his own diocesan, the Archbishop of Auch, to apologise to M. Gouffet. He took care, however, to do so in a manner perfectly intelligible to the latter, and followed

up his first work with three discourses on the subject of relaxed morals. At this time the Abbé Guéranger's work, "*Institutions Liturgiques*," written on the most determined Ultramontane principles, was exciting great interest in France. Laborde composed in reply to it his "*Lettres Parisiennes*," a second edition of which has lately appeared. And, as the question of the Immaculate Conception was now everywhere discussed preparatory to its definition as an article of faith, our writer came forward with his "*La Croyance à l'Immaculée Conception ne peut devenir un dogme de foi*," which was denounced to the Congregation of the Index by Mons. Lacroix. The condemnation which followed, insisted on by the Archbishop, but constantly declared by the priest, on the principles of Bossuet and Fleury, to be of no value whatever in France, led to the retirement of Laborde from his diocese and his settlement at Paris. He here occupied himself in a defence of the Gallican Church against the attacks of Count Montalembert. When it was understood that the decree exalting the dogma of the Immaculate Conception into an article of faith was to be pronounced in Rome, on the festival of the Conception, 1854, our author was despatched by his friends to memorialize Pius IX. on the subject. On his arrival at Rome, he was arrested by the police, detained prisoner on board the vessel *S. Pierre*, for some days, and then reconducted to France. He here published an interesting relation of his journey; and employed the intervals of ease in his last sickness (which almost immediately attacked him) by the composition of his latest work, "*Entretiens sur la Salette*." At his own earnest desire he was taken into a hospital for the poor, and there, after having received the last sacraments, he died on the 16th of April, 1855, in the fiftieth year of his age. The most atrocious calumnies were promulgated as to his dying moments; but the friends who had assisted at his death-bed came forward in the pages of the "*Observateur*," and did justice to an end which worthily crowned a life spent in the service of GOD.

We are not about to enter into a discussion of the miracle of La Salette, which we have already noticed on a former occasion. The Abbé Laborde, in his "*Entretiens sur la Salette*," demonstrated, as far as it is possible to prove a negative, the utter groundlessness and incredibility of the whole relation. He argues that, in order to establish a miracle, the very highest degree of evidence is requisite; that Canon Law forbids the reception of any evidence before an ecclesiastical tribunal without the solemnity of an oath; and that the same law declares children under the age of fourteen incapable of taking an oath.

Of the two so-called witnesses of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin, Maximin Giraud was only eleven, and Françoise Melanie Mathieu was not fifteen. He goes on to observe that the boy, terrified when he saw the consequences of the invention, confessed to the Curé at Arts that the whole was a fabrication. He further proceeds to demonstrate, from the words put into the mouth of S. Mary, that it is impossible to accept the statement, even were the degree of evidence which can be adduced for it tenfold what it is. Such expressions as the following, for example, are dwelt on with much effect. "If my people will not be converted"—and observe that throughout the whole of Holy Scripture the solemn expression, *my people*, is employed by GOD alone—"I shall be obliged to allow the arm of my Son to fall upon them; it is so mighty and so heavy that I can hold it up no longer." Or again: "*I have given you six days in which to work; I have reserved the seventh unto myself; it is not given up to me; it is this which makes the arm of my Son so heavy.*" He comments, as might be expected, on the manifest falsehood, as proved by the event, of the predictions put into the mouth of the apparition. The event occurred in the September of 1846. The words were: "The potatoes will continue to rot, and this year at Christmas there will be none. Let not him that has corn sow it, for the beasts will eat it; and that which comes into ear, will become dust when you thrash it. There will be a great famine. Before the famine comes, children under the age of seven will fall into convulsions, and will die in the hands of those that hold them." With the abundant harvest of 1847 before his eyes, the Abbé Laborde might well quote the text, "When a prophet speaketh in the name of the LORD, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the LORD hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of them." How, in the face of these facts, and in opposition to the declaration of the two prelates most interested in the miracle, the Archbishop of Lyons and the Bishop of Gap, an English Roman Catholic bishop can have had the courage to publish an account of his pilgrimage to La Salette, and to profess his unshaken faith in the occurrence, is certainly a phenomenon.

We devoted, some time ago, a considerable space to the discussion of the questions connected with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; without going over our old ground, it may not be without interest to our readers if we notice a few of the facts connected with the subsequent history of the Bull *Ineffabilis*. The Abbé Laborde's open opposition to the dogma, his journey to Rome, and his arrest there, are well known. His

“*Rélation et Mémoire des Opposants au nouveau Dogme de l’Immaculée Conception*,” excited deep interest far beyond the limits of France. One of the most remarkable of his adherents was the Father Morgaez, a Dominican, and theological professor at the University of Alcala. In a letter dated December 19th, 1855, and addressed to Monsieur Laborde, of whose death he was not then aware, the Spanish divine thus expresses himself. After informing his correspondent that his book, under the title of “*Doctrinal Judgment on the Pontifical Decree of December 8th, 1854*,” had been suppressed by the civil authority, and that he himself was in danger of undergoing the treatment due to a heretic, he continues thus :—

Courage, my dear sir; let us console ourselves in our common tribulations! we suffer them for the holy Church of GOD, against the profane novelties which are endeavoured to be introduced by men, whom the Apostle has described (2 Tim. iii.), and who, to attain their end, have abused the fervent piety, simplicity and devotion of the holy father Pius IX. towards our tender mother the Virgin Mary, Mother of GOD. Let us array ourselves in the arms of our warfare; they are not carnal, but mighty in GOD to overthrow everything that is opposed to them; it is by these arms that we destroy human reasonings, and everything that exalts itself with pride against the knowledge of GOD. Let us be rooted and grounded in the faith, and mighty in our works, so that we may refute every doctrine contrary to that which the holy Fathers and their successors have transmitted to us by a perpetual, constant, and uninterrupted succession. Let us oppose ourselves like a wall of brass to the torrent of iniquity, from whatever side it comes. Let us not permit them to brand with heresy the doctrine of the holy Fathers Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Eusebius of Emessa, Leo the Great, Gelasius, Gregory the Great, Remigius, Maximus, Venerable Bede, Anselm, Bernard, Erardus, bishop and martyr, Antony of Padua, Bernardin of Sienna, Thomas, Vincent Ferrier, Antoninus, John Damascene, Hugh of S. Victor, and numerous theologians of the ancient school. Let us courageously resist the innovators, and not suffer them to torture, under pretence of explaining, the clear and luminous opinions of the holy Fathers and learned men whom I have named. Let us remain firmly attached to the chair of Peter; but let us not receive blindly everything that may come from Rome . . . I will not write at greater length, because, weakened as I am by age, and by long illness, I cannot spend more time on a letter. I ask one thing from you, my dear brother, and from the companions of our sufferings and afflictions, that you would remember me at the Altar of my LORD, and would beseech JESUS CHRIST to fill us with power and courage to fight His battles. I would also ask you, if it be possible, to publish this letter in Latin and in French.

A month later we find the writer thus addressing the Editor of the “*Observateur Catholique* :”—

You know that I have written a work on the same subject of which you treat, and on the same principles; the Pontifical Definition of December 8th, 1854. On this account the Ecclesiastical Vicar of this Court has commenced proceedings against me: they were begun, he said, in order that the Synodal examiners of Toledo might pronounce judgment on my writings. This took

place on the 20th November last. The 14th of the following December, I was imprisoned by order of the same vicar, declared suspended from every sacerdotal function, and placed under the guard by direction of a certain priest of this mission of S. Vincent de Paul. I am told that the priest in question, though wearing the habit of a secular ecclesiastic, is in fact a Jesuit. Neither my age of sixty-six years, nor the palsy, from which I have suffered for four, nor the cold of my cell, which is extremely injurious to my health, have prevented the vicar from thus shutting me up. The damp and the cold have aggravated my complaint; I requested to be carried to a hospital, or if that could not be, to be taken to a real prison, where I should be better off; no attention has been paid to my request, and I have received no answer. How could I expect it?—since nowhere else could I be so securely punished, and so completely in the power of spies, as in this house? Here, all are spies and watch me; here, I can neither confess sacramentally, nor receive the support of the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, even in lay communion; here, my very name inspires horror; I am regarded as a heretic, a profane person, a blasphemer, a sacrilegious priest; here, as everywhere else, I am reviled before an ignorant people, and in religious houses. If you ask what is the foundation for their attacks, they will only say that the Pope, who is infallible, has promulgated a definition to which an entire obedience is due. They affirm that if he were to command the magistrates to put Father Morgaez to death, they are bound to do so, under pain of rebellion against the Church of God. . . . It is now three months since my work was sent to the Synodal judges at Toledo. No judgment has been given, no sentence has been pronounced, and yet the Clergy cry out with all their strength, that I am a heretic worthy of the fagot and the flames. . . . Would to God that when a priest of my order attacked me from the pulpit, and endeavoured to hound on his auditors against me, my life had been sacrificed. I foresee that at my last hour the sacraments of the Church will be refused me, and that my body will not be buried in consecrated ground. . . . Assist me with your prayers, and beseech God to preserve me from the teeth of the lions who surround and watch me continually.

Another letter, equally touching, but which we forbear to quote, since it has already appeared in a contemporary journal, was addressed by Father Morgaez to the editors of the "*Observateur*." In the mean time, he had the satisfaction of receiving a communication from four Italian priests, which must have been a great consolation to the brave old man. It, as well as his reply, have been printed in the "*Correspondence of the Confessors of the Faith*," which stands on our list. After speaking of the labours and (to human eyes) premature death of Laborde, they thus continue:—

Besides the priest Laborde, of whom we have spoken with praise, four priests of Pavia opposed the Definition of the 8th of December, 1854, declared to their own bishop that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was quite new, and contradictory to apostolical tradition; further, that the definition had been promulgated against all the laws and canons of the Church; so that, bearing upon its face the mark of its condemnation, the divine promises could not be applied to it. These priests, if you wish to know them—if not personally, at least by name and in charity—are none other than ourselves, unworthy and sinners, who desire to be united to you

in the bonds of the HOLY SPIRIT. The third day after the publication of the bull, that is to say, the 12th of February last year, we presented an act of opposition to our bishop, who, without examination or judgment, wrote to us that we were under the greater excommunication, pronounced against us by the letters apostolical, and suspended us from all priestly functions; we are still under this sentence, and doubtless shall be till our death. Nevertheless, though we were prevented, on account of the misfortune of the times, from causing our act of opposition to be printed, GOD took care that it should be divulged, through the French and Italian journals; and, through fear that it should not be hereafter known, Perrone has consecrated its memory by blaming our opposition in the thesis of the new dogma which he has added lately to his theology.

At the end of last year Athanasius Donetti, native of the Swiss mountains, formerly a distinguished professor of the seminary of Pavia, and curate in this city, remarkable for his science and eloquence, has published a work to which he has attached his name; in it he has opposed the definition as contrary to right, and proved the perversity of the new dogma, with invincible reasoning, and in an energetic style.

Finally, Spain has also given her tribute, and it is not small, with regard to the difficulties of the times; for it has furnished from the laity a young advocate whom you have mentioned in your letters, and among the priests—you, who show invincible courage. But you, illustrious confessor, surpass the rest by enduring such shameful treatment for the truth; indeed, words and reasonings are of little use to enkindle faith in the hearts of men, if the divine grace of the HOLY SPIRIT does not come to help and enliven them; but this grace rather works by means of tribulations and sacrifices. For our Redeemer and our Chief has redeemed the world by His cross and by His death; and it was necessary that the grain of wheat sown in the earth should die, that it might yield, in all the world, an abundant harvest. A similar fate is reserved to His members; thus, those who are chosen by the grace of GOD to preach the Gospel will not reap in joy, if they sow not in tears; they will not carry their sheaves rejoicing, if they have not planted the seed of truth with tears.

The merciful GOD has given you the better part, that of suffering; the more painful the torments you endure for the glory of His Name, the more excellent are they; you are made a spectacle unto the world, unto angels, and to men. You are truly happy, who are persecuted for the sake of justice! The eyes of all the saints are turned towards you; they contemplate the battles of the LORD, and the glorious victories which they obtain through you, against the enemies of the truth. A thousand and thousand times blessed! you represent to our eyes the troop of the ancient confessors of the faith; and in you the army of martyrs reckons a new soldier—that army that shall fight for the faith till the time of Antichrist.

Take courage, then, courageous champion of CHRIST, and let not adversity abate your strength of soul. Strengthen yourself in the LORD, and be full of vigour; hold that thou hast, for it is he who shall persevere unto the end that will be saved. And if Satan, our enemy, goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking to devour you, resist him with the strength which faith gives you, casting all your care upon GOD, Who careth for you; as CHRIST has taught, repel all the temptations of the enemy, and strengthen yourself by the word of GOD. If they will not hear your confession, you need not lay it to heart, since they thus act from hatred to the truth; if the martyr-catechumens were purified by their own blood, you who confess JESUS CHRIST and His Word before men, will be acknowledged by Him before His Father and before His angels. Are you forbidden to say mass? You are yourself the sacrifice, and the altar upon which CHRIST is sacrificed to GOD His Father,

since you fill up in your body for the Church that which is behindhand in His sufferings. Are you not even consoled by lay communion? Have confidence, brother, in the LORD your GOD, Who gives the hidden manna to him that overcometh, and who satisfies with the invisible food of angels those who, for not consenting to impiety, are deprived of His body and blood, which are our greatest consolation in this exile. You fear, perhaps, the being deprived of all help in the last combat with death; but remember CHRIST dying upon the cross, forsaken by His Father; and thus, if men forsake you, you will say with greater confidence, "LORD, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Finally, be not troubled about your burial, when you have before your eyes the examples of so many martyrs whose bodies, cast into the highways, have been torn to pieces by birds of prey, or burnt. . . .

If you wish to know with certainty the remainder of what has happened to us, and which concerns us, we will willingly relate it to you.

At the approach of Easter we addressed a respectful letter to our bishop, to pray him at least to allow us lay communion, and to have at least pity upon one among us, who was dangerously ill, and who ardently desired to receive the holy Eucharist. The bishop refused us because we would not betray the truth. The sick man afterwards felt a little better, and lingered during a year a life of weariness and suffering, desiring to die and to be with CHRIST; but now his illness is increased, and he is on his bed as upon an altar, offering his sacrifice to GOD, and preparing himself to go to his LORD with great trust, because of the testimony he has given to the truth. Remember him in your prayers.

Twice our bishop has proposed a conference to discuss the question, and twice has put it off, because we laid down such conditions that the truth might incur no danger, and that the victory might be evidently proved whichever side it might be.

Among the priests of our country (we speak particularly of our own and a neighbouring diocese) there are few who believe in their hearts the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; the greater part, before the definition, openly detested it; but afterwards, in presence of the danger, they have obeyed the orders which they have received, from different motives. Some rejected, at least apparently, the opinion which they had formerly supported, and said that they were convinced by the authority of the universal Church, and that they did not wish to risk their salvation by refusing to obey it. The greater number, privately rejecting the dogma, respect it in public and in the Church, so that the great multitude of the faithful are led by them into this hypocrisy. A very small number regret having acted in this manner; but, through weakness, they cannot raise themselves from their fall. Finally, some, an extremely small number, among those who have no public ministry to fulfil, have not soiled their robes; they lament the silence which is imposed upon them; they pray GOD to come to their aid if they should one day be called to bear witness to the truth.

The faithful are divided into two parties. The one having the appearance of piety, but denying it in reality, blindly embrace the pontifical dogma, refuse to instruct themselves about it, and hold us in abomination as heretics. Others are neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm; therefore they either ridicule the dogma, or they take no more interest in it than in the rest of religion. Nevertheless, through the grace of GOD, there are still some among the laity—a very small number, we must say—who serve GOD in spirit and in truth; these detest the perverse dogma, and are ready for anything. We can also mention several women, who, pressed by necessity, have engaged in the combat against the enemy with manly courage, and who for several months have been deprived of Confession and the Eucharist.

Alphonse Tenca, priest, aged fifty-two years, latterly spiritual director in the house of the Jeunes-Orphelines. I sign on my bed of suffering.

Joseph Grignani, priest, aged forty-six years, lately chaplain in the same house.

Joseph Parona, priest, aged forty-seven years, formerly director of studies in the episcopal seminary, and in the last place spiritual director in the pious retreat of penitent women commonly called the House of S. Margaret.

Aloysius, priest, aged thirty-one years.

Pavia, February 27, 1856.

But a far more important testimony to the ancient doctrine has been put forward by that persecuted but most courageous Church of Holland, to which we have on more than one occasion called the attention of our readers. It is printed in the "*Observateur*" of September the 1st, 1856.*

The third controversy which has been principally discussed in the pages of the "*Observateur*," is that of the substitution of the Roman for the Gallican office books. It is well known that the Archbishop of Paris has instituted a commission, which at the present moment is preparing the Breviary about to be adopted in that diocese, by the addition of a Proper of Saints, and such other modifications as local circumstances may necessarily require. It is to this subject, as we have seen, that the "*Lettres Parisiennes*" of Laborde referred. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries almost every diocese in France, following the example of that of Paris, introduced its own offices: all varying more or less from each other, but all based on the same grand principles, the expulsion of uncertain legends, the appointment of a far larger number of Scriptural lessons, the regular and equal weekly recitation of the whole Psalter, the selection of Invitatories, Antiphons, and Responses, so far as might be, from the words of Scripture alone, and the substitution of modern hymns, chiefly the work of Santeuil, (better known by his Latinised name of Santolius Victorinus) and Coffin, for the more ancient compositions of the Roman Breviary. The modern Gallican Breviaries have been attacked most vigorously by Dom Guéranger, who of course finds Jansenism in them everywhere; and who makes the most of the undoubted slips and heterodox lines, such as,

JESU Redemptor plurium,

instead of the Church's

JESU Redemptor omnium,

which may here and there be discovered in them. But it cannot

* [I had translated it here; but I have since given it at length in my "*History of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland*," pp. 374—378, and therefore will not repeat it in this place.]

be denied that the manner in which their responses, and especially those of the three leading Breviaries—Paris, Rouen, and Amiens—bring together the Old and New Testament, illustrating one from the other, and thus throwing new light on both, is marvelously beautiful. Neither can it be denied that many of the inconveniences inseparable from the Roman division of the Psalter, and the practical corruptions to which it has given rise, have been entirely avoided. But it is impossible to go entirely with Laborde and the Gallican party, in their preference of the more modern form. In one point on which they lay great stress, the hymns, those of Rome, reformed, or rather deformed as they were under Pope Urban VIII, are still every way superior to the pretty compositions of French literati in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: and there is often a depth of meaning in some of the rejected antiphons and invitatories, ill compensated by the more commonplace, if also clearer, passages of the later books.

The “Lettres Parisiennes” are eighteen in number. The first two are occupied with the general plan of the work: in the third, the inconveniences of the weekly office in the Roman ritual are pointed out. It is shown that while, on the one hand, the ordinary Sunday has eighteen psalms, and the ordinary week-day twelve, at matins, every saint’s-day above a *simple* has but nine, and those selected are from among the shortest in the Psalter. Hence, as might naturally be expected, the wish to shorten the service has so completely overloaded the calendar with doubles and semi-doubles, that the Ferial Psalms have scarcely ever a chance of being recited. “It is easier,” says Laborde, “on a week-day to recite nine very short psalms, varied with as many lessons, also very short, than to repeat at a single breath twelve psalms, without pause, at the risk of lighting on such an one as the 89th, the 78th, the 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th. We have,” he continues, “a guarantee for this which cannot be suspected, Dom Guéranger. After having spoken of the festivals of Saints, which they began again to add to the Breviary soon after the reform, he thus expresses himself: ‘Clement X. may be regarded as the author of a true liturgical revolution. Until his time, new doubles had not been admitted except with moderation, in order to save the prerogative of Sunday; semi-doubles also had only been created in a very small number.’ This then was the spirit before the time of Clement X; that is to say, the spirit of the Council of Trent, which had maintained itself notwithstanding the blows which it had already received. It is clear as the day that the spirit to which France has been more faithful than any other Church has presided over our Breviaries.”

"It is, then, under Clement X. that the Roman Breviary began to deviate from the principle of the reformation ordained at Trent, and it has not ceased to deviate still further from it.* The same Dom Guéranger agrees with this, in continuing thus on the subject of the same pope:—'This pope,' says he, 'derogated from this rule in such a marked manner, that after him the greater part of the established offices had the double rite: which has definitely changed the character of the Roman Calendar.' That is to say, the Roman Breviary has, in this respect, fallen again into the same abuse in which it was before the Council of Trent, and stands in need of the same reformation. The weekly office is in the printed books, and that is all. They never use it, or scarcely ever; and by this they neglect the institution of the ancient Fathers, and the practices of every age since the first centuries, to say the whole of the Psalter once a-week. The words of Cardinal Quignon, by which he proved the necessity of reforming the Breviary at the end of the fifteenth century, are as true of our time as they were then: 'Some Psalms,' says he, 'were appointed for every day of the week; the greater part of the time they are of no use. Some of them only are repeated through the year.' There are fifty of the shortest of them which are repeated incessantly, and one hundred of the most beautiful which are never said. *I know some places where they have made the bookbinder leave the Ferial Psalter out of new Breviaries in order to diminish the weight of the volume.*"

But after all, this expedient of replacing the Ferial by Proper Psalms does not always apply, and at present, at least, there are many days in which the twelve which stand in the Breviary must still be recited. Other expedients have therefore been devised to obviate this necessity. On the Thursday, when in the regular course the 78th Psalm, with its seventy-three verses, would occur, the office of devotion in honour of the Blessed Sacrament enables the Roman priests to acquit themselves of their duty with the recitation of but nine short psalms. The Office of the Blessed Virgin serves the same turn on the Saturday. But even all this will not, it seems, answer the purpose in France. Pius V. had regulated that the Sundays of Advent and those from Septuagesima till Easter, should yield, under no circumstances, to any feast whatsoever, except in some particular cases to that of the patron saint if it occurred. Here, then, are thirteen Sundays—just a quarter of the whole—in which the whole Dominical Office, with its eighteen psalms, must, one should say, be recited. But

* We must except the Pontifical of Benedict XIV.—*Editor's note.*

it is not so. The Bishop of Gap, in his pastoral for the establishment of the Roman Office in his diocese, actually promises his priests that they shall have leave to omit nine of the eighteen psalms, if they will accept the new Breviary in other particulars. "Thus modified," says he, "the Roman will not be longer than the Gapanese Breviary." "But then," asks Laborde, "would it not have been more simple to continue the Gapanese Office, than to say the Roman Office in the Gapanese fashion?"

The tenth letter is occupied by the false legends which, notwithstanding its reform by Pius V, have still retained their place in the Roman Office. The fable about S. Clement, notoriously given up by all good critics, and called by Tillemont a "stupid and ridiculous story," has its place in the Lessons for the 23rd of November, where we are informed that on that day the sea annually retires from the coast of the Crimea for the space of a week, in order to uncover the tomb of the saint. In like manner, the Lessons for Pope S. Marcellinus affirm, contrary to all historical evidence, that he apostatized; those for S. Marcellus, that in the persecution of Maxentius (which persecution never had any existence), he was reduced to take the charge of a stable; and those for S. Sylvester repeat the exploded fable of the leprosy and miraculous cure of Constantine.

M. Laborde did not live to see the grand object of the Ultramontane party accomplished in the substitution of the Roman Breviary for that of the Diocese of Paris. It was not to be expected that his surviving friends could allow the *mandement* of Archbishop Sibour to pass without notice; accordingly, there is a very able critique in the "Observateur" on that document:—

"The moment appears to have come," says the Archbishop, "to re-establish the Roman Liturgy in this large Diocese."

To *re-establish* it, it must have been formerly established there, as we have already remarked; the Archbishop takes it for granted; but his Grace is deceived upon this point. The Roman Liturgy has never been admitted into the Diocese of Paris. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, one of the Gondys, who wished to be cardinal and to please the court of Rome, thought of establishing it, instead of reforming that of his Diocese according to the spirit of the Council of Trent. But he met with so lively an opposition in his clergy that he was obliged to renounce his project.

The time is come, according to his lordship, to *tighten*, by the Roman Liturgy, *the bands of unity*.

These words are a concession to the unfortunate idea put forth by our modern Ultramontanes, who make unity to consist in things which do not at all concern it. Never, in the Church of JESUS CHRIST has it been considered as a gain to abandon local customs and traditions. The Church, destined to visit the whole world, and to enlighten it with the Divine light, suits all nations, so different in manners and language, precisely on account of this legitimate diversity of its liturgies and discipline, which renders possible the adoption of Christianity by nations, which would always be utterly

alienated, if there were no means of facilitating the practice of her precepts, and if the faith had not, by prayer or liturgy, an expression in keeping with the nature of their character. To attack the diversity of liturgies or discipline as less conformable to unity, that is to say, as near schism, is to attack indirectly the true unity of the Church,—is to give reason to believe, that Christianity, according to the system of Montesquieu, is impossible for certain people, or, which comes to the same thing, that the Church cannot obtain *Catholicity*, which is, nevertheless, one of its essential and fundamental attributes.

It is now time that we should turn to one or two of the more salient points of the Abbé Guettée's history. We have, on several previous occasions, directed the attention of our readers to several points of importance in the history of the Gallican Church. We will follow her new historian in his account of one of the most remarkable epochs of her existence—the adoption of the four celebrated Articles of 1682.

It was during the brief interval of the Peace of Clement IX. that the extraordinary controversy broke out which, for a moment, united the Jesuits with the Ultra-Gallicans and with Louis XIV, while it linked the Pope in close alliance with the school of Port Royal, or the so-called Jansenist Bishops. At the epoch of the Concordat, the kings of France had claimed and obtained certain rights of presentation, in contravention of the previous *régime*, over the greater part of the Gallican dioceses. The rights of some were still preserved intact, and among these were the churches of Languedoc. In 1673, Louis XIV, then in the height of his power, resolved to bring the whole of his kingdom under the same rules. The greater part of the prelates were too well bred—to say nothing of their possible expectations of richer sees or archbishoprics—to oppose the slightest difficulties to the will of the sovereign; but it so happened that there were two, and they previously suspected of Jansenism—Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth, and Caulet, of Pamiers—who were made of different stuff, and determined to defend the rights of their respective Churches at whatever cost. The dispute broke out in 1675. Louis XIV. in that year presented a clerk to a benefice in the diocese of Aleth, to which his predecessors had preferred no claim of presentation. Pavillon appealed to the assembly of the clergy, then in actual session, and demanded their assistance in the defence of his rights. That synod, with a prudent regard to temporal consequences, replied that the matter was too weighty for its own decision, and thus virtually left it in the hands of De Harlai, Archbishop of Paris, a man whose ambition and love of pleasure were about equal. It so happened that, at the same time, Caulet had occasion to visit Paris as deputy from the estates of Foix, of which he was, *ex officio*, president. The Jesuit party, by whom the king was sur-

rounded, and who had already been informed of his dispositions, founded him as to his agreement or non-agreement with the Bishop of Aleth ; and Père de la Chaise, the Confessor of Louis XIV, demanded formally whether he were willing to acquiesce in the new claims which the king's declaration had put forth. Caulet boldly declared his sentiments, and, having completed the business which had called him to Paris, returned into Languedoc. Assembling his chapter, and foreseeing the storm which was about to burst over him, it is said that, after stating the full details of his conduct, he addressed his canons in the words of our LORD, "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of?" and that they replied without one dissentient voice, "We are able." He then, in his own name as well as theirs, addressed a letter to Père de la Chaise, in which he informed the favourite that neither his own conscience nor that of his chapter would allow him to subscribe to the king's mandate.

In the meantime, Pavillon, encouraged by his brother prelate, had suspended, *ipso facto*, the nominee of Louis XIV. and all those who took any part in his induction. The Parliament of Paris condemned his sentence to be burnt ; on which the bishop appealed to Rome, and Pont-château, one of the most illustrious disciples of Port Royal, was despatched to inform Innocent XI. orally of the state of the case. By that pontiff he was received with the highest marks of distinction ; and was curiously and minutely interrogated as to the health, habits, and diocesan institutions of the Bishop of Aleth, whose asceticism in a dissolute age had been the wonder of Catholic Europe. In the meantime, the suspended nominee of the king appealed to the Cardinal de Bonzi, Archbishop of Narbonne, the metropolitanical see of Aleth. That prelate reversed the judgment of his suffragan, and installed the presentee. On this, Pavillon issued a pastoral instruction against the sentence of his metropolitan, and appealed to Rome.

While these events were proceeding, the Bishop of Pamiers was qually harassed. His letter to Père de la Chaise had enraged Louis XIV. to the last degree. It was deliberated in the Council of State whether the recusant bishop should not, by a *lettre de cachet*, be sent into exile ; but the more moderate advice of the minister Tellier, and his son the Archbishop of Rheims, prevailed. Determined, however, to assert his pretended rights, on a vacancy of the archdeaconry of Pamiers Louis XIV. presented a person named Poncet to that dignity. It is clear that, even had the rights of the *régale* been such as they were pretended to be, the king could only have nominated to the archdeaconry during the vacancy of the see ; but it was the intention of the court to consider the bishop, on account of his recusancy,

as civilly dead, and thus at once to assume all his rights. Caulet, as his brother prelate had done, suspended the intruded arch-deacon, and those who had assisted in his installation. They, in turn, appealed to their metropolitan, the Archbishop of Toulouse, who, without hearing the case, reversed the sentence of his suffragan. He, as in the former instance, appealed to Innocent XI. who took the case into his own hands.

While affairs were in this posture, Pavillon departed this life, in the eightieth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his episcopate, leaving the whole weight of the controversy to fall on the Bishop of Pamiers. Shortly afterwards, the Council of State issued a decree to the effect that, unless that prelate submitted to the king's ordinance within two months, the temporalities of his diocese should be seized. On this Caulet addressed a letter to the king, in which, while protesting that he never could nor would obey man rather than GOD, he declared that he was perfectly willing to sustain the loss of all his worldly goods, but would still ask the king that the sums allotted to his cathedral, his two seminaries, and the poor of his diocese, might be exempted from the general confiscation. To this letter no regard was paid. At the day appointed, the agents of the police seized all the effects of the bishop with such rigour that, though it was the depth of winter, they did not leave him a single rag for his evening fire. On this, the incumbents of the diocese, who appear to have caught the spirit of the chapter, and had determined to show that they were able to drink of the cup that their bishop should drink of, met in its various localities, and taxed themselves at a certain rate for the support of their diocesan. They also made him a present of two mules, in order that he might be able to continue his diocesan visitations. A collection was further made in Paris for his support, and it was proposed in the Council of State that its principal agent and chief contributor should be sent to the Bastille. "No," said Louis XIV, "I have seized on the temporalities of the Bishop of Pamiers, but I never intended that he should die of hunger; neither shall it be said that any one, in my reign, was punished for giving alms."

In the meantime Innocent XI. had addressed two briefs to the oppressed prelate; and the high eulogiums which they passed upon him were the last consolations which the old man received in this life. While he was on his death-bed, the assembly of the clergy, under the direction of the courtier-archbishop De Harlai, presented an address to the king, occupied with the most fulsome adulation; and it seemed as if the majority of the Church of France were on the eve of schism with the see of Rome.

On the death of the Biſhop of Pamiers, the chapter, not un- mindful of its promiſe, elected for its two vicars eccleſiaſtics who were moſt oppoſed to the ſtretch of the *régale*. One of theſe was immediately exiled; the courageous canons, without con- ſidering his office vacated, gave him as coadjutor a prieſt of the ſame ſentiments. The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe profeſſed to con- ſider theſe appointments as *ipſo facto* null and void, and nomina- ted, by his metropolitical right, two other eccleſiaſtics vicars- general of the dioceſe. Thus the wildeſt confuſion prevailed; the magiſtrates imprifoned thoſe who oppoſed the king, and the pope ſuſpended thoſe who obeyed him.

A third ſource of diſſenſion had its riſe at this time. At Cha- ronne there exiſted an inſtitute of canoneſſes regular of S. Au- guſtine, who, amidſt all the uſurpations and corruptions of the age, ſtill maintained its right of electing their own ſuperior. On the demſe of the laſt of theſe, the king, in the plenitude of his power, nominated a certain ſiſter Marie Angelique, of the order of S. Bernard, to the vacant office. Her installation was only performed by main force, and the greater part of the ſiſters, while it was proceeding, roſe and left the choir. For this they were puniſhed, by a royal edict, by baniſhment to diſtant convents of other orders. A few, however, contrived to aſſemble, and to ac- quaint Innocent XI. with what had occurred. On this the Pope directed them to proceed to a canonical election. They did ſo, and choſe another ſiſter Angelique as their ſuperior. Louis XIV. pronounced their election null; Innocent XI. iſſued a brief reverſing the king's edict; and the Parliament quaſhed the brief, and condemned it to the flames.

It was evident that things could not much longer continue as they were without an open rupture. On the 19th of March, 1681, ten archbiſhops and forty biſhops met, by command of the king, at Paris. The reſult of their deliberations was, that the king ſhould be requeſted to permit the convocation of a national council in the following year; and a general aſſembly of the clergy was accordingly ſummoned. It was high time. In the dioceſe of Pamiers the whole chapter had been forced to fly; eighty incumbents were either in priſon or in exile; Father Cerlat, the remaining grand vicar, who had eſcaped, had been condemned to death by the Parliament of Toulouſe. Under theſe circumſtances it was that the celebrated aſſembly of 1682 was convened: a memorable example how it ſometimes pleaſes GOD to bring good out of evil, and in this reſpect to be compared with the miſerable origin and the happy termination of the fifth Œcumenical Council.

The riſing ſpirit of the times was Boſſuet, then, after having

been nominated to the bishopric of Condom, and having resigned it on his appointment as preceptor to the Dauphin, had just been raised to the bishopric of Meaux. It was he who digested in his own mind the proceedings of the assembly in which he was to take so distinguished a part; it was he who, after long consultation with the Archbishops of Paris and Rheims, preached the sermon at the Mass of the HOLY GHOST, which was the *bonâ fide* commencement of the proceedings. Speaking of that sermon, "the tender ears of the Romans," says he to Cardinal d'Estrées, "ought to be respected, and I have done it with all my heart. Three points might annoy them: the independence of the temporal power of kings; the episcopal jurisdiction derivable immediately from JESUS CHRIST; and the authority of councils. You know well that there is but one opinion on these matters in France; and I have endeavoured so to speak that, without betraying the doctrines of the Gallican Church, I might not offend the majesty of the Court of Rome. This is all that can be asked of a French bishop, obliged, by the force of circumstances, to speak of such matters. In one word, I have spoken clearly, for that is my duty everywhere, and, above all, in the pulpit; but I have spoken with respect, and GOD is my witness that I have done it with a good design."

The letter which the assembly addressed to the Pope has been confidently attributed to Bossuet; he himself seems to assign its authorship to the Archbishop of Rheims. While it was on its way to Innocent XI, the assembly adopted those Four famous Articles of which he was the undoubted author, and which form the watchword of the Gallican party at the present day:—

Desirous, then, to remedy these inconveniences, we, archbishops and bishops assembled at Paris by order of the king, with the other ecclesiastical deputies who represent the Gallican Church, have, after full deliberation, judged it fitting to make the rule and declarations which follow:—

"1. That S. Peter and his successors, vicars of JESUS CHRIST, and that the whole Church also, have received power from GOD over spiritual things only, and those which concern salvation, and not things temporal or civil; JESUS CHRIST Himself teaching us that "His kingdom is not of this world;" and in another place, that we must "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to GOD the things that are GOD's;" and that thus this precept of the Apostle S. Paul can in nothing be altered or shaken, "Let every one be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of GOD, and the powers that be are ordained of GOD. He, then, that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of GOD." We declare, in consequence, that kings and sovereigns are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, by the command of GOD, in temporal things; that they cannot be deposed, directly nor indirectly, by the authority of the heads of the Church; that their subjects cannot be dispensed from the submission and obedience which they owe them, or absolved from the oath of allegiance; and that this doctrine, necessary for the public tranquillity, and not less advantageous to the

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Church than to the State, ought to be invariably followed, as conformable to the word of GOD, the tradition of the holy Fathers, and the examples of the saints.

"2. That the plenitude of power possessed by the holy Apostolic See and the successors of S. Peter, vicars of JESUS CHRIST, over spiritual things, is such that, notwithstanding, the decrees of the holy Œcumenical Council of Constance, contained in Sessions IV. and V, approved by the holy Apostolic See, confirmed by the practice of the whole Church and the Roman Pontiffs, and observed religiously through all times by the Gallican Church, remain in their strength and vigour; and that the Church of France does not approve of the opinion of those who attack these decrees, or who weaken them by saying that their authority is not well established, that they are not approved, or that they refer only to times of schism.

"3. That thus the employment of the apostolic power must be regulated by following the canons made by the Spirit of GOD, and consecrated by the general respect of the world; that the rules, customs, and constitutions, received in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church, ought to retain their strength and vigour; and the customs of our fathers ought to remain unshaken; and that it even tends to the greatness of the holy Apostolic See, that the laws and customs established by the consent of this illustrious See and of the Churches may have the authority which they ought to have.

"4. That, although the Pope has the principal interest in questions of faith, and his decrees regard all the Churches, and each Church in particular, his judgment is, nevertheless, not irreformable, at least if the consent of the Church does not intervene."

And these are the maxims which we have received of our Fathers, and which we have resolved to send to all the Gallican Churches, and to the Bishops which the HOLY GHOST has established to govern them, to the end that we may all speak the same thing, that we may all be of the same mind, and that we may all hold the same doctrine.

These articles were adopted on the 19th of March, 1682. On the following day they were promulgated by Louis XIV. as the law of the State, and, three days later, registered in the Parliament as obligatory to be taught by all ecclesiastics.

It is singular that, from the peculiar circumstances by which these Articles were elicited, Arnauld and the Port-Royalists should—however much, on the whole, concurring with their doctrine—have been opposed to their form. At the same time that great divine, from his retreat in Holland, thus expressed himself as to their proposed condemnation by the Papal See:—

I cannot help saying that it would be bad advice to give His Holiness if they urged him to condemn the four articles of the clergy, touching the power of deposing kings, infallibility, and the superiority of the General Council. For the clergy will not want writers in their defence, although they might want them to support their other injustices. And that will produce a great number of writings on both sides, the effect of which will be to play into the hands of heretics, to render the Roman Church odious, to put difficulties in the way of the conversion of Protestants, and to be the occasion of a more cruel persecution against the poor Catholics of England. One may see the beginning already; for a pamphlet has appeared here with this magnificent title—"A reply to the Declaration of the Gallican Church

on Ecclesiastical Power, humbly dedicated by Nicholas Ceroli, Marquis of Carreto, to Innocent XI, best, greatest, chief Pontiff, Vicar of CHRIST, Lord of the City and the World; and only Door-keeper of Heaven, Earth, and Hell; and infallible Oracle of the Faith," &c. I have not seen it, but M. de Ste. Marthe, who has written to me on the subject, adds:—"The contents of the book are proportioned to the magnificence of the title. He pretends that JESUS CHRIST, having been King over all the earth, and the Pope being His vicar, the latter has also sovereign power over the whole world, and by consequence over all monarchs." I lament for the Holy See if it has such defenders; and it is a terrible judgment of GOD on the Church, if Rome takes this way to defend itself against the French bishops."

The summary which the Abbé Guettée gives of the whole affair is worth quoting:—

The act had not, as we have seen, the approbation of Bossuet. He judged it inopportune; but the will of Louis XIV, strongly expressed, appeared to him, under the difficult circumstances of the times, a sufficient reason for acquiescing in it. The assembly had, certainly, the intention of expressing the doctrine of the Church of France in the form of canons and decisions. Had it the right? The general assemblies of the clergy were not councils, and were not usually convoked for any other purpose than the regulation of the temporal affairs of the clergy; however, since the famous assembly of Melun, the custom had been introduced, little by little, of discussing doctrinal questions in these gatherings. That of 1682, having been convoked extraordinarily, and for the express purpose of treating of them, believed itself in possession of this right; but we must remark that it attributed to itself no further powers than those which it truly possessed, and only undertook to give declaration to a doctrine which should be obligatory in France, but in France alone. Nor was it even, properly speaking, a decision for France, but simply a declaration of the opinions which had always been those of the Gallican Church; it was a protest, in the name of the clergy of France, against the Ultramontane exaggerations which had made so much way in the contest between the courts of France and of Rome. It is thus that we ought, if we would be just, to appreciate the act of the assembly of 1682.

It was not to be expected that the Four Articles would ever be approved by the See of Rome. A special congregation was instituted by Innocent XI. for the consideration of their doctrine; and a censure was prepared by that body for the Pope's approval and ratification. But Innocent XI. could never be prevailed on to sign that censure. Yet, anxious to give some proof of his disapprobation, he persisted in refusing his bulls for the elevation to the episcopate of those deputies of the second order who had assisted at the assembly.

The death of Innocent XI. did not end the contest. His successor, Cardinal Ottoboni, raised to the chair of S. Peter under the title of Alexander VIII, persisted in his refusal until the ecclesiastics, nominated to the vacant bishoprics, retracted their adhesion to the Four Articles. In vain was it that the

French bishops represented to him that those Articles were not to be considered in the light of a dogmatical decree—were not intended to be imposed on other Churches—but were a simple statement of the opinion which had always been held by the Church of France. It was intimated by Louis XIV. that, in case of continued refusal, the consecration of the bishops would take place without their bulls. This had actually been done, in some instances, during the wars of the League—had been threatened by the court of Lisbon when bulls were refused by Rome to the bishops nominated by the House of Bragança after the revolution which placed it on the throne; and the threat now held out was remembered and acted upon by the Church of Utrecht, some twenty years later. The Pope, after some fruitless negotiations, prepared a bull, by which he annulled all that had been done in the assembly of 1682; it was kept secret for some time, and only published when Alexander VIII. was on his death-bed. The intelligence of its contents, and the news of the Pope's decease, reached France at the same time. The Parliament was about to condemn it to the flames; but Louis XIV, unwilling to come to an open rupture with the court of Rome, represented that it should rather be attributed to the weakness of a dying man, than to the well-weighed determination of the Holy See; that the new Pope might evince greater moderation; and that the surest way to obtain an easy settlement of the difference was to take no notice of the bull that had just been issued. Cardinal Pignatelli, raised to the Papal See under the title of Innocent XII, hastened, in an autograph letter, to acquaint the King of France with his pacific dispositions. Louis XIV, for his part, suspended the civil law, which rendered the teaching of the Four Articles obligatory; and the Pope at once sent their bulls to those ecclesiastics who had been nominated to bishoprics since the assembly of 1682, but who had not assisted at it. It was understood that both these, as well as those who had been present, were to unite in a letter which should be so drawn up as to please all parties; and with such conflicting interests to be satisfied, it is not wonderful that the composition of this celebrated epistle occupied two years. The terms in which it was finally expressed are these:—

The subscribers declare, “that everything which might have been considered as formally decreed in the said assembly, ought to be held as not formally decreed, and that they themselves regarded it in that light; further, that anything which might be considered to have been then deliberated to the prejudice of the rights of other Churches, was held by them not to have been deliberated at all; that their intention had never been to pass a formal decree, nor to do anything that might wrong other Churches: that they

hoped, for these reasons, that the Pope would reinstate them in his good opinion, and would issue the bulls now demanded."

Such was the conclusion of this famous assembly; a compromise which while it did not, to use Bossuet's expression, grate on the tender ears of the Romans, certainly left the balance of success on the side of the Gallicans. The doctrine of the Four Articles was neither directly nor indirectly condemned; simply their imposition on other Churches was disavowed, and their obligatory imposition upon France retracted.

The history of this event is related by the Abbé Guettée with great precision and clearness, and forms a remarkable contrast with the obscure and bungling manner in which Rohrbacher narrates it in his so-called "History of the Church." At the same time we are bound to say that our present historian, in the events that followed the assembly, seems to us unduly to depreciate Fénelon, in order that he may unduly exalt Bossuet. It is very true that Rohrbacher has more decidedly erred in the opposite direction; but the reverse of wrong is not necessarily right, and our historian might have been content with assigning to the Eagle of Meaux that place which was allotted to him by the verdict of the eighteenth century,—the most learned Gallican except Gerson, and the most eloquent preacher except Massillon. We remember, on a very fine evening in May, walking up and down the arcade of yew-trees, Bossuet's favourite resort, in his episcopal gardens; the western *façade* of the cathedral seen through the branches on one side, the town clustering below the palace on the other. We had been discussing the character of Bossuet with the Vicar-General of the diocese, and it was summed up thus:—"He was a great man, and he was a good man, and he is with the saints; but we must not make him into a saint himself."

We had intended to notice one or two other of the more remarkable events in the later history of the Church of France, which the volumes before us contain. We might in particular refer the reader to the account, now for the first time fairly and dispassionately given, of the infamous Council of Embrun, and the deposition and imprisonment of the venerable Bishop Soanen, of Senez. But, above all other parts of the work, the portion which treats of the ecclesiastical annals of the first Revolution is the most curious. The bias of the Abbé Guettée is decidedly in favour of those who by other Church writers have been branded with every appellation of infamy, the constitutional bishops; and more especially Grégoire, whom he exalts into a hero, and into something like a confessor. But it will be fairer, both to the writer and to ourselves, to reserve that part of his

work till the appearance of his "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, depuis le Concordat de 1801 jusqu'à nos jours," already advertised with the significant notice, "Pour paraître dès que les circonstances le permettront." To judge by his account of the Revolution, our author's annals of the nineteenth century are likely to be as little pleasing to Imperialists as to Ultramontanes; and whether circumstances will permit their publication till after another revolution, is a point which may reasonably be doubted. We shall look, however, for the promised work with great interest; and certainly to no author were the words ever more applicable :—

Periculosa plenum opus aleæ
Tractus; et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.





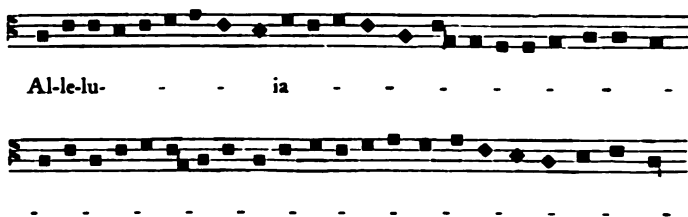
XIII.

DE SEQUENTIIS AD V. CL. HERMANNUM ADALBERTUM DANIEL EPISTOLA CRITICA.



ETIS a me, Vir Doctissime et Amicissime, ut quæ de Sequentiis in collectione a me ante quatuor annos editâ præfatus fuerim, ea ut possum auctiora novæ tui operis editioni præfigenda mittam. Sane in hoc uno iudicium tuum et acumen desiderabunt lectores, qui tanto præstantiora ipse depromere potes. Sed quoniam ambo in his studiis, licet impari successu, laboravimus, nec pergratum mihi non potest esse, in opere, certe post nos victuro, exiguum mihi locum vindicare: experimentum faciam, an aliquid e scriniis meis, quod tuo sit usui, expromere possim. Id unum obsecro, ut quicquid de hâc re scribam, ab homine cum maxime aliis occupato distractoque negotiis, quod ipse scis, profectum esse memineris.

De Sequentiis breviter dicturo, primum de earum origine inquirendum est; dein de progressu, additamentis, generibus, auctoribus, antiquatione aliquid statuendum. Jam inde ex antiquissimis temporibus id in usu Ecclesiæ Latinæ erat, ut inter Epistolam et Evangelium, extra jejunia, Graduale cum Alleluia diceretur. Rubrica Missalis Sarisburiensis: "Dum Alleluia canitur, duo de superiori gradu ad *Alleluia* decantandum cappis sericis se induant et ad pulpitum" (Anglice: Rood-loft, Germanice: Lettner) "per medium chorum incedant. Dicto vero Graduali - - - sequatur *Alleluia*. Chorus idem repetat et prosequatur cum *pneumate*." Ita Beletus: "In hujus sine neumatizamus, id est jubilamus, dum finem protrahimus et ei velut caudam accingimus." Hunc scilicet in modum:—



Quæ prolongatio syllabæ *ia* ideo fiebat, ut tempus ad se præparandum et ad ascendendum ambonem Diacono daretur. Sed, secundum pium ejus sæculi ingenium, quæ de necessitate facta erant, ad mysticam quandam et anagogicam (ut loquebantur) rationem referebantur. “Solemus,” inquit S. Bonaventura, “longam notam post *Alleluia* super literam *A* decantare, quia gaudium Sanctorum in cœlis interminabile et ineffabile est.” Quod vero sono tantum, non certis syllabis hæ notæ alligabantur, ne hoc quidem, si Hugoni Cardinali credimus, significatione caret: “quia ignotus nobis est modus laudandi DEUM in Patria.”

Et hæc proprie est *Sequentia*: neuma sive prolongatio ultimæ syllabæ τοῦ Alleluia. Ideoque dicta est *Sequentia*, secundum probatiores auctores, quia modulationem et rhythmum τοῦ Alleluia sequebatur eique obtemperabat. Alii tamen, inter quos est Michael Prætorius; hanc causam nominis effingebant, quod scilicet immediate post neuma incipiebat Diaconus: “*Sequentia* Sancti Evangelii secundum N.”

S. Notkerus Balbulus, qui anno 912 obiit, sequentiarum quas ita nunc nominamus a plerisque et doctioribus auctor fuisse creditur. Nec obstat (quod e præcedentibus patet) auctores qui ante Notkerum vixerunt de *Sequentiis* scripsisse, cum neumata solum significarent. Joannes quidem Adelphus sequentias nostras a Nicolao Papa I. approbatas fuisse scribit. Sed, diligentius re inspectâ, patebit Nicolaum I, vel scriptoris incuriâ vel hypothetarum errore, pro II. positum fuisse. Sedit autem Nicolaus II. ab anno 1058 usque ad 1064. Notkerus enim ipse in præfatione sequentiarum suarum ad Luitwardum hunc in modum scribit: “Quum adhuc juvenculus essem, et melodiarum longissimarum sæpius memoriæ commendatarum instabile corculum aufugerent, cœpi tacitus mecum volvere, quonam modo eas potuerim colligere. Interim vero contigit, ut presbyter quidam de Gimmidiâ nuper a Nordmannis vastatâ veniret ad nos, antiphonarium suum deferens, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati, sed jam tunc nimium vitiati. Quorum ut visus delectatus,

“ ita sum gustu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorum
 “ cœpi scribere : *Laudes Deo concinat orbis universus, qui gratis*
 “ *est redemptus.* Et infra : *Coluber Adæ deceptor.* Quos cum
 “ magistro meo Yfoni obtulisset, ille studio meo congratulatus
 “ imperitiæque compassus, quæ placuerunt laudavit, quæ autem
 “ minus, emendare curavit, dicens : ‘ Singulæ motus cantilenæ
 “ singulas syllabas debent habere.’ Quod ego audiens, ea qui-
 “ dem, quæ in *ia* veniebant, ad liquidum correxi : quæ autem
 “ in *le* vel *lu* quasi impossibilia vel attemptare neglexi, cum et
 “ illud postea usu facillimum deprehenderim. Ut testes sunt :
 “ *Dominus in Syna* : Et *Mater.* Hocque modo instructus se-
 “ cundâ mox vice dictavi : *Psallat ecclesia mater illibata* ; ille
 “ gaudio repletus rotulos eos congeffit, et pueris cantandos aliis
 “ alios insinuavit.” Locus sane difficillimus, quem sicco pede,
 ut alunt, et Pezsius et Gerbertus, et alii transierunt editores.
 Nusquam omnino exstat sequentia, quæ ita incipit : *Laudes*
Deo concinat orbis universus. Attamen in Monii collectione (i.
 217.) sequentiam habemus, cujus hoc est initium : *Laudes Deo*
concinat orbis ubique totus, qui gratis est liberatus. Et infra :
Coluber Adæ male suasor. Et hæc secunda sine dubio sequentiæ
 ejus editio est, quæ Yfoni “ minus placuit.” Notandum est,
 verbum *redemptus* in *liberatus* mutatum fuisse, et pro *deceptor*,
 curis secundis, *male suasor* positum esse : sine dubio eâ de causâ,
 ut syllabæ notis musicis præcisè responderent. Quod hymnologos
 adhuc, credo, latuit.*

* [Notkerum delectum sequentiarum suarum instituisse inter omnes constat.
 Exemplaria MSS. hujus Libelli Sequentiarum non ita rara sunt, et in non
 nullis Epistola Dedicatoria ad Luitwardum Vercellensem episcopum scripta
 præcedit, quam excusam habemus e. g. apud Mabillonium in Actis Sancto-
 rum Ord. S. Bened. VII. p. 19, e libro MS. Cluniacensi, apud Pezium
 in Thesauro Anecdotorum i. p. 17. apud Gerbertum de M. S. I. p. 412,
 versam majori ex parte in germanicam linguam apud Rambach, Anth.
 i. p. 210. Quum tam grave sit hujus epistolæ in Historia Sequentiarum
 momentum, in ipso monasterio San-Gallensi ego ejus collationem novam in
 Cod. No. 381. institui, ex quo eam Nealii disputationi adscribo.

“ Dignissimo successori

Abbatique cœnobii Sanctissimi Columbani ac Defensori cellulæ
 discipuli ejus mitissimi Galli nec non et archicapellano gloriosis-
 simi imperatoris Karoli Notkerus Cucullarius Sti. Galli Novissimus.

“ Cum adhuc juvenulus essem et melodix longissimæ sæpius memoriæ com-
 mendatæ instabile corculum aufugerent, cœpi tacitus mecum volvere, quo-
 nam modo eas potuerim colligare. Interim contigit, ut presbyter quidam
 de Gimediâ nuper a Nordmannis vastatâ, veniret ad nos, antiphonarum suum
 deferens secum, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati. Quorum
 ut usu delectatus, ita sum gustu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorum
 cœpi scribere : *Laudes domino concinat orbis ubique totus qui gratis est*

Ex illo tempore sequentiarum in Ecclesia crevit usus, non tamen sine morâ quâdam et oppugnatione. S. Odilo, sæculo XI, vix obtinuit ut apud Cluniacenses suos una sequentia, *Spiritus Sanctus nobis adsit gratia*, caneretur. "In antiquis "libris Romanis," inquit Radulphus Tungrensis, "aliquas vidi "sequentias : multi autem multas introduxerunt : quisque gaudet "suis novitatibus." Apud Germaniam, Galliam, Angliam, Scandinaviam innumera pene crevit multitudo : Itali vero, ut et Hispaniæ utriusque ecclesia, sese semper duriores erga hæc profas probaverunt. Ipse dum Hispaniam lustrabam, diligentissimâ Missalia vetustiora perscrutatus sum curâ, Bracharense sc., Pallantinum, Cæsaraugustanum, Toletanum, Emeritense, etc., unamque, nec plures, inveni sequentiam, quæ ex Hispania originem traxisse mihi visa est : *Gaudete vos fideles*, quam excudendam curavi (Ecclesiologist. xi. 282). Verum tamen est, Ecclesiam Lusitanam, inde a Philippæ Lancastrensis temporibus (circa ann. 1390) nostro Sarisburiensi missali usam fuisse. At eo usu antiquato, antiquatæ etiam sunt plerumque sequentiæ. De his rebus optime, ut solet, Martinus Gerbertus, *De cantu et musicâ sacrâ*, tom i. p. 410.

Et primo quidem tanquam ad fontem et originem referebantur Sequentiæ ad illud Alleluia, de quo antea dictum est : ut videre est in missalibus antiquioribus, hunc in modum :—

Natus ante sæcula	A	E	U	A
DEI Filius invi-	A	E	U	A
sibilis interminus	A	E	U	A

Semper autem, cum canebatur Sequentia, omittebatur neuma post Alleluia. Rubrica Sarisburiensis : "Deinde clerici incipiant "Alleluia sine pneumate : quod per totum annum observetur, "quando dicitur sequentia tantum. Quando non dicitur sequen-

redemptus. Et infra : Coluber Adæ deceptor. Quos cum magistro meo Isoni obtulissem, ille studio meo congratulatus imperitiæque compassus, quæ placuerunt, laudavit, quæ autem minus, emendare curavit, dicens : Singuli motus cantilenæ singulas syllabas debent habere. Quod ego audiens ea quidem quæ in *a* veniebant ad liquidum correxi, quæ vero in *le* vel *lu* quasi impossibilia vel attentare neglexi, cum et illud postea usu facillimum deprehenderim, ut testes sunt : DOMINUS in Sina. Et Mater. Hocque modo instructus secunda mox vice dictavi : Psallat ecclesia mater illibata. Quos versiculos cum magistro meo Marcello præsentarem, ille gaudio repletus in rotulas eos congefist et pueris cantandos aliis alios insinuavit. Cumque mihi dixisset ut in libellum compactos alicui primorum illos pro munere offerrem, ego pudore retractus nunquam adhuc cogi poteram. Nuper autem a fratre meo Othmaro rogatus, ut aliquid in laude vestrâ conscribere curarem et ego me ad hoc opus imparem non immerito judicarem, vix tandem aliquando ægreque ad hoc animatus sum, ut hunc minimum vilissimumque codicellum

“*ta*, tum dicitur *pneuma* a toto choro post repetitionem *Alle-luia*.”

Notkeriani carminis rationem permulti imitati sunt: nemo tamen melius quam Godeschalcus. Innumeri quoque scriptores usque ad sæculum XVI. sequentias isto modo composuerunt: jejuniore sæpe et obscuriores. Quis, e. g., ferre sequentiam istiusmodi generis potest? “Quid dulcius, fratres carissimi, potest “a Christianis audiri, quam quando per suorum laudem Sancti torum laus et gloria redoletur Creatori,” tum in ordine 107 ejusdem farraginis versus? Sed nimis acerbe de iis judicaverunt homines alioquin doctissimi. Ita qui pro antiquis plerumque pugnat ritibus, Le Brun: “*Mais on ne doit pas beaucoup regretter la perte, la plupart n’étant que de pitoyables rhapsodies.*” Bilem scriptori movebat illa; — *Alle — celeste necnon perenne — luia*. Erant, fateor, in seculore ævo inconditi sæpe et inficeti; sed et tum temporis erant quoque quæ non carebant mirâ suavitate et venustate. Quam religiose observatus hic ritus semper fuerit, testatur sequentia in impiâ illâ Mifsâ de Andreæ Carolstadii nuptiis a Germanis novatoribus conscripta. Ejus principium: “*DEUS*, in tua virtute Andreas Carolstadius gaudet et lætatur in thalamo copulatus.”

Et primo quidem non nisi assonantiis, vel, ut plurimum, consonantiis simplicibus, utebantur sequentiarum scriptores: S. Notkerus ipse aliquando, ut in *Eja recolamus* singulos versus, plerasque ex intercisionibus, syllaba A claudit: sequentiam *Laus tibi Christe* (in festo SS. Innocentum) in E. Aliquando in aliquibus ex dicolis et intercisiones et fines assonantes habet; e. g.: Ergonos supplicantes | tibi exaudi propitius, Sancte Spiritus, || Sine quo preces omnes | cassæ creduntur et indignæ DEI auribus. || Sed hæc non nisi raro. Hermannus Contractus multo ulterius progreditur: is circa A. D. 1070 floruit. Nam duplicibus consonantiis non solum utitur, ut in illo: Tu Agnum, Regem terræ dominatorem, Moabitici de petra deserti ad montem filiæ Sion traduxisti || Tuque furentem Leviathan, serpentem tortuosumque et rectum collidens, damnofo crimine mundum exemisti ||: verum etiam aliquando ad formam accentumque hymnorum suos redegit versus. Exemplo sit: Audi nos, nam te Filius nihil negans honorat || Salva nos, JESU, pro quibus te Virgo Mater orat. || Sequentiæ sæculis XI. compositæ et in eunte sæculo XII. magis magisque in hanc normam vergebant:

vestræ celsitudini consecrare præsumerem. Quem si in eo placitum vestræ pietati comperero, ut ipsi fratri meo apud Dominum Imperatorem sitis adminiculo, tum quod de vitâ Sti. Galli elaborare pertinaciter insisto, quamvis illud fratri meo Salomoni prius pollicitus fuerim, vobis examinandum habendum ipsique per vos explanandum dirigere festinabo.”—*Daniel*.]

ut illa, *Viſtimæ Paſchali*, quam ſæculo XII. aſcribo, ampliſſime probat. Dic nobis, *Maria*, | quid vidifti in *via*? || Angelicos *teſtes*, ſudarium et *veſtes*. ||

Hinc fortaffe ſuam ſequentiarum formam mutuatus eſt Adamus de Sancto Viſtore, qui circa A. D. 1190 vitam cum immortalitate commutavit. De eo ſcite quidem et eleganter Vir Reverendus, Richardus Chenevix Trench, cujus verba hic juvat Latinâ verſione donare. “De Adami ſequentiis alii aliter judicaverunt. Qui eum in ſummo honore habent, vix inſtitias ibunt, poetam in myſticâ Veteris Teſtamenti explicatione nimium laborare, ſuoque ipſius ingenio, ad id adhibito, nonnumquam abuti. Nec ſemper doctiſſimas ſuas obſervationes in poeſeos fervorem perfecte effuſas exhibet. Aliquando etiam plus æquo laborat, ut verſus nimîâ componat arte, intricatiſſimas conſonantias jam prodigaliter accumulet, jam ſubtiliter inter ſe liget: ut ſe magiſtrum omnis verſuum generis abſolutiſſimum exhibeat, nec tam a vinculis ſuis adhiberi, quam in eis gloriari demonſtret. Culpæ, quæ nimii aliquid meriti in ſe habent. Circulum univerſalis theologiæ perfectiſſime callet, Sanctâ Scripturâ non minus abundanter quam mirabiliter utitur, verſus exquiſitâ quadâm arte ordinat, conſonantiasque diſponit, melodiam, dum ad finem vergit, ditioſiorem plenioſioremque exhibere curat, in ſingulos verſus mirum quantum vis infundat (e. g., ‘Offert multa, ſpondet plura, *Periturus peritura*:—Per quam plebs Alexandrina *Femina non ſæminina* ſtupuit ingenia;) feliciffimum narrandi artificium ideo gratius lectoribus reddit, quia quæ aliis proſert ipſe ſe credere et ſentire tam liquido demonſtrat.’”—Nec abſurde Johannes Toſolanus, et ipſe Prior Viſtorinus: “Valde multas proſas fecit, quæ ſuccincte et clauſulatim progredientes, venuſto verborum matrimonio ſubtiliter decoratæ, ſententiarum ſcoſculis mirabiliter picturatæ, ſchemate congruentiſſimo componuntur: in quibus et cum interſerat prophetias et figuras, quæ in ſenſu quem protendunt videntur obſcuratiſſimæ, tamen ſic eas adaptat ad ſuum proſopitum manifeſte, ut magis videantur hiſtoriam texere quam figuram.”

Nec mirum, tanti nominis auctoritatem tantamque ingenii poetici vim novum ſequentiarum genus a Scandinavia uſque ad Alpes propagaffe. Innumeri exſtabant Adami imitatores: qui in CCC annorum decurſu Miſſalla omnimodâ proſarum ſarragine implebant. E quibus multæ non ſpernendum locum ſibi vindicant: nec tamen, tribus quatuorve exceptis (e. g. Thoma de Celano, S. Thoma Aquinenſi, Jacobo de Benediſtis, Henrico Piſtore) cum Adamo comparandus iterum exſtitit. Ex eo tem-

pore Notkerianas profas paucissimos invenisse imitatores nemini non notum est.

In tam immanem multitudinem sequentiarum crevit numerus, tamque inscitæ et immodulatæ pleræque evaserunt, ut Synodus Colonienfis (A. D. 1536) minuendas reformandasque eas duxerit. Penitus enim intolerabile erat, versus hujuscemodî, quos in Missali Andegavensi inventi, ab Ecclesia cantatos esse: "Clerus Andegavensium Psallat cum turmâ civium: Quod Mauricii brachium Nobis misit Byzantium. Constantinopolitana Civitas diu profana Manserat. Et duritiâ vesanâ Dogmata sacra Romana Spreverat. Franci fortes accinguntur Venetis affocati, Villam hanc aggrediuntur: Cadunt Græci superati. Archipræsul Philippensis Genere Rothomagensis Francis opem præbuit: Et de rebus civitatis Ob mercedem probitatis Opes multas habuit," etc. At in Reformatione Missalis Romani iudices tam iniquos se erga profas monstraverunt, ut omnes, hisce exceptis, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Victimæ Paschali*, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, *Dies iræ*, deleverint; quod maximâ cum strage rei liturgicæ factum esse, nemo est quî non viderit. Quis enim non dolet profas ab Ecclesia damnatas fuisse, quæ non sine ferventissimo cordis studio vel legi possunt? Exemplis sunt: illa, quæ omnem laudem superat, Sequentia Alleluiatica S. Notkeri: *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*; ejusdem *Psallat Ecclesia*; *Adami Zyma vetus expurgetur*; *Heri mundus exultavit*; *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, et sexcentæ allæ.*

De duobus Sequentiarum generibus hæc Clichtovæus: "Profa ecclesiastica secundum specialem rationem modo explicatam sumpta duplex invenitur. Quædam rhythmica, quæ certum numerum syllabarum in unâquâque clausulâ et in fine consimilem exitum duarum postremarum syllabarum cum aliis clausulis servat:" et hæc est ea in quâ Adamus de S. Victore facile princeps existit: quâ de causâ Victorinas hæc possumus

* [Sequentiis e Romana ecclesiâ expulsi refugium et portus erat communio Lutherana. Etenim non nullæ publicis ritibus adhibitæ sunt, permultæ capitulorum Cathedralium officiis privatis inservierunt. Ut exemplum afferam, capitulum insignis ecclesiæ Halberstadenfis præter horas canonicas quotidie recitatas, diebus dominicis ac festivis missam celebravit Lutheranam, Romanæ ad Credo usque (incl.) pedissequam. In his missis et Sequentiæ lectæ sunt. Liber Ritualis Halberstadenfis decem habet Sequentias: *Eja recolamus*, *Exultemus pari voto*, *Natus ante sæcula*, *Grates nunc omnes*, *Agni paschalis esu*, *Laudes salvatori*, *Summi triumphum*, *Sancti Spiritus adsit*, *Benedicta semper*, *Summe rex Christe*. Et is Sequentiarum cantus adhuc obtinuit ad tempora Hieronymi Gueßphaliæ regis qui cum aliis ecclesiæ opibus et capituli Halberstadenfis divitias dissipavit 1810.—*Daniel*.]

vocare sequentias. “Alia vero non rhythmica,” inquit Clichtovæus (qui *minus ad aurem quamlibet rhythmica* dicere debuit), “quæ nec determinato clauditur syllabarum numero,” (hoc plerumque falsum est, ut infra monstrabimus) “neque consonantiam in exitu certam observat.” Et hæc est Notkeriana.

De Notkerianis primum. Mirum enim quam crassa apud homines rei liturgicæ non ignaros de earum metro ignorantia, mirum quantum in ipsis Missalibus vel incuriæ vel inscitia. Nec, quod sciam, Wolfio Monioque exceptis, ulli in mentem venit regulas investigare, versus ordinare, corrigenda vel facillime corrigere. Et ex hoc sequentiarum genere, quia solutioribus videbatur regulis teneri, in usum venit aliud nomen, *Prosa*: quod postea omnibus sequentiis commune fuit.

Sequentia igitur Notkeriana, seu Prosa, ex incerto numero versuum constat: singuli versus ex incerto syllabarum numero. Versus bini et bini, aliquando plures, respondent tum syllabis, tum sæpe accentibus, tum intercisionibus. In plerasque enim intercisiones sive clausulas versus singuli dividuntur; exemplo sit hoc:

Sic te nasciturum | Fili Dēi | vātes tuo dōcti | Spīritu dixerant
Sic te oriēte | laudes tibi | cātant pacem tērris | Ōngeli nūntiant.

Age vero, quoniam in hanc materiam nobis aditum patefecimus, aliquas ex Notkeri sequentiis metricè examinemus: quarum duas jamdudum doctè quidem, sed non omnino, investigavit Wolfius.

I. Eja recolamus laudibus piis digna. Vs. irresponsorius.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|------------------|
| II. | { | Hujus diei carmina in qua nobis lux oritur
<i>gratissima</i>
Noctis inter nebulosa pereunt nostri criminis
<i>umbracula</i> | } | 8 + 8 + 4 = 20. |
| III. | { | Hodie sæculo maris stella est enixa novæ
<i>salutis gaudia</i>
Quem tremunt barathra, mors cruenta pavet
<i>ipsa</i> a quo peribit mortua | } | 10 + 4 + 8 = 22. |
| IV. | { | Gemit capta pestis antiqua coluber lividus
<i>perdit spolia</i>
Homo lapsus ovis abducta revocatur ad
<i>æterna gaudia</i> | } | 4 + 5 + 11 = 20. |
| V. | { | Gaudent in hac die agmina angelorum cœ-
<i>lestia</i>
Quia erat drachma decima perdita et est in-
<i>venta</i> | } | 9 + 8 = 17. |

$$\text{VI. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{O culpa nimium beata | qua redempta est na-} \\ \text{tura} \\ \text{DEUS qui creavit omnia | nascitur ex foemina} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} 9+8=17. \\ 9+7=16. \end{array}$$

Ideoque non satis apte inter se respondent versus. Libenter cum Missali Sarisburiensi pro *culpa* legerem *plebs*, nisi, quod et tu, V. Cl., observasti, poetam Augustiniano oxymoro uti velle crederem. Itaque omittendum est O, hunc in modum :—

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Culpa nimium beata | redempta est natura} \\ \text{DEUS qui creavit omnia | nascitur ex foemina} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{Culpa nimium beata | redempta est natura} \\ \text{DEUS qui creavit omnia | nascitur ex foemina} \end{array}} \right\} 9+7=16.$$

$$\text{VII. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mirabilis natura | mirifice induta | assumens} \\ \text{quod non erat | manens quod erat} \\ \text{Induitur natura | divinitas humana | quis au-} \\ \text{divit talia | dic, rogo, facta} \end{array} \right\} 7+7+7+5=26.$$

$$\text{VIII. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Quærere venerat | pastor pius quod perierat} \\ \text{Induit galeam | certat ut miles armatura} \end{array} \right\} 6+9=15.$$

$$\text{IX. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prostratus in sua propria | ruit hostis spicula |} \\ \text{auferuntur tela} \\ \text{In quibus fidebat divisa | sunt illius spolia |} \\ \text{capta præda sua} \end{array} \right\} 9+7+6=22.$$

$$\text{X. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CHRISTI pugna | fortissima | salus nostra est vera} \\ \text{Qui nos suam | ad Patriam | duxit post vic-} \\ \text{toriam} \end{array} \right\} 4+4+7=15.$$

XI. In qua sibi laus est æterna. V. irresponsorius.

[II.] *Natus ante sæcula.*

$$\text{I. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Natus ante sæcula | DEI Filius invisibilis | in-} \\ \text{terminus} \\ \text{Per quem fit machina | coeli et terræ, maris et} \\ \text{in his | degentium} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} 7+10+4=21. \\ 6+10+4=20. \end{array}$$

Itaque haud recte cohærent versus, quod silentio prætermisit Wolfius. Equidem levi mutatione legerem. Per quem *fuit* machina. II. $7+7+4=18$. III. $10+12+9+8+10=49$. IV. $9+9+5=23$. V. $7+8+6+8=29$. VI. $14+8+5=27$.

[III.] *Hanc concordî famulatu.* Exposuit Wolfius, p. 296.

[IV.] *Johannes Jesu Christo.*

I. Johannes JESU CHRISTO || multum dilecte virgo. Vs. irresp.

$$\text{II. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tu ejus amore | carnalem in navi || parentem} \\ \text{liquisti} \\ \text{Tu leve conjugis | pectus respuisti || Messiam} \\ \text{secutus} \\ \text{Ut ejus pectoris | sacra meruisses || fluenta potare} \end{array} \right\} 6+9+10=25.$$

- III. { Tuque in terrâ positus | gloriam conspexisti
filiî DEI
Quæ solum sanctis in vitâ | creditur contuenda
esse perenni } 8 + 14 = 22.

Satis recte, quoad syllabarum numerum, se habet dicolum. Sed quum et sensus emphasis in *terrâ* et *vitâ* posita sit, et assonantia in eisdem verbis locum habeat—adde quod aliud prætulerim verbum, in *via*—nullus dubito quin ita legamus:—

Tuque positus in *viâ* | gloriam conspexisti filiî DEI
Quæ solum sanctis in *vitâ* | creditur contuenda esse perenni.

- IV. { Te CHRISTUS in cruce triumphans | matri suæ
dedit custodem
Ut virgo virginem servares | atque curam sup-
peditaires } 9 + 9 = 18.

- V. { Tute carcere flagrisque | fractus testimonio pro
CHRISTO es gavifus
Idem mortuos suscitās | inque JESU nomine
venenum forte vincis } 8 + 7 + 7 = 22.

Versus poeta indignus, quippe qui nullam intercessionem facile permittat.

- VI. { Tibi summus tacitum præ ceteris | Verbum
suum Pater *revelat*
Tu nos omnes sedulis precibus | apud DEUM
semper commenda } 11 + 9.
10 + 9.

Legendum:—Tibi summus tacitum | ceteris | Verbum suum | Pater *revelat*
Tu nos omnes precibus | sedulis | apud Deum | semper com-
menda.

VII. Joannes, CHRISTI care. Vs. irresp.

[V.] *Laus tibi Chrifte.*

I. Laus tibi CHRISTE patris optimi || nate DEUS, omnipotentis. Vs. irresp.

- II. { Quem coelitus jubitant supra astra | manentis
plebis decus harmoniæ
Quem agmina infantum sonoris | hymnis col-
laudant ætheris in arce
Quos impius ob nominis odium | tui misero
straverat vulnere } 11 + 11 = 22.

- III. { Quos pie nunc remuneras in coelis | CHRISTE
pro poenis nitide
Solita usus gratia qua tuos | ornas coronis
splendide } 11 + 8 = 19.

- IV. { Quorum precibus sacris | dele precamur nostræ
pie | crimina vitæ
Et quos laudibus tuis | junxeras nobis istic
dones | clemens favere } 9 + 9 + 5 = 23.

- V. { Illis æternæ | dans lumen gloriæ } 5+6=11.
 Nobis terra | concede vincere
- VI. { Ut liceat serenis actibus | plenitur adipisci | } 10+7+7=24.
 dona tuæ gratiæ |
 Herodis ut non fiat socius | quisquis in horum
 laude | se exercet propere.

VII. Sed æternaliter cum eisdem catervis tecum sit, DOMINE. Vs. irresp.

Jam vero quærendum est, quonam modo facillime et rectissime ordinari possint intercisiones. Alii enim aliter diviserunt, nec certo quidquam de ea re statui potest. Nec mirari non possum, quo pacto Vir Cl. I. T. Monius satis se responsoria edidisse sibi visus sit, quum nil, nisi quod oculis versus intercisiones repræsentavit, ejusmodi sæpe fecerit. Exemplo sit Tom. I. Hymn. 153. Ita ille edidit et interpunxit:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Agni pascalis
 esu potuque dignos</p> <p>Moribus sinceris
 præbeant omnes se
 christianæ animæ,</p> <p>Pro quibus se Deo
 hostiam obtulit
 ipse summus pontifex</p> | <p>2. Quarum frons in postis est
 modum ejus illita
 sacro sancto cruore
 et tuta a clade canopica,</p> <p>Quarum crudeles hostes
 in mari rubro sunt obruti.</p> |
|---|---|

At hoc vero non tam parallelizare est, quam ἀπαρallήλους sub specie parallelismi versus finire. Nemo melius in hac materiâ laboravit quam Wolfius, qui utinam quod paucis præstitit sequentiis, multis præstitisset! Exemplum vero capiamus: Monique intercisionem primam, dein nostram, spectemus. Ex notissimis est sequentia: *Sancti Spiritus*. Ita Monius:—

1. SANCTI SPIRITUS afflit
 nobis gratia.

Sed plane irresponsorius est versus: nec ita in duas partes dividi potest.

2. Quæ corda nostra sibi faciat
 habitaculum
- Expulsis inde cunctis vitiis
 spiritalibus.
- SPIRITUS alme,
 illustrator hominum,
- Horridas nostræ
 mentis purga tenebras.

B B

Sed, quæso, cur sub isto numero (2) duo includuntur binarii? præsertim cum inter se nullo modo cohæreant.

Tu mecum, ne fallor, ita dispones :—

II. Quæ corda nostra sibi		faciat habitaculum
Expulsis inde cunctis		vitiis spiritalibus.

Ad *sibi* et *cunctis* ponenda est intercursio: minime post *faciat* et *vitiis*. Ita enim assonantia (*sibi*, *vitiis*) jubet: ita emphasis ipsius sententiæ suadet. *Sibi* enim, non alii, *sibi*, DOMINO et Vivificanti, SPIRITUS SANCTUS corda nostra facit habitacula; itaque nullos, nisi se, dominos agnoscit vel agnoscere potest, et *cuncta* vitia expellit.

III. SPIRITUS alme		illustrator hominum
Horridas nostræ		mentis purga tenebras;

ut et quæ sequuntur: nisi quod iterum duos binarios sub uno numero includit editor.

Jam vero experimentum aliud faciamus: notissimam illam Sequentiam *Benedicta sit semper* in materiam adhibentes. Ita illam ordinat Monius :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Benedicta semper sit
sancta Trinitas,
deitas scilicet unica,
coæqualis gloria. | 2. DEUS genitor,
DEUS genitus,
in utroque sacer Spiritus
deitate socius. |
| Pater, Filius,
Sanctus Spiritus,
tria sunt nomina, omnia
eadem substantia. | Non tres tamen dii sunt,
DEUS unus est,
sic Pater Dominus, Filius
Spiritusque Dominus. |

At, si quid video, neque inter se versus primus et secundus, neque eorum partes mutuo respondent. Duplici ergo modo ordinari potest hoc exordium. Vel sic :—

A	{	Benedicta semper sit Sancta Trinitas Deitas scilicet unica coæ-
I.		qualis gloria
		{ Pater, Filius, Sanctus Spiritus tria sunt nomina, omnia eadem substantia
B	{	DEUS genitor, DEUS genitus in utroque sacer Spiritus deitate socius
Non tres tamen Dii sunt, DEUS est unus sic Pater Dominus, Filius, Spiritusque Dominus.		

Quod et Monium, licet obscure, significasse credo.—Dedi *est unus*, qui A cum B correspondent: ut commatissimi seu intercursiones τοῦ A assonantes sunt: ideoque intercursiones τοῦ B debent esse. Sed

quum nulla sit Sequentia quæ plures acceperit formas, ita ut non solum verba varientur, sed et ipsi versus vix iidem, in varlarum Ecclesiarum Missalibus, videantur; quumque in primâ clausulâ *τὸ semper* non semel omittatur, ultima vero clausula, nisi fallor, non semel penitus exciderit, mihi persuadere non possum, quin in honorem SS. Trinitas tricolo carmen suum incipere voluerit poeta in hunc modum:—

{	Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas :	deitas scilicet unica	coæqualis gloria	}
	Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus	tria sunt nomina, omnia	eadem sub-	
	stantia			
{	DEUS genitor, DEUS genitus	in utroque facer Spiritus	deitate socius.	}

Tum vero aliquem, theologiæ quam poeseos peritiorem, ne Sabellianismi incurreret suspicionem poeta, clausulam quartam, verbis ex confessione Athanasianâ pæne desumptis, addidisse: quo facto, ne mancus exstaret syllabarum numerus, *τὸ semper* aliâ manu in initio additum fuisse. Sed tu vide, Vir Doctissime, an tibi hæc conjectura satis placeat.

Mihi autem videtur, non aliam legem de intercisionum numero et locis statui posse, quam hæc, quas brevissime percurram. Vix enim, vel ne vix quidem, hæc de re aliquid certi e notis musclicis adipisci possumus: ducibus sane, quod versus attinet, eximiis: quod intercisiones, inutilibus. Et primo quidem parum interest, utrum pauciores an plures eas faciamus, dummodo recte, ubi dividimus, dividamus; e. g. qui ita legere vult, me certe admodum repugnantem non habebit:—

Illuxit dies
quam fecit DOMINUS,
mortem devastans,
et victor suis
apparens
dilectoribus vivus.

Primo Mariæ,
dehinc apostolis
docent scripturas
cor aperiens
ut clausa
de ipso referarent.

Quamquam, ut mihi videtur, convenientius ita distribuî potest:

Illuxit dies quam fecit DOMINUS,
mortem devastans
et victor suis apparens dilectoribus vivus.

Primo Mariæ, dehinc apostolis,
docens scripturas
cor aperiens ut clausa de ipso referarent.

Prima itaque sit regula; intercisiones, seu una sive plures sint, sensus emphasin sequi deberent. E. g.:—

Qui cœli qui terræ regit sceptrâ || inferni jure domito
Qui sese pro nobis redimendis || permagnum dedit pretium.

Iterum : versus istos tu noli sic interpungere :—

Ecclesiam		vestris doctrinis		illuminatam
Per circulum		terræ precatus		adjuvet vester

qui potius sic excudi debent :—

Ecclesiam vestris		doctrinis illuminatam
Per circulum terræ		precatus adjuvet vester.

Cadunt certe vis et emphasis sententiæ in *vestris* et *vester*. Sanctos apostolos enim exorat poeta, ut quam doctrinis suis olim erudierint ecclesiam, eam quoque nunc suis precibus ne omittant adjuvare. Iterum :—

Hæc domus aulæ cœlestis		probatur particeps
In laude regis cœlorum		et cæremoniis.

Quo bene observato occurrit sæpius levissima mutatio, quæ metrum æque ac sententiam adjuvat. Legimus in *Sequentia de SS. Innocentibus* :—

Recentes atque teneri milites || Herodiano ense trucidati te hodie prædicaverunt
 Licet necdum potuerunt linguula || effusione tamen te, CHRISTE sui sanguinis præconati sunt.

Intercisionem non nisi unam sententiæ versus patitur : quis enim hunc in modum legeret ?

Recentes atque teneri | milites Herodiano | ense trucidati te hodie prædicaverunt
 Licet necdum potuerunt | linguula effusione | tamen te CHRISTE sui sanguinis præconati sunt.

Sed in ultima clausula circumspiciamus, an non in aliquod verbum ambobus versibus commune vis sententiæ cadat. Certissime, ex *te* omne, quidquid id est, dependit. Tu ergo sic corrigas :—

Recentes atque teneri milites | Herodiano ense trucidati | *te* hodie prædicaverunt
 Licet necdum potuerunt linguula | effusione tamen CHRISTE sui | *te* sanguinis præconati sunt.

Vel ita, ut cum Benteio loquar, scripsit, vel debuit scribere poeta. Eâdem de causâ nollem intercisionem inter substantivum et suum adjectivum interponere, nisi, quod sæpe fit, venustas sententiæ ita postulat. Sequentem, e. g., *Sequentiæ Pentecostalis* versum hoc modo ordinarem :—

Idem vel latronem suspensum || persuasor sacratum convertit in confes-
sorem

Teloneo quondam sedentem || artifex peritus transformat in evangelistam.

Atqui, si scripsisset poeta (quod et melius fortasse scribere potuit)
peritum, tum post *persuasor* et *artifex* claufulas interpunxissem.
Multo minus, mea quidem sententia, post verba imbecilliora, e. g.
in, atque, qui, quos, aliaque ejusdem generis. Quod tamen
sæpissime facit Monius, e. g. :—

Atque pretium, *tu*
vectis es botri
nati in vineis Engaddi.—

Gaudens ecclesia *hanc*
dieculam venerando.

At sæpe accidit, nullam in versu emphasin ita inesse, ut de
statuenda intercissione ab ea doceamur. Tum, si quæ exstat,
quærenda erit assonantia, utilissima sane et fidissima adjutrix.
Exempla exstant innumera.

Hymnite nunc superi || paritur resonare inferi
Et omnis in DOMINI || spiritus gratuletur ænesi.—

Quarum coronis || ornatur mater ecclesia
Quarum triumphis || exultat cœlorum curia.—

Spiritus alme || illustrator hominum
Horridas nostræ || mentis fuga tenebras.—

Tu purificator omnium || flagitiorum Spiritus
Purifica nostri oculum || interioris hominis.

Ubi optime inter *omnium* et *flagitiorum* cadit cæsura. Cunctis
enim ex flagitiis puram præstare mentem ei debet, qui DEUM
oculo interioris hominis videre desiderat.

Jam se replicat | sæculi series | maxima || venit etiam | vatis Cumææ veri-
dicæ | jam ætas carminis ultima |
Vago remeat | sæcula revehens | aurea || adsunt tempora | quo gens ferrea
jam desinat | et mundo pullulat aurea |

quod et exemplum minime spernendum est crebriorum assonan-
tiarum, poetâ sane in talibus vinculis gloriente.

Vigilat pastorum cura || vox auditur angelica
Cantant inelyta carmina || plena pace et gloria
CHRISTO referunt propria || nobis canunt ex gratia.—

Gaude homo : || cum perpendis talia
Gaude caro : || facta Verbi focia.

Atqui sæpius, præsertim in sequentiis serioris ævi, in consonantias hæ affonantiæ sese verterunt; ita ut medium quandam locum inter Notkerianas teneant et Victorinas.

Jam de versibus irresponsoriis aliquid statuendum est. Exstant præcipue duo, unus ad principium, alter ad finem carminis. Aliquando non nisi unum, aliquando ne unum quidem invenimus. Apponamus igitur eos, qui a S. Notkero profecti sunt, ut si quam constructionis normam exhibent, eam in medium proferamus. Sunt igitur qui sequuntur:—

AD PRINCIPIUM.

1. Eja recolamus laudibus piis digna.
2. Hanc concordi famulatu colamus solemnitem.
3. Johannes JESU CHRISTO multum dilecte virgo.
4. Laus tibi CHRISTE Patris Optimi Nate, DEUS omnipotentie.
5. Festa CHRISTI omnis christianitas celebret.
6. Contentu parili hic te Maria veneratur populus teque colit cordibus.
7. Laudes Salvatori voce modulemur supplici.
8. Pangamus Creatori atque Redemptori gloriam.
9. Agni paschalis esu potuque dignas.
10. Summi triumphum Regis prolequamur laude.
11. SANCTI SPIRITUS adsit nobis gratia.
12. Sancti Baptiste, CHRISTI præconis.
13. Laurenti David magni martyr milesque fortis.
14. Congaudent angelorum chori gloriolæ Virgini.

AD FINEM.

1. In qua sibi laus est æterna.
2. Nunc inter inclytas martyrum purpuras coruscas coronatus.
3. Johannes, CHRISTI care.
4. Sed æternaliter cum eisdem catervis tecum sit, DOMINE.
5. Huic omnes auscultate populi præceptor.
6. Laus quoque SANCTO SPIRITUI per ævum.
7. Spiritales chori Trinitati.
8.
9. Post mortem melius cum eo victuros.
10. In fine sæculi ipse quoque semper sit nobiscum.
11. Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti.
12. Amice CHRISTI Joannes.
13. Martyr milesque fortis.
14. Ut sibi auxilio circa CHRISTUM DOMINUM esse digneris per ævum.

Et primo observandum est, multos ex versibus ad principium positis duas easdemque pares clausulas in se continere,—

Hanc concordi famulatu
Colamus solemnitem—

Joannes JESU CHRISTI
Multum dilecte virgo—

Laurenti David magni
Martyr milesque fortis—etc.

Sic quoque (Mon. 197) :—

Laudantes triumphantem *
CHRISTUM canamus hymnum.

Multos ex dicolo, vel tricolo, addito monocolo, componi, hunc in modum :—

Agni paschalis
esu potuque
dignus—

SANCTI SPIRITUS
adfit
nobis gratia—

Congaudent
angelorum
chori
gloriosæ
Virgini—

Laudes Salvatoris
voce modulemur
supplici—

Pangamus
creatori
atque
redemptori
gloriam—

Quod cum *Congaudent* eundem
habet rhythmum.

Et ut experimentum in profis sequioribus faciamus :—

Laude celeberrima
recolamus
festa sacratissima—

Benedictio
trinæ
Unitati
simplici
Deitati
semper
omnifaria.

Cantemus cuncti †
melodum
nunc Alleluia.

Regnantem sempiterna
per sæcla susceptura
concio
devota
concrepa.

Speciosus formâ
præ natis
hominum IESUS.

Quod et de postremis versibus notari potest, e. g. :—

In quâ sibi
laus
est æterna—

Spiritales
chori
Trinitati—

* Quod ille mirum in modum interpungit :—
Laudantes triumphantem CHRISTUM
Canamus hymnum.

† Male interpungit Monius :—
Cantemus cuncti melodum
nunc Alleluia.

In fine sæculi
ipse quoque
semper sit nobiscum—

Amice
CHRISTI
Joannes—

Post mortem
melius cum eo
victuros—

Hunc diem
gloriosum
fecisti—

Sed æternaliter
cum eisdem
catervis
tecum sit DOMINE—

Huic omnes
auscultate
populi
præceptori—

O Galle
DEO
dilecte—

Nunc inter inclytas
martyrum purpuras
coruscas coronatus—

Te crux associat
te vero gladius
cruentus mittit CHRISTO—

(et hi duo ejusdem sunt normæ).

Vel elaboratior, ut quem apud Monium legere est, versus :—

Ergo persolvamus
gratias DEO patri
qui nos cohæredes
fecerat CHRISTI sui
et prodigo
sui sanguinis CHRISTO
Spiritus
quoque cordis unctiori
jubilemus.

Sed, ut verum fatear, ne ita quidem omnes versus in ordinem redigi possunt, qui, quod et ipse fatetur Monius, majore indigent luce et peritiâ. Inter hos exstant fortasse multi, qui indocte scripti, corruptissimi ad nos venerunt. Nec mirum; quum harum leges sequentiarum multos etiam mediæ ævi scriptores penitus latuerint. Jamdudum vidimus, Clichtovæum eas nullis teneri vinculis credidisse. S. Hildegardis, quæ sequentiam a Monio editam composuit *O ignis Spiritus Paraclite*, plane ἀμέτρως eas fuisse putabat. Quid ergo mirandum, si recentiores mira prosarum ars effugerit, ita ut pro suo quisque placito vel interpolaret, vel corrigeret, nullo metri, quod abesse putabatur, respectu habito?

Ita, cum in Missali Sarisburiensi sequentia Paschalis elegantissima hunc in modum incipiat :—

Dic nobis quibus e terris nova
cuncto mundo nuncians gaudia
nostram rursus visitas patriam

Corrector Missalis Cameracensis hunc in modum legit:—

Eja dic nobis, quibus e terris tanta nova, etc.

Jam de accentibus dicendum est. De eis sequentiarum scriptores idem, quod de homœoteutis vetustiores hymnographi, judicabant. Ubi sponte respondebant, bene erat; ubi sine magno labore responsorii fieri potuerunt, haud male; ubi difficiliorese se præbuerunt, laborem non valebant. Exemplum videamus:—

¹Nos ²corde | ³percepimus | ⁴qualis ac ⁵quantus | ⁶est quia vicinus | dignitate |
CHRISTI fit et morte
¹nam ²morte | ³turpissima | ⁴damnatur sponſus | ⁵sponſi et amicum | ⁶damnant
morte | recte turpissima

In primâ, secundâ, quintâ clausulis rectissime currunt accentus. In quartâ mediocriter tantum. In tertiâ, cum primus versus accentum ita habeat, — — — —, secundus accentum hunc in modum figit — — — —. In sextâ, primus ita se habet, — — — —; secundus — — — —. Ut curreret ictus recte *damnatur, turpissima* pronuntianda essent. Aliud apponamus exemplum:—

¹Dæmoniis | ²eam septem | ³mundas septiformis | ⁴Spiritus
¹Ex mortuis | ²te surgentem | ³das cunctis videre | ⁴priorem.
Hac ¹CHRISTE ²profelytam | ³signas ecclesiam | ⁴quam ad filiorum mensam |
⁴vocas alienigenam
¹Quam inter convivia | ²legis et gratiæ | ³spernit Pharisei fastus | ⁴lepra vexat
¹hæretica

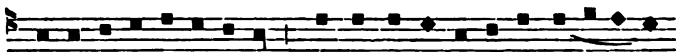
Vides hic optime procedere omnia, excepta quarta primi binarii intercissione: ubi prior versus quasi-cretico, alter quasi-amphibrachy constat. Nec hanc accentuum disparitatem incuriam vocare possumus, multo minus ignorantiam, sed, sive libertatem velis, sive licentiam. Et idem est, etsi rarius, observare in sequentiis et in hymnis rhythmicis, e. g.:—

Altissimâ providente
Cuncta recte disponente
DEI sapientiâ.

Urbs beata Jerusâlem,
Diçta pacis viſio.

Nunc dimiſſo adultéro
Maritatur ſponſo vero.

Nec ideo ſtatuerè poſſumus, has ſyllabas ita enuntiatas fuiſſe. Id expreſſe vetat notatio muſica. In hymno paſchali, cujus hoc eſt initium: *Aurora lucis rutilat Cælum laudibus intonat*, hymnale Sariſburienſe ita dat accentum:—



Au-ro-ra lu-cis ru-ti-lat Cœ-lum lau-di-bus in-to - nat

ubi brevis legitur, quam productam vult accentus, penultima *τῶν laudibus*. Inconditum ſane inueniſtumque id nobis videatur. Sed et nos, æque ac veſtrates, Vir Doctiſſime, licentiam ejuſmodi uſurpamus, haud minus auribus Græcorum vel Romanorum barbaricam: eam dico, quâ in primo vel tertio verſuum iambicorum pæde pro iambo vel ſpondeo trochæus locum habere poteſt.— At quoniam notas muſicas ſpectat oratio, haud ſpernendum fortaiſſe iudicabis, ſi, quod de iis in hâc materiâ obſervavimus, dicamus. Fortaiſſe jam ab aliis obſervatum eſt: quod tamen me legiſſe non memini. Inter libros MSS. ſunt, qui in loco ſigni ♫ flavâ, et pro ſigno ♫ rubrâ utuntur lineâ. Id mihi ſic explicandum videtur. Signum ♫, ſive C, recte auream ſibi vindicat lineam, quia C pro *Caritate* capi poteſt: caritas autem pretioſiſſima inter virtutes eſt, velut inter metalla aurum. ♫ vero, ſive F, rubro depingitur colore, quia in iſtâ literâ *Fides* ſignificari poteſt: qua Martyres purpuratam ſui cruoris chlamydem induti ſunt.

Jam de variis iſtarum ſequentiarum nominibus aliquid dicendum eſt. Et mihi quidem, ſi ita ſtatui poſſet, convenientius videtur, ut quæ Notkerianam referunt indolem, ex *proſarum*, quæ vero rhythmicè ſcribuntur, *ſequentiarum* titulo intelligerentur. Monius, manuſcriptorum fortaiſſe auctoritatem ſecutus, S. Notkeri fœtum *troparia* vocat.* Quod tamen aliquid incommodi habet. Optandum enim eſſet ut, quoad fieri poteſt, unum idemque verbum unam eandemque rem ſignificaret; multo autem magis, cum de pari materiâ agitur. At ſequentiæ Notkerianæ quodam modo Eccleſiæ Græcæ ᾠδαὶς reſpondent; quæ Odæ ex incerto numero τροπαρίων conſtant. Ideo ſinguli ſequen-

* [Ego ne unum novi codicem, in quo Sequentiæ Notkerianæ adſcripta ſit vox *troparii*. Neque Monius, quoad ſciam, hanc vocem in libris MSS. inveniſſe autumat.—*Daniel*.]

tiæ versus, minime vero tota sequentia, eo titulo vocandi essent, si analogiam dicendi servare, quod possumus, vellemus.—Atqui Notkerianis sequentiis alii in manuscriptis nonnunquam præfiguntur tituli, quos e re erit in medium proferre. *Occidentana. Fidicula. Lætatus sum. Dominus regnavit. Duo, tres. Justus germinabit. Symphonia. Romana. Frigidola.*—A postremis incipiamus. Eckehardus in suo de casibus S. Galli libello ita scribit: “Fecerat quidam Petrus ibi jubilos;”—id est, *neumata*, de quibus antea dictum est—“ad Sequentias quas Metenses vocabat”—sequentiarum nomine seriem neumatium innuit—“Romanus vero Romane et amœne de suo jubilos modulaverat, quos quidem post Notkerus quibus videmus verbis ligavit. “Frigdoræ videlicet et Occidentanæ quos sic nominabant jubilos, “his animatus etiam ipse de suo excogitavit.” In quibus Eckehardi verba, ut olim observavit Du Cangius, vim aut etymon verbi vix quis agnoscat.—*Occidentana* forsitan nomen traxit ex iis melodiis, quas “a Gimediâ, (a Nordmannis vastatâ” id est, Jumièges) presbyterum quendam ad S. Gallum attulisse narrat S. Notkerus. *Romanam* non nisi melodiam quæ ab Urbe venisse credebatur intellexerim. *Frigdola* vel *Frigdora* facilius agnoscit etymon: idem enim vult atque Phrygo-Doricum; id est: Tonus primus mixtus cum tertio. *Fidiculam*, auctore Wolfio, ecclesiasticæ musicæ inservisse sat scio; quid autem loco tituli sibi velit viderint doctiores. Quod et de illo, *Duo tres*, dicendum erit. An cetera, *Dominus regnavit, Justus germinabit, Lætatus sum*, introitus ecclesiæ S. Gallensi proprios spectarint mihi incompertum est: certe hirmorum locum (de quibus infra dicitur) non tenent, quippe qui versibus Psalterii supradictis minime respondeant. De his consuli potest Monius, i. 197. *Symphoniam* bene notat Wolfius instrumentum musicum fuisse: quem tamen miror non laudasse hymnum:—

Dies festus agitur,
Tange *symphoniam*.*

* [Addo quæ ego de Sequentiarum titulis sentio. Est autem eorum genus quintuplex. 1. Primi generis tituli vere sunt melodiarum indicia; quam ad rem plurimum facit locus in Eckehardi casibus S. Galli, qui supra legitur. —Alios musicos titulos index exhibebit. 2. Alterum appellationum genus ex aliquâ voce, cujus est gravior significatio, in fronte Sequentiæ posita pendet; ex more antiquitus usitato, cujus exemplum agnoscimus jam. II. Reg. 1, 18. 3. Alii tituli ex Graduali vel ex Epistola Sequentiæ proxime præcedente petiti sunt, vel non nunquam ex Introitu aliisque partibus Officii Missæ. 4. Alii porro in Sequentiis certorum festorum usibus destinatis breviter denotant festi nomen vel materiam, vel rem in historia festi notabilem. 5. Quum autem non unaquæque Sequentia propriam haberet melodiam, titulo sæpenumero ea Sequentia significatur, cujus melodiam altera sequebatur. Non raro ad hæc aliæ quoque rationes, subtiles et ingeniosæ, accedunt.

Non possum silentio prætermittere quantum similitudinis quoad metricas rationes inter sequentiās Notkerianas et Odas, quas in matutinis suis usurpant Græci, insit. Illæ enim incerto intercisionum numero, quamvis longe maiore, constant, et ad normam certorum versuum, sive, ut vocantur, εἰρμῶν, numeros accentumque ducunt. Exemplo sit hoc :—

ρίθρους αἱμάτων κατασβέσας | παναοίδιμος τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἀσβετίας | τῶν θαυμάτων ἡμῶν
ἐκαστοτε δροσίξεις
θεῖον ἐς γρόφον ὕπνις δύνας | τὸν ἀθάνατον ὡς θέμις ἐθεάσω | τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν φερίζωτί
σου, μέγαρον

τῷ νεφελῷ Ζητόβια
εὐσεβοφρόνης μέλποντα

τοὺς ἐν πίστει σε ὑμνοῦντας
ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἷ.

De Viëtorinis sequentiis pauca restant dicenda. Has in tres partes pro commodò nostro dividere possumus : eas scilicet quæ quasi-trochaico constant metro, quæ quasi-iambico, quæ denique aliis metri rationibus. Nemo est qui nescit trochaicos numero longe antecellere alios : in strophis plerumque ordinatos, sæpius triphthongos. De quibus auctor *Artis rhythmicandi* vetustus : “Triphthongus fit tribus modis ; primus modus est quando duæ “distinctiones (versus) concordant simul, et additur cauda,” (Germ. Refrainzeile, Angl. Tail-rhyme) “et duæ aliæ simul, “et additur cauda, et caudæ concordant.” Hunc scilicet in modum : a a b c c b : ubi *a* et *c* quasi-trochaici dimetri sunt (— — — — —), *b* quasi-trochaicus dimeter catalectus (— — — — —). Cujus rei exempla præbent *Stabat mater dolorosa* ; *Lauda Sion salvatorem* ; *Qui procedis ab utroque* ; et sexcenta alia. Verum notandum est, paucas ex his eandem rhythmorum seriem a principio usque ad finem tenere, ut fit in *Stabat mater* ; *Corde, voce pulsa cælis* (Neale, xlv.) ; *Paulus Syon architectus* (Mone, lii. 85) ; *Plausu chorus lætabundo* (Dan. li. 112). Plerique ad finem in omnia alia abeunt : solent quoque Adamus ejusque sectatores in medio duos versus inserere iambicos trimetros brachycatalecticos.

Servi crucis crucem laudent,
Per quam crucem sibi gaudent
Vitæ dari munera :

Dicant omnes et dicant singuli :
Ave salus totius sæculi,
Arbor salutifera.

Plerumquæ Sequentiæ alienis accommodatæ melodiis ætate sunt inferiores ; atque omnino titulorum ad cognoscendam Sequentiarum ætatem magnum est momentum, neque minus ad Sequentiarum divisiones recte faciendas, ex comparatione earum, quæ eundem titulum ferant.—*Daniel.*]

Iterum :—

Jam divinæ laus virtutis,
Jam triumphî, jam salutis
Vox erumpat libera.

Hæc est dies quam fecit DOMINUS :
Dies nostri doloris terminus :
Dies salutifera.

Cœtus noster hic applaude
Hunc honora dignum laude
Qui vivit in gloriâ :
Sciant omnes et sciant singuli
Non quæsitit gloriam sæculi
Nec patris imperia.
Regni liquit et fugit patriam,
Et subivit transiens januam
Pontici confinia.*

Quod genus præcipue in tertio occurrere versu observamus.

Sæpissime autem uno homœoteleuto clauduntur omnes caudatæ, ut fit in nobilissima illa prosa : *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Moris quoque Adamo sectatoribusque ejus est, inter duplicia homœoteleuta simplicia hic illic spargere ; e.g. :—

Nulla salus est in domo
Nisi cruce munit homo
Superliminaria :
Neque sensit gladium,
Nec amisit filium
Quisquis egit talia.

Adamus autem, quâ verborum copiositate pollet, dum ad finem vergit, grandior et disertior in materiam suam assurgens, homœoteleuta reduplicat : hunc in modum : aaabcccb : vel etiam : aaaabcccb : cujus rei admirabile exstat specimen in ultimâ strophâ hymni *Lauda Sion salvatorem*, a S. Thoma scripti.— Permiris metri rationibus aliquando utebantur poetæ, dum hoc genus versuum ingeniosius quam fructuosius texebant. E. g. :—

Per unius casum grani
De valle Gethsemani
Grana surgunt plurima :
Orbem terræ, cœli gyrum,
Ornant rores Martyrum
Una CHRISTI victima.

Quum enim oculis hic versus duplex homœoteuton exhibeat, nihil minus re habet : arsi hinc, thesi inde respondente.

* De S. Iodoco (Mone, iii. 344).

Jam de aliis triphthongorum trochaicarum generibus hæc dicta ſunto.

á. a a b c c b.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Omni die dic Mariæ laudes mea anima
 Ejus geſta ejus feſta ede ſplendidiffima

quod et aliquando duplicatur : hunc in modum :—

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Urit ira tua dira
 O Trajane inhumane
 Proprio ex vitio,
 Sanctum CHRISTI cum juſſiſi
 Flagellari, cruciari
 Nimio ſupplicio.

â. a b a b c c b.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Menſa fuit teſtamenti
 DOMINUS rex gloriæ
 Se dat eſcam ſacramenti
 Dignus, ut aporiæ
 Mors necetur, et purgetur
 Vitæ zyma ſcoriæ.

ã. a a b c c b.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Quod jam dudum præſignavit
 Qui tres videns adoravit
 Monadem
 In fornace tres intacti
 Sacramenta ſunt adepti
 Eadem.

ä. a b a b c c.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Sonent laudes pueri
 Sonent et proveſti,
 De ciſterna veteri
 Pariter ejeſti.
 Proles naſcitur divina
 Perituræ gentis medicina.

ε. a a b c c b.

/ — / — / — †
 / — / — / — †
 / — / — / — †
 / — / — / — †
 / — / — / — †

Non estis de fatuis
 Quæ cum vasis vacuis
 CHRISTUM præstolantur
 Immo de prudentibus
 Quæ plenis lampadibus
 Digne præparantur.

ς. a a b c b b c.

/ — / — / — † —
 / — / — / — † —
 / — / — / — † —
 / — / — / — † —
 / — / — / — † —
 / — / — / — † —

Is qui verbo nos creavit
 Sanguine sic recreavit
 Tantum cur disparitatem
 In hoc DEUS voluit
 En amoris potestatem
 Quæ peccati pravitatem
 Aquæ lance diluit.

ζ. a a b c c b.

/ — / — † — / —
 / — / — † — / —
 / — / — † — / —
 / — / — † — / —
 / — / — † — / —
 / — / — † — / —

Hic est fructus sceminæ
 Nascens sine semine
 Sine viro
 Rore SANCTI SPIRITUS
 Flos processit inclytus
 More miro.

En tibi ex immani trochalarum triphthongorum multitudine
 specimina aliqua—πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς. Multo paucioribus
 in hoc genere iambicorum rhythmis utebantur poetæ; nec ple-
 rumque nisi tribus.

ά. a a b c c b.

— / — / — † — —
 — / — / — † — —
 — / — / — † — —
 — / — / — † — —
 — / — / — † — —
 — / — / — † — —

Idcirco cives cœlici
 Et spiritus angelici
 Præ gaudio mirantur
 Mysterium mirabile
 Excellens ineffabile
 Exultant gratulantur.

β. a a b c c b.

— / — / — / — †
 — / — / — / — †
 — / — / — / — †
 — / — / — / — †
 — / — / — / — †
 — / — / — / — †

En nunc tempus reciprocatur
 Lucem quæ mundum renovat
 Et generans verbigenæ
 Hunc Virgo mater genuit,
 Vis quem inferni tremuit
 Quem jubilant cœligenæ.

γ. Quod cum trochæis mixtum est.

a a b c c b.

- - - - - + - -
 - - - - - + - -
 - - - - - + - -
 - - - - - + - -
 - - - - - + - -
 - - - - - + - -

Rex Olave, qui regium
 Nomen habes egregium
 Unctionis :
 Cujus nomen est oleum
 Effusum per aculeum
 Passionis.

Tria æque inter dactyllicas triphthongos commemoranda videntur genera.

ά. a a b c c b.

- - - - - + - - - - - + - - - - - +
 - - - - - + - - - - - + - - - - - +

Lætetur hodie matris Ecclesiæ sancta devotio
 Anniversaria reduxit gaudia Transfiguratio.

β. a a a b c c c c b.

- - - - - + - - - - - +
 - - - - - + - - - - - +
 - - - - - +
 - - - - - + - - - - - +
 - - - - - + - - - - - +
 - - - - - +

Tulit ab impia gente ludibria
 Minas et odia poenas exilia
 Sed mente stabili
 Mira constantia devicit omnia
 Felix felicia migrans ad gaudia
 Cum palma nobili.

γ. Notissimum illud : Mittit ad Virginem (ababc) quod hexaphthongum potius nominaveris.

Restat adhuc unum triphthongorum genus, rarissimum illud in Sequentiis, at meo quidem iudicio—an recte, viderint doctiores—suavissimum. Illam hexametri speciem dico, quam in suo de *Contemptu Mundi* poemate adhibuit Bernardus de Morlay.

Luce replebere jam sine vespere jam sine luna
 Lux nova lux ea lux erit aurea lux erit una
 Tunc nova gloria pectora sobria clarificabit
 Solvet ænigmata veraque sabbata continuabit
 Liber ab hostibus et dominantibus ibit Hebræus
 Liber habebitur et celebrabitur tunc jubilans
 Jesus amantibus afferet omnibus alta trophæa
 Jesus amabitur atque videbitur in Galilæa.

Nec miror, quum tam immanis sit versus ejusmodi difficultas, quod ita scripserit Bernardus : “ Non ego arroganter, sed omnino humiliter, et ob id audacter affirmo, quia nisi Spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus mihi affuisset et effluxisset, tam difficili metro tam longum opus contegere non potuissem. — Hilbertus de Laverdino, qui ob scientiæ prærogativam prius in episcopum, post in metropolitanum provectus est ; Vuichardus Lugdunensis canonicus, versificatores præstantissimi, quod parum in hoc metrum contulerint, palam est. — Quorsum hæc ? illud scilicet intelligatur, quod non nisi DEO cooperante et animum confirmante tres libros eo conscripsi metro, quo vix illi paucissimos versus.”

Jam vero nec temporis nostri, nec chartæ est, reliqua versuum genera, ut hic triphthongos, percurrere. Id solum observari debet : quanto rarius inter profas iambici, quam trochaici inveniuntur rhythmî. Ex illis, non nisi duo genera plerumque occurrunt. Unum, id quod nisi fallor Adamus de S. Victore ipse invenit :—

Confusa sunt hic omnia
Spes, mœror, metus, gaudium,
Vix hora vel dimidia
Fit in cœlo silentium.

Quod tamen ille usitato iambicorum genere plerumque intermiscet ; ut hic sequitur :—

Quam felix illa civitas
In qua jugis solemnitas !
Et quam jucunda curia
Quæ curæ prorsus nescia !

Homœoteleutis ejusdem generis utitur S. Thomas in Sequentiâ illâ mirabili : *Verbum supernum prodiens*.

Aliud iambicorum genus, quo hic utitur Adamus, nonnunquam alii :—

Jerusalem et Sion filiæ
Cœtus omnes cœlestis curiæ
Hymnum pangant jugis lætitiæ
Alleluia.

Sat scio, versuset alios inter iambicos sæpe deputatos esse : e. g. :—

Sanctæ Sion adfunt eucænia
Desponsatur præsens ecclesiæ.
C C

Sed isti dactylice proferendi sunt, hunc scilicet in modum :—

Pérpes glória régi pérpeti
Exercítuum Christi príncipi
Pátri páriter ét Spiritui.

Nec minus falsum est, id quod tamen aliqui docti effantur, hymnos eodem metro conscriptos, quo S. Thomæ *Sacris solemnibus junctâ sint gaudia*, iambico compositos fuisse metro. Pro certo quidem habeo, de choriambis æque cum ignarissimis cogitavisse poetam ; ille dactylice hymnum pronuntiandum decreverat, hunc in modum:—

Rócho conjúbilent ómnia láudibus
'Axis stellíferi régia gaúdeat
Et mundi téretis cóncrepet órbita
Sít vox úna canéntium.

Ut ad propositum redeamus, sequentiæ non solum latino, sed etiam vernaculo utebantur sermone. Id fiebat in quibusdam parochiis diœcesis Remensis, usque ad medium sæculi decimi septimi. Exempla aliquot apponemus. In ecclesia Algherensi, quæ in Sardinia est, sequentia quâ et adhuc utuntur in Nativitate DOMINI, ita incipit :—

Un Rey vindra perpetual
Vestit de nostra carn mortal ;
Del cel vindra tol certament
Per fer del segle jugement.

In eâdem Cathedrali, prosa vere belligera, anno 1412 composita, cujus usus jam antiquatus est, ita incipiebat :—

Muiran, muiran los Francesos,
Ils trahidors dos Saffaresos,
Qui han fit la trahiciò
Al molt alt Rey de Aragò.

Diu apud Bohemos in usu fuit S. Adalberti canticum, hymnus tamen potius quam sequentia :—

Hospodine pomilugny :
JEZU KRYSŤE pomilugny,
Tys spaše wsie o mira, etc.

In Dalmatiâ, Sequentia Natalis adhuc in usu est :—

Isvè vřime godisřta
Mirse světu navisřta, &c.

Sequentia in Anglia composita :—

Flur de virginite,
Chambre d'onestite,
De merci mere et de pite ;

DIEU vus sant, virgine pure,
Ki nature
D'engendrure
E porteure
Surmontez Par vos bontez Dont tant avez
Ke bien poez Aider assez As meffaisfiez, etc.

In Galliâ, pro dedicatione ecclesiæ, auctore Marbodo Ep. Redonensi:—

Ki DIEU voudra servir
Cum des pieres contez clairzur,
En la Cite DIEU sera pose
E el fundamente bien alloe
En vison de paz reposera
En laquel sen fin joir pourra.

In Lusitania, sequentia a Philippa Lancastriensi scripta, hæc habet:—

Si mi mesmo não defamo,
Não vos posso bem amar;
A me ajudar vos chamo
Sem quem não he repoufar.

Sequentiarum autem vernacularum usus a Conciliis etiam sequioris ævi, sub certis limitibus, approbatus est. Concilium Avenionense, 1584: “Quod si carmina quædam vernaculâ linguâ in Natali DOMINI permittenda sint in Ecclesiâ concini, “ea primum ab Episcopo legantur et examinentur; nec nisi “approbata et cum subscriptione canantur.” Constitutiones Diocesis Wratislaviensis in Silesia, 1592: “Epistolâ jam lectâ, “præcentor cum totâ communitate aliquem sacrum hymnum in “vernaculâ linguâ ipsis familiarem decantet.” Synodi Augustana (1610) et Monasteriensis (1655) idem permittunt. Procliviores enim ad hæc sese monstraverunt semper Germani, quam Gallorum Episcopi.

At expresse vetat concilium Basileense cantiones hybridas, ex linguis vernaculari et Latinâ compositas. Exemplum ejus rei damus.

Exstat in permultis Missalibus sequentia de B. M. V., cujus hoc est principium:—

Verbum bonum et süave
Personemus illud Ave
Per quod CHRISTI fit conclave
Virgo, mater, filia:
Per quod Ave salutata
Mox concepit fœcundata
Virgo David stirpe nata,
Inter spinas lilia.

Eam Mîss. Argentoratenſe ſæculi XV. ita exhibet :—

Ein verbum bonum und süave
 Sand dir GOT, der heißet Ave,
 Zehende wert du GOTZ conclave
 Mutter, mag, et filia.
 Da mitte wurdest salutate,
 Vom heiligen geiste foecundata,
 Von herr Davitz stammen nata
 On dorne sind den lilia.

Ita quoque in Angliā :—

Blessyd be that mayde Mary!
 Born He was of her body,
 Goddes Sone that fytet on high
 Non ex virili femine.

Iterum :—

CHRIST, that deydest on the tree
 Pro nostrâ salute,
 And arofest in dayes three
 Divinâ virtute,
 Yif us grace sinne to flee
 Stante juventute
 That on domesdaye wee maye see
 Vultum tuum tute.

Quod persæpe in Hymnis, idem quoque in Sequentiis observandum est. Scriptor novæ profæ principium ex antiquiore, et gratiæ conciliandæ et melodiæ causâ, haud raro petivit. Neminî non nota est Sequentia illa Bernardiana :—

Lætabundus exultet fidelis chorus : Alleluia.
 Regem regum intactæ profudit thorax : Res miranda.

Quam multas habuerit imitationes, hæc sint exemplo.

Missale Leodiense, in Festo SS. Simonis et Judæ :

Hac in die lætetur chorus fidelis : Alleluia.
 Qua cum Juda sit Simon advectus cœlis : Res miranda.

Missale Piſtaviense, in Festo S. Johannis Evangelistæ :—

Lætabundus gratuletur chori cœtus : Alleluia.
 Johannes est quem non tangit mortis metus : Res miranda.

Missale Salzburgenſe, de septem doloribus B. M. V. :—

Gemebundus Mariæ decantet clerus : Voce pia :
 Quam confixit novus dolor, amor verus : Res miranda.

Missale Moguntinum :—

Lætabundus decantet fidelis melos : Alleluia.
Katherina triumphans ascendit cœlos : Res miranda.

Missale Naumburgense :—

Lætabundus Francisco decantet clerus : Alleluia.
Quem confixit nobis clavis amor verus : Res miranda.

Nec mirum est has parodias in pejus detorsas fuisse. Inde e. g. illa cantilena, quæ, ut cum mediæ ævi scriptoribus loquar, *super* “ Verbum bonum et suave ” facta est :—

Vinum bonum et süave,
Bonis bonum, pravis prave,
Cunâtis sapor dulcis, ave,
Mundana lætitia :
Ave felix creatura
Quam produxit vitis pura,
Omnis mensa fit secura
In tua præsentia.

Illa quoque, super carmen Bernardianum :—

Bevez quant avez en poin,
Ben est droit, car nuit est long,
Sol de stella :
Bevez bien et bevez bel,
Il vos vendra del tonel
Semper clara.

Et hinc fortasse in ecclesiam Scoticam subtilissimam nocendi machinam fabricavit Johannes Knox ; scilicet cum sequentiarum hymnorumque melodias ubique vidit sparsas, ubique amatas, “super” eas alia verba composuit, vel componenda curavit, levia et indecora plerumque, nonnunquam obscœnissima, ut in contemptum musicam redigeret ecclesiasticam. Vivunt adhuc apud nos melodiarum multæ, e. g. : “ Cauld kail in Aberdeen,”— “ Coming through the rye,”—“ John Anderson my jo, John,” quæ ex sequentiarum et hymnarum originem (plerisque incomper- tam) traxerunt.

Hæc sunt, Vir Doctissime, quæ in promptu habui, a te, prout visum est, accipienda vel rejicienda. Tu primus Hymnologiarum veteres nobis aperuisti Thesauros ; tu sine dubio in Editione, quæ jam sub prelo sudat, et locupletiores et præstantiores eos efficies. Et quamvis nostrates adhuc rarius sese his addixerint studiis,

Non adeo obtusi gestamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyriâ sol jungit ab urbe,

quin opera tua inter nos versentur, doceant, laudentur. **Perge,**
Vir Optime, nos tantis talibusque ditare studiis : **faxitque D.**
O. M. ut illa adveniat dies, in qua uno corde et uno ore, quot-
quot jam invicem separamur, laudemus **DEUM,** et **PATREM**
D. N. JESU CHRISTI. Te, sat scio, eum talibus precibus
consentientem habebo. **Vale.**

Dabam e Collegio Sackvillensi
apud East-Grinstead,

a. d. IV. Non. August. A. S. MDCCCLV.





XIV.

PASTORAL POETRY OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE.

IF there be one species of composition which more than another has been the amusement of dulness, and has, with most perfect justice, drawn on itself the derision of satirists, no doubt it is the Pastoral. As Dr. Johnson observes, "No great ingenuity is required when one god asks another god what has become of Lycidas, and neither god can tell." Any one who turns over the pages of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, or the Oxford and Cambridge collections of verses, must be sickened with the idylls on royal births and deaths and marriages. How Mopsus asks Menalcas why he is weeping so bitterly, and Menalcas answers that it is for the death of the Queen of the shepherds, Maria, and for the sorrow of her august spouse, William, the terror of Gaul, the pillar of religion, &c. And then Mopsus remembers that, on that fatal night, a raven croaked from the blasted oak; and Menalcas comforts himself by telling how the gods have turned Maria into a star. How our great-grandfathers could sit down to pen such trash—trash without one redeeming point of originality, sense, or diction,—and how their lucubrations were gathered into volumes and sent forth as the "University Lament," or the "University Congratulation," is one of the dreariest features of the dreary eighteenth century. It would not be difficult to point out at least fifty different pastorals, published at the death of the Duke of Gloucester, Queen Anne's son: the only tangible difference between them being, whether the dialogues are carried on between Corydon and Tityrus, or between Damon and Alphesibœus,—and whether Daphnis is received into the assembly of the gods, or turned into a meteor or a laurel.

Nevertheless, out of the doleful mass of rubbish which, from the revival of letters till the present century, has been inflicted on Europe, we mean to endeavour to extract a little amusement, and, it may be, a little profit, for our readers: while we take a glance at pastoral poetry, from its beautiful rise in Theocritus to its death-blow in England: those nervous verses of Johnson's inserted in Crabbe's *Village*, and dovetailing, as it were, the poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth century together.

On Mincio's banks, in Cæsar's bounteous reign,
If Tityrus found the golden age again,
Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
Mechanick echoes of the Mantuan song?
From Truth and Nature shall we widely stray,
Where Virgil, not where fancy, leads the way?

The question has often been asked, and never, we think, satisfactorily answered, why the natural beauty of landscapes, which forms so great a part of modern poetry, was on the whole unknown to, or at least imperfectly appreciated by, the ancients: that whatever of sympathy their poets showed with the loveliness of external nature was in the abstract, not in the concrete. But there are exceptions; and the inimitable beauty of Theocritus is perhaps the most striking. We are not ashamed to confess that, were we at liberty to preserve only three of the Grecian poets from destruction, he, together with Homer and Aristophanes, would be our choice. It is not only the exquisite sketches of Sicilian scenery, but the power—not unlike that of Crabbe—of describing cottage-doings as they really were, and the genius which with one or two strokes can sketch out a character to the very life. One feels, for example, to have been personally acquainted with the poet's Simichidas; and the conversation between Æschines and Thyonicus, in the fourteenth idyll, is marvellously graphic. Add to this the exquisite beauty and delicacy of the Epithalamium of Helen, those loveliest of verses, the tenderness of which is almost Christian:—

ὦ καλὰ, ὦ χάριςσα κόρη, τὸ μὲν οἰκίτις ἦδε·
ἄμμες δ' ἐς δρόμον ἔρι, καὶ ἐς λειμώνια φύλλα, κ. τ. λ.

and we have no cause to be ashamed of our love for the Sicilian poet. The most amusing of his compositions is undoubtedly the piece called the "Sicilian Gossips," barbarously murdered as it has been by all its translators. We will attempt—it will, we fear, be a very lame attempt—to do its commencement somewhat more justice: though to render it as it ought to be rendered, the Doric of the speakers should be turned into the broadest Scotch. The reader must conceive a grand festival at Alexandria; King Ptolemy anxious to ingratiate himself with his subjects; the merchants

of the mart of the world vying with each other in the display of their almost fabulous wealth; sailors from every part of the Levant, from the Pillars of Hercules, from Marseilles, from Carthage, from Rome, from the Piræus, crowding the quays and streets; and in the midst of all these a portly dame, by name Gorgo, the wife of a well-to-do burghers of Alexandria, equally formidable in a crowd from her muscular power and the length of her tongue, elbowing her way through the multitude till she arrives at the shop of her friend Praxinoe; the latter having just begun to dress herself, that the two may go forth together and see the show, and more especially—the cream of the whole—the Adonis.

Gorgo. Pray, is Praxinoe at home?

Praxinoe (from within). At home: but, Gorgo dear, How late you are! Though, after all, I wonder you are here. Put her a seat, there, Eunoe, and bring a cushion too.

Gorgo. Thanks,—nothing can be better.

Prax. Sit down, then.

Gorgo. Well, I'm through: It needed quite a lion's heart,—such bustle in the street, So many gallant cavaliers,—such great clod-hopping feet; And such a distance to your house!

Prax. My booby of a man Would settle down at this world's end: you know him—'tis his plan,— (House, quotha! 'tis a cave, not house!) he chose it just for that, That we might never meet, and have a little quiet chat.

Gorgo. Don't speak about your husband, dear, while the little one is by: Look! look! he understands it all! You only watch his eye! You know they talk about "great ears" and "little pitchers."

Prax. Ah!

No, no, Zopyrion!—no, my pet!—I did not mean papa.

Gorgo. By Proserpine, he comprehends!—Papa is very good.

Prax. Well, that Papa a long time since—(for, be it understood, A long time since means t'other day)—to market went, to get me A little rouge and alkali, and brought back salt, to fret me.

Gorgo. The men, I see, are just the same; my temper also tried is: In the sheep market, yesterday, that spooney, Diocleides, Five fleeces bought, mere stuff, mere naught, dogs' hides, all scraped and skinny;

And seventeen drachmas for the lot he went and paid,—the ninny!

—Now for the petticoat—and now the buckle. We are going

To the palace of King Ptolemy, to the scene they talk of showing:

The Queen is at the expense of all—the Adonis and the rest:

Well, wealthy men do what they like, and we shall have the best.

Prax. My shawl, now—put it neatly on;—my bonnet!—let us go.

What! take my pretty little one? No, no, Zopyrion, no;

The bogies would be sure of you: what, are you not ashamed?

Ay, cry your eyes out if you will: I must not have you lamed.

Let us be off. Take baby, nurse, when we are gone before,

And call the dog to play with him, and shut and bar the door.

—Oh! what a horrid crowd! good gods!—how ever shall we pass?

Like ants upon an ant-hill—an endless crushing mass.

A hundred works the king has done right worthy of his race,
 Since his good father, Ptolemy, was in a better place:
 No pickpocket, Ægyptian-wife, is any more allowed
 To creep, as once the rascals did, and prowl amongst the crowd.
 No pin to choose 'twixt this and that. Good gracious, Gorgo, now
 Look! look! the royal horses come! which way to fly, and how?
 Good man, you're treading on my dress;—keep off, I beg. How
 wild

That bay is! how he rears and kicks!—You stupid, stupid child!
 What, Eunoe, won't you move away?—He'll tear in bits the
 groom:—

Oh, what a lucky thing it was I left my boy at home!
Gorg. Cheer up, cheer up, Praxinoe: we're safe at last, I vow:
 The cavalry are all gone by.

Prax. And I am better now.
 Horses and serpents, I confess, since I was but thus tall,
 Of all things that I used to fear, I dreaded most of all.

Gorg. What! from the hall, good mother?

Old Woman.

Yes.

Gorg. And can the crowd be pass'd?

Old W. The Grecians, after ten years' siege, got into Troy at last.
 Try *you*, my children: he that tries is certain to succeed.

Gorg. The good old dame speaks oracles,—a prophetess indeed!

Prax. Women know all things knowable: ay, Jove's and Juno's wedding.

Gorg. Just look, Praxinoe, at the crowd upon each other treading!

Prax. Tremendous, Gorgo: quick! your hand; and Eunoe, hold you tight
 Of Eutychis: keep close to us, and mind you all go right.
 O wretched me! my petticoat is almost torn in two!
 By Jove, as you would thrive, good man, pray take care what
 you do!

Stranger. It was not I; but, as I can, I'll help you.

Prax. How pell-mell

They push and press on us like swine!

Strang. Now, madam, all is well.

Prax. Jove bless and keep you, my good sir, for ever and a day,
 For what you've done!—Well, that I call a gentlemanly way!
 They're squeezing Eunoe to death; come, push, child; push inside!
 "Now we're all in,"—as said the man when he shut up his bride!

How stale and flat after the nature and liveliness of Theocritus—ay, and of Bion and Moschus too, though in a less degree,—is the pompous dulness of the Eclogues of Virgil! Nevertheless, from whatever source they may have been derived, the prophecies in the *Pollio* are some of the most remarkable things in the whole of heathen literature. It is impossible to read of the Virgin returning, of the serpent being crushed, of the Child sent down from heaven, of earth and sea and sky rejoicing in his reign, without feeling, "This spake he not of himself." No wonder that, in many a series of those marvellous stalls, the glory of their cathedral choirs, among the prophets who have foretold the Advent of our LORD the name of Virgil should so frequently occur. In some of the rituals of the south

of Italy the 22nd of September contained a commemoration of Virgil, as the prophet who foretold to the heathen world the LORD'S coming. And the Sequence, appropriated to that day, in allusion to the legend which represents S. Paul as having visited the tomb of Virgil, commenced thus :—

Ad Maronis mausoleum
Flebat Paulus super eum
Piz rorem lacrymæ :
Quanti, inquit, te fecissem
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime !

Running our eye over the course of Latin literature, we find no pastoral poet, till, in the days of its decay, Sicily produced another such bard in the person of Calphurnius. Probably not one of our readers has ever taken the trouble to peruse his seven Eclogues ; and yet, truth to say, there are several very pretty touches in them,—touches which look as though Calphurnius had lived among the scenes which he describes, and painted them not from books but from nature. Later critics have done him great injustice when they call these compositions “ a mere cento of the phrases and sentiments of Virgil.” To our mind his language is singularly unlike that of Virgil. But notice what pretty little pictures are such as these :—

Bullantes ubi fagus aquas radice sub ipsâ
Protegit, et ramis errantibus implicat umbras.

Or again :—

Per me tibi lilia prima
Contigerant, primæque rosæ : vix dum bene florem
Degustabat apis, tu cingebare coronis.

Or once more :—

Juvat humida forsan
Ripa, levatque diem vicini spiritus amnis.

Or yet again :—

Vere novo cum jam tinnire volucres
Incipiunt, nidosque reversa lutabit hirundo.

Or finally :—

Seu residere libet, dabit ecce sedilia tophus ;
Ponere seu cubitum, melior viret herba lapillis.

All which sentences, by the way, are as unlike Virgil as one pastoral poet can be to another.

Contemporary with Calphurnius was the Carthaginian bard, Nemesian. His four idylls have been given by Wernsdorff to Calphurnius, but without a shadow of reason. They are far in-

ferior in sentiment, and the Latinity is more degenerate. And yet Nemesian had honours bestowed on him, as a poet, such as Virgil and Horace never attained. These two, then, in the miserable decline of classical poetry, were the last to write of shepherds, and rocks, and goats.

The Middle Ages knew nothing of pastoral poetry, strictly so called. But there are more pastoral ballads than one of singular elegance; only, unfortunately, so immoral and licentious, that hardly can one find a verse here and there to quote, without omission. One cannot but wonder what kind of men those could have been, who, with the daily duties and services of a religious house, could have occupied their leisure hours by compositions which show, at least, as much wickedness as power. Yet it is a well-known fact that, in one of the strictest of Carthusian houses, when its gates were thrown open by the French revolution, the cells of many of its inmates were found to be filled with the most immoral works of Voltaire and Rousseau, and other authors of a similar class. What could have been their feelings who submitted to the daily austerities of a Carthusian life, while, in private, taking delight in the corruptions of books like these? But take such a verse as this,—a true specimen of a pastoral ballad :—

Desub ulmo patulâ
Manat unda garrula ;
Ver ministrat gramine
Frondebis umbracula,
Quæ per loca singula
Profluent aspergine
Virgultorum pendula.

Or again,—it is a shepherd who is speaking :—

Hora meridiana
Transit ; vide Titana ;
Mater est inhumana :
Jam pabula
Spernit ovicula ;
Regrediar
Ni feriar
Maternâ virgulâ.

Or take this curious catalogue of spring birds :—

Jam vernali tempore
Terra viret gramine ;
Sol novo cum jubare ;
Frondent nemora, candent lilia, florent omnia.
Est cœli serenitas,
Et veris suavis,
Ventorum tranquillitas ;
Est temperies clara, et dies : cantant volucres.

Merulus cincitat, acredula rupillulat, turdus truculat et sturnus pufitat.
 Turtur gemitat, palumbes plaufitat, perdix cicabat, anfer craccitat ;
 Cygnus dranfat, pavo paululat, gallina gacillat, ciconia clofturat.
 Pica concinuat, hirundo trifphat, apis bombilat, merops fincidulat ;
 Bubo bubilat, gucus guculat, paffer fonfitrat, et corvus croccitat.

This lift, which was printed by Kugler,* is certainly curious enough ; it is needleft to fay that its author lived in France. The royal library at Paris abounds with ballads of a fimilar description. Many of thefe have appeared in various French periodicals ; many more are too grofs to bear republication at all. And in the occafional poems of fuch authors as S. Fulbert of Chartres, Hildebert of Tours, Marbodius of Rennes, and others, they have left us fhort pieces, which, in the beft and trueft fenfe of the word, are pastoral. The verfes of Fulbert are ftrikingly beautiful :—

When the earth, with fpring returning, vefts herfelf in frefter fheen,
 And the glades and leafy thickets are arrayed in living green,
 When a fweeter fragrance breatheth flowery fields and vales along,
 Then, triumphant in her gladnefs, Philomel begins her fong :
 And with thick delicious warble far and wide her notes ſhe flings,
 Telling of the happy fpring-tide and the joys that fummer brings.
 In the pauses of men's fumber, deep and full ſhe pours her voice ;
 In the labour of his travel, bids the wandering man rejoice.
 Night and day, from bufh and greenwood, fweeter than an earthly lyre,
 She, unwearied fongftrefs, carols, diftancing the feathered choir ;
 Fills the hill-fide, fills the valley, bids the groves and thickets ring ;
 Made indeed exceeding glorious through the joyoufnefs of fpring.
 None could teach fuch heavenly mufic, none implant fuch tuneful skill,
 Save the King of realms celeftial, Who doth all things as He will.

This quotation, by the way, would have been valuable to Coleridge, when writing of the joyous note of the nightingale. A hymn in the Sarum books fpeaks to the fame effect :—

Collaudemus Magdalenæ lacrymas et gaudium ;
 Sonent voces laude plenæ de concentu cordium :
 Ut concordat Philomenæ turturis fufpirium :

where the mournful note of the turtle-dove is contrafted with the joyous ftrain of the nightingale.

But it is time to turn to the pastoral poets who wrote after the revival of letters—a long lift indeed. At this moment we have forty-fix lying before us, and they are but a fmall part of what might be found. The firft, by far the firft, in reputation, was the once celebrated Mantuan, the fame of whom the pedant fpeaks in “ Love’s Labour’s Loft,”—“ Ah, Mantuan, good old Mantuan ! he knows thee not, that loves thee not.” A paper in the *Chriftian Remembrancer*, fome eight or ten years ago, gave

* In his treatife “ De Werinhero Monarcho Tegernfenfi,” p. 37.

a pretty full account of this worthy, whose performances were read in inferior schools as lately as the beginning of the last century, and whose name will be found as an authority even in such a book as Ainsworth's Dictionary. A Carmelite,—and, in process of time, General of his order,—Mantuan sometimes employed his shepherds in disquisitions on the Church of the fifteenth century, its corruptions, and its needed reformation; and from him Spenser learnt the practice of making his shepherds discuss similar subjects.

The first in order of time, or nearly the first, among the revivers of learning, who turned his attention to pastoral poetry, was Petrarch. Not being able to discover any peculiar propriety in the word "eclogue," then usually applied to idylls, he conceived it to be a corruption of "æglogue"—a word by which he intended to express the conversation of goatherds, but which in its natural meaning can signify nothing but the conversation of goats. However, he has left us twelve, written in very elegant Latinity, a little, perhaps, pedantic, and out-Virgilising Virgil, but with some passages that would do any writer of Latin verse credit, and, above all, with the remembrance that he was a Christian. Take the following passage from his *Parthenias*, where his shepherd Monicus thus speaks:—

Let others praise those powers : the GOD supreme,
The GOD above all gods, shall be my theme :
Who rules the earth with universal sway,
Whose word is utter'd, and the heavens obey :
Who balances the liquid air on high,
Who fills the grove with native minstrelsy ;
Who by his stars the course of time metes out,
And the earth trembles when His thunders shout ;
Who bade the mountains rise, and clad the globe
With the green ocean's everlasting robe ;
Who form'd the soul, and rear'd her earthlier part,
And framed each discipline, and taught each art ;
Who governs life in rise and in decline ;
Who rules o'er death, and makes its end divine :
Who, after fleshly toils and worldly jars,
Finds for His sons a home beyond the stars ;
And thither, when earth's joys and cares decay,
Teaches them now, as once He show'd, the way.

We must confess, however, that the majority of Petrarch's idylls, his Pastoral Piety, his Pastoral Pathos, his Divorce, his Grumbler, are remarkable for nothing so much as their extreme length, some of them stretching themselves out to upwards of two hundred lines.

Geraldini, some years later than Petrarch, has left a series of idylls, taken up with the various events of our SAVIOUR'S life.

However truly it is recorded in Scripture that there were "shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night," and however, after the midnight vision had passed, they said one to another, "Let us now go even into Bethlehem," there is something grating to one's feelings when Mopsus relates that he had slept all the night through, and requests his more wakeful friend Lycidas to inform him of what has happened. But it is still more extraordinary when, in the next eclogue, we find three shepherds—Granicius, Battus, and Mycon—introduced to us, who, after all, turn out not to be shepherds, but be the three Kings. This fashion of investing every one with the character of a shepherd reminds one of nothing so much as those early frescoes which represent all kinds of scriptural characters under the form of sheep. Thus, a lamb stands by a sepulchre hewn out of a rock; two more conspicuous lambs by its side; a crowd of inferior lambs in the distance; a great lamb comes out of the sepulchre; and it is the Raising of Lazarus. A lamb stands in a stream; another lamb pours water on its head: it is the Baptism of our LORD. A lamb kneels on the top of a mountain; the paw of a lamb, bearing a book, proceeds from a cloud: it is the Giving of the Law. The agnification of such artists is near akin to the pastorification of such authors as Geraldini. But if this, to every principle of good taste, appears shocking, what is to be said of those idylls which treat of yet more solemn subjects? Thus, for example, we have an eclogue on the Passion, and another on the Resurrection, of the LORD. In the former, with almost incredibly bad taste—taste, indeed, which cannot be characterized as less than profane—our blessed LORD is spoken of under the name of Daphnis; and "Daphnis in an odoriferous garden," is the commencement of the Agony in Gethsemane:—

Huc ibi odorifero moriturus Daphnis in horto,
Sæpe preces Patrem veniens fundebat in altum.

Or, with still greater profanity:—

Proxima lux festa est: soliti dimittere fontem,
Hunc solvi an Barabam præferitis? Dicite! Cuncti
Exclamant, Barabam: atque Cruci te affigere Daphnin
Policimus.

And yet again, in the eclogue on the Resurrection of our LORD, the speakers are Ægle and Acanthus; that is to say, S. Mary Magdalene and our SAVIOUR Himself. "She turned herself, and saith unto Him, Rabboni, which is to say, Master," of the Evangelist, is thus paraphrased by the poet:—

Tune ipse es nuper vitâ perfunctus Acanthus,
 Qui crucis aeriz fueras sublatu in aram,
 Quem modò condidimus gelidi sub fornice saxi,
 Pulchrior evictis tenebris post fata refurgens?
 Proh quam læta meam pervadunt gaudia mentem.
 Accedam, amplectarque pedes, venerande magister.

It is not without importance to notice facts like these. What a fearful thing the revival of classical learning really was; how it ate like a canker into the very heart of the Church; how, more especially at Rome, and under the Medici at Florence, classicalism was all in all; how Plato and other ancient worthies were celebrated as saints and confessors,—all this may, indeed, be learnt from the histories of those times, from Roscoe's Leo X, better still from Audin's Annals of the same pope; but has yet to be worked out and to be duly and critically weighed in some future history of the Church. Above all, a true life of that great man,—for great he was, undoubtedly, whatever degree of sanctity we may be disposed to attach to him,—Jerome Savonarola, would throw light on this subject. Marvellous was the infatuation which could expend all its zeal and energies in the discovery of lost books of Tacitus or Livy, in the production of the purest Ciceronian Latin, in the erection of classical churches, and which could pay for all these Pagan amusements and studies by the infamous mission of Tetzels, unconscious of the approaching earthquake, regarding the discontent of one German monk as something that might—it mattered not whether of the two—be hushed at the stake, or silenced by the sop of a fat benefice. Therefore it is that we consider such paragraphs as those we have just quoted, worthy of all attention from our readers; when paganism invades Mount Calvary, the classical mania must be fierce indeed. This man, this Geraldini, intended well—his whole writings show it; and yet he has fallen into profanity from which some open blasphemers would have shrunk. Only imagine the verse we have just quoted: “Loose Barabbas, and crucify Daphnis!”

However, it must not be imagined that such indecencies were confined to the Roman Church. The Lutherans equalled, if they did not exceed them. One of their most famous poets, in the sixteenth century, was Helius Eobanus of Hesse. He was regarded as the Mantuan of Lutheranism, an author who well deserved to take his place among those of the Augustan age. Among other imitations of classical authors, he has left us a book of heroic epistles, after the manner of Ovid. The first of these—we really feel uncomfortable while we make an extract from this horrid blasphemy—is headed,

DEUS PATER Mariæ VIRGINI.

Quam legis, eternam rebus paritura salutem,
Non est mortali litera facta manu.
Pone metus Virgo superis gratissima; non est
Quem tremis, infestus nuncius iste tibi.

S. Mary replies :—

Quam sine te non est tellus habitura salutem,
Ut partam per me possit habere, veni.

In the same style we have an epistle from S. Mary Magdalen to our LORD, and from S. Mary to S. John. These things were not only admired, but were actually employed in schools, and had commentaries written on them for the use of youth. At Erfurt, Catzman lectured on them with reputation; so did Mylius at Leipsic.

But to return to the author from whom we have digressed. Another of Geraldini's idylls describes the composition of the Apostles' Creed, according to the legend that each of the Apostles uttered one of its clauses. We must confess that the names of the Apostles are given with sufficient neatness :—

Quartus ab his Jacobus ait, Zebedæia proles :
Ipsum etiam testor Pilato præside passum
Pro nobis tolerasse Crucem, et subiisse sepulcrum.
At Didymus nihil addubitans hæc asserit ultrò :
Solveret ut Patres, manes descendet ad imos,
Et rediit cum se lux tertia reddidit orbi.
Ex hinc Alphæus confert quæ sensit in unum :
Ad superos penetrans dextræ Patris assidet alti
Omnipotens, victorque Erebi cum Flamine regnat.

The twelfth eclogue, on the "Blessed Life," opens a door to one of those descriptions in which poets of the Renaissance, no less than those of the Middle Ages, have so much delighted :—

Hic aer, nostrum qui lustrat pendulus axem,
Non varias sumet formas, nunc lucidus et nunc
Turbidus, aut raras tendens in vellera nubes,
Non nive non pluvîa non grandine non gravis æstu,
Non ventis agitatus aget bona nostra per auras.
Nec vel nocte dies vincetur tempore brumæ,
Vel nox victa die paucas redigetur in horas :
Non erit autumnus, non ver, non bruma, nec æstas.

Compare with this one or two similar descriptions of equally unknown poets. Here is part of the "Aspiration for the celestial country" of James Zevecotius, a Dutch writer, who must have been popular in his own time, since it is a "new edition" of his poems (Leyden, 1625) from which we quote :—

D D

Scilicet exilii non sunt mihi gaudia tanti
 Quæque patens mundi nil modo mundus habet.
 Scilicet infauktis fugiens Babylonis ab undis
 Spiritus ad patrias fessus anhelat aquas.
 O Patria ! O veris felicia regna triumphis !
 O Patria ! O votis sæpe petita meis !
 Quis me fideream superum deducat ad aulam,
 Ereptum furiis, naufrage munde, tuis !
 O ubi perpetuis pinguntur floribus horti,
 Ridet et æternis ver geniale comis ;
 Quas neque tempus edax, nec iniquæ frigora brumæ,
 Nec perimant rigidi tristitia flabra Noti !
 O ubi nec puras cœnum radiare platæas,
 Nec prohibet fœces vivere dira lues !

It is remarkable, both in the poets of the Renaissance and of the Middle Ages, to find the absence of *mud* so dwelt on as one of the glories of Paradise. The reader will perhaps remember the glorious rhythm of S. Peter Damiani ;

Deest limus : abest fœmus ;
 Lues nulla cernitur.

And we must remember that the word *lues* is here used in its primitive sense of melting snow, or what would familiarly be called "slush," which original sense it again takes in the infamous work of Petronius. It shows the nature of the country in which our bards resided that they should dwell so forcibly on this one characteristic. Let us try one or two more parallel passages ; while we do not for a moment pretend that they are to be compared to mediæval hymns on the same subject, they certainly are not without their own great beauty.

Perhaps superior in their elegance to those of Zevecotius, are the following, from the *Pia Desideria* of Herman Hugo, the origin of Quarles's "Emblems :"—

O qui fidereas ducis, fortissime, turmas,
 Cui cingunt decies millia mille latus,
 Quam tua magnifico radiant prætoria luxu !
 Mens stupet, et tantæ languet amore domus.
 Nec glacialis hyems tremulo pede pulsât Olympum,
 Icta nec hyberna grandine tecta sonant :
 Nec pallent viso morituræ sole pruinxæ ;
 Nec stant marmoreo flumina vincta gelu :
 Perpetuum ver astra colunt, frigusque caloremque
 Inter, Cœlicolæ tempora veris agunt.
 O qui fidereas habitas, Rex maxime, sedes,
 Quam tua præ terris inuidiosa domus !
 Stat placidus positus Aquilonum flatibus ether,
 Servat et æternus longa ferena tenor :
 Sed neque flammantes liquido lavat æquore currus,
 Nec subit occiduas sol fugitivus aquas.

Nec premit astra dies, neque sol fugat æthere stellas;
 Nec premitur lassus, nocte fugante, dies:
 Clara dies, æterna dies, septemplete Phœbi
 Fulmineam nostri lampada luce premens.
 O qui fidereas habitas, Rex maxime, sedes,
 Quot tua deliciis affluit illa domus!

We must not tire our readers by further quotations of a similar kind; or how many beautiful passages there are which we might lay before them! That noble description, for example, in the third book of the Poem of Aonius Palearius,—the same who was afterwards burnt as a heretic,—on the “Immortality of the Soul;” or the still finer description in the fourth book of the *De Contemptu Mortis* of Daniel Heinsius. We must return to our more immediate subject. The Pastorals of John Arnolletti, of Nevers, are, perhaps, some of the best of their kind. Three are on the subject of Faith, Hope, and Charity. There are also others on the Sacraments of the Church; the scenery, drawn from that about Nevers—very pretty it is, as the writer can testify from his personal knowledge: and the whole more nearly approaching one’s idea of a Christian Pastoral than perhaps any others. Here is an imitation of that on Baptism:—

Colin. Lucy, that cloud, by evening lull’d to rest,
 How softly broods it on its airy nest!
 When Morning from her dewy palace came,
 And kindled heav’n beneath her steps of flame,
 With all the vassals of her gorgeous court
 The little wanderer join’d in frolic sport,
 Now, paler than the tempest-driven snow,
 Now, ruddier than the rose’s ruddiest glow.
 See, how old age hath sprinkled it with grey!
 It woos no more the breezes’ ruder play:
 Though still it lingers on, with pinions furl’d,
 For one more vision of our lovely world;
 For ere the morn the traveller must be
 A hundred leagues upon the stormy sea.

Lucy. I marvel not that it laments to leave
 A thing so beautiful as Spring’s first eve;
 The hazy softness of the twilight sky,
 Speck’d here and there with one star’s golden eye,
 The incense of the village gardens round,
 The downs’ deep calm, unconscious of a sound,
 While faint and fainter evening o’er them fades,
 And deep and deeper wax the hollow shades,
 And like an Angel’s vesper-anthem, swells
 The distant music of the village bells.
 Look! Evening’s star is peeping o’er yon brow;—
 Oh, when is earth so like to Heav’n as now!

Colin. Yet Twilight, the whose advent is so fair,
 Is all unlike it;—there is no night there!
 There shall no clouds in evening beauty burn;

There shall no Morn unlock her silver urn.
Bright land of cloudless skies and fadeless flowers,
And unknown friends,—GOD make thee one day ours!

Lucy. But, Colin, you have scarce yet own'd the praise
Due to my labour these three bright warm days:
Last Autumn's leaves are swept from where they fell,
And rake and broom have done their business well.
And see Spring's first ambassadors, that go
To Winter's palace in their robe of snow,
And by their beauty woo the kind old king
To lay his frowns aside, and call in Spring:
And here are flame-hued crocuses, that dye
Their leaves in all the tints of Morning's sky;
Though fairer still this garden plot had shown,
Might I have call'd this day's best hours my own.

Colin. And what the magic that, in these bright hours,
Could win my Lucy's absence from her flowers?

Lucy. There was a flower, dear Colin, fairer far
Than these of mine, all lovely though they are;
A little blossom, scarce yet taught to bear
The ruder visitings of stranger air;
And long, long years ago, when evening gloam'd,
With me the mother through the meadows roam'd,
Pluck'd the full berry from the autumn briar,
Or plied the needle o'er the winter fire.
I knelt beside her then, when o'er our head
The Bishop's consecrated hands were spread:
I stood beside her, when last lovely spring
Her troth she plighted with the holy ring;
Together now the church-ward path we trod,
To dedicate her little one to GOD.
It was the loveliest sight! Yet tears would rise
Unbidden, and unwil'd for, to mine eyes.
The quaint and ancient font, deck'd round about
With wreaths of flowers, in cold grey stone carved out:
The mother veil'd, as is our custom, press'd
Her little treasure closer to her breast;
The good old pastor—and 'twas like him—smiled
A look of fondness on the sleeping child:
His hand was on the book he loves to quote,
The good old book that saints and martyrs wrote;
Then told he what the loved Apostle saith,
Whose words were bright for hope, and strong for faith:
Ye hear, he said, of Him, Whose tender breast
Let not the little children go unblest;
"Doubt ye not then, but earnestly believe
That He will likewise favourably receive
This present infant,—that He will embrace
Her in His arms," and shield her with His grace;
And, when the world's brief scene of change is past,
Will guide her safely to Himself at last.
So may that brow through shame attain renown,
And, figured by the Cross, receive the crown!

Colin. In sooth, I scarcely deem the coldest heart
Would not, in that sweet service, bear its part;

I would I had been there!—Yet not unblest
 Was I, reposing on the down's green breast:
 With every sight and sound of spring to tell,
 The burnish'd chervil, and the hare's blue bell;
 The trees, with boughs like clear and glossy lead,
 Are putting on their hues of brown and red:
 The pheasants' crow from some near valley broke,
 The missel-thrush was in the sapling oak,
 And in the underwood might just be seen
 One sparrow's nest with four small eggs of green.

Lucy. We have bright summer eves, I trust, in store
 For pleasant converse,—but to-night no more:
 The moonbeams, that a sickly radiance dart
 Down the green hill-side, tell us we must part.

Colin. Would they were come! or would the day were here
 That night might fall, and we might still be near!
 It *will* come *some* day! There's the evening bell!
 One good-night kiss, dear Lucy, and farewell.

This may serve as an example of the poem.

Among those who obtained considerable reputation as a writer of Pastorals, the famous Sannazarius, in his "Piscatory Eclogues," stands prominent. In his "Lycidas and Mycon," he writes prettily enough of the flowers of the sea, and the ornaments of the caves of the Nereids; but still one is struck all the way through with the feeling that, had these men possessed any real taste for nature, their pastoral attempts would have been different indeed. The shores of Italy, that marvellous Bay of Naples, the wild creeks and ravines of Calabria, might have afforded scenery enough for Sea-Pastorals of intense beauty. Instead of this, if one finds three or four pretty lines together, they are followed immediately by all the common-places of pedantic mythology; and the reason is plain. The writers were, to use the words of Coleridge,—

Poets who have been building up the rhyme
 When they had better far have stretch'd their limbs
 Beside some brook in mossy forest dell
 By sun or moon light, to the influences
 Of sights and sounds and shifting elements
 Surrendering their whole spirit, of their song
 And of their fame forgetful: so their fame
 Should share in nature's immortality,
 A venerable thing; and so their song
 Should make all nature lovelier, and itself
 Be loved like nature. But 'twill not be so.

In the same way, these *dilettanti* poets were basking in all the luxury of Florence, or Rome, or Naples; were the guests and favourites of Cosmo de' Medici, or of Leo X; and never saw the country at all, except when they mentally cursed the exe-

crable pavement and jolting ruts that conveyed them from one town to another. It has been well said that, if a stranger were to read Portuguese poetry, he would think the Portuguese themselves devotedly attached to the country and abhorrent of anything like a town. Whereas the fact is that the most pastoral poet of them all would rather have lived in the most wretched collection of houses calling itself a city, than in the loveliest scenery of Minho, or in the wildest gorges of Trazos Montes.

On the other hand, it is surprising how popular Pastorals have become, when they not only professed to, but did really, imitate nature. The success of Gay's Pastoral, the Shepherd's Week, is a striking proof of this. Incited by Pope to caricature the Pastorals of his rival, Phillips, by a set of compositions which should copy the grossness of country life, and writing with that purpose only, the nature which he threw into his poems made them at once popular; and when he had intended to excite laughter or disgust, he really moved pity and compassion. Intended as it was to be ridiculous, no one, we fancy, has ever read his account of the country-girl's death and funeral sermon,—the exact parody of a funeral sermon of that date,—

He said that heaven would take her soul, no doubt;
And spoke the hour-glass in her praise quite out—

without acknowledging that his feelings were interested and touched.

Very different indeed from such compositions were those of the most voluminous writer in this way, the celebrated Boccaccio. He actually wrote sixteen eclogues, which excited the great admiration of the learned men of his own time; of all of which we can give no more favourable character than does his own Sylvius:—

Sentis, quam stulti Latios cantare putamus
Pastores calamis perdetes tempora vocum.

However, not to pass so famous an author without a single quotation, take an example of what he intended, at least, for wit:—

Tu cupis amplexus Sapphus? Nunc sidera lambant
Quos trahis ipse fues, volitentque par æthera vulpes;
Grus trahat, ac anser pariter, per rura quadrigas.
Si memini, tu nuper haras mundare solebas,
Et scabiem, morsusque canum, seu vulnera veprum,
Nunc manibus purgare palam, nunc gurgite turpi,
Unguine nunc vario, succisque potentibus, atque
Galbaneis fumis, nigrique bituminis ossa,
Viribus ellebori, stillâ male olentis amurcæ.

And no higher praise, we are afraid, can be given to a poet whose Pastorals possessed equal reputation in their own day, Andrew Naugerius. But towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries—when it was no unusual thing for an ecclesiastic who had perhaps received only the first tonsure, to hold half-a-dozen abbeys, five or six archdeaconries, a score of livings, a deanery, a good many canonicates, and perhaps a bishopric or two into the bargain, and notwithstanding all this was deeply in debt—it was quite the fashion to present a well-turned Pastoral, or similar trifle, and to receive in acknowledgment some further little piece of preferment. In those unhappy centuries, the bitter epigram of Owen was true enough :—

An Petrus fuerit Romæ, sub iudice lis est :
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.

Whether Saint Peter was at Rome,
Is not as yet made out :
That Simon there has found a home
No living man can doubt.

But it is very curious and very edifying to contrast these venal Pastorals, written by hireling ecclesiastics, with the longest Pastoral poem the world ever saw, the *Prædium Rusticum* of the Jesuit Vanier. When, in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the art of composing Latin poetry was held in the highest estimation, that wonderful Company of JESUS, resolved that its children should claim the highest rank in every branch of science, art, and literature, naturally turned their attention to this also ; and wherever among its members a talent for Latin verse was found, there it was cherished and brought before the world with all the advantages the commendation of the Society could give. The Frenchman Vanier devoted his life to this poem. Utterly valueless as a didactic work,—for who would write precepts for farming in Latin hexameters ?—but most valuable as proving that the first Latin poet of his age was a Jesuit, to our ideas it seems strange to find a priest devoting his life to sixteen books, each, perhaps, containing eight hundred lines, on subjects such as these :—How one ought to buy and repair a farm : How to choose servants : Of greater cattle : Of lesser cattle : Of trees : The diseases of trees : The rustic year : Of potherbs : Of vines : Of wine : Of fattening fowls : Of doves : Of bees (this fourteenth book is especially dedicated to Cardinal de Fleury) : Of ponds : Of live stock. This is a synopsis of the worthy writer's poem : he tells us, in the book on Ponds, which was the first written of all, that,

led away by the bad taste of youth, he inserted in it many fables ; and had not altogether recovered from this "anility" when he treated of doves and vines. Some twenty years ago, we remember to have looked this poem right through from one end to the other ; and it possesses considerable interest even for one who, like the present writer, cares not a straw for the subject on which it treats. There are some very fine passages in it : the gradual advance of autumn, at the beginning of the eighth book ; the heroic charity of Bishop Belsunce, in the plague of Marseilles ; Easter, as celebrated in the country ; the way of discovering water by the divining-rod. Take, as an example, the description of Easter :—

This is the time when nature's urgent needs
 Brook no delay : when branches must be pruned,
 Fields clamour for their seed. For holy Church
 (Though now she celebrate her forty days)
 This toil forbids not. Some she calls to fast :
 You to redoubled toil ; for toil was once
 The punishment of sin. But when at length
 The forty days in Easter melt away,
 Then cast off earthly cares ; then, then the soul
 Must, mindful of the country whence she came,
 Claim all the holy season to herself.
 Till not the field,—rank weeds spring up : permit
 The autumn orchard to remain unpruned,—
 And smail the increase of the vernal hour.
 So must the heart be tilled ; so every vice
 Eradicated ; so must toil and pains
 Foster implanted virtue. Else the Blood
 Of that great Sacrifice was shed in vain,
 And hell will gripe the souls so dearly bought
 (What price were greater ?) by the death of GOD.
 Yes : keep your plighted faith, your faith once pledged,
 To be His own for ever. This poor world
 Is not your lasting home : for them that strive,
 And toil, and conquer, there remains a crown
 Eternal, incorruptible : a crown
 Which CHRIST then won, what time He burst the bars
 That shut the sons of Adam out of heaven,
 And promised, as their meed who nobly fight,
 The many mansions of His FATHER's house.
 Amidst that happy number we one day
 Shall worship. Meanwhile this poor life we lead,
 Expectant of a better : country toils
 Again invite our hands : the tools, hung up
 In Easter rest, must bravely be resumed.
 Thank GOD for all things ; while in exile here,
 He gives thee cares, with hope to solace now,
 And an eternal bliss to guerdon then.

There is an earnestness in this poetry which sets it far above the Damons and Phyllises of our pastoral friends. Of course,

in such a subject as the farm-yard, there must be much that is prosaic and tedious in the highest degree : and Vanier often labours under the same difficulty that beset Dyer in his *Fleece*, and Grainger in his *Sugar-cane*,—the choice between speaking of every-day occurrences in the every-day language of prose, or, to use the expression, employing a falsetto, and working them up into grandiloquence. So poor Grainger, in his first edition, being compelled to speak of the devastation of rats and mice, began a paragraph thus :—

Now, Muse, let's sing of mice.

But some friend having objected to the expression as low, it was altered into,—

Now, Muse, let's sing of *rats*.

And now, most absurdly of all, it stands :—

Nor with less harm the whisker'd vermin race
(A countless clan) devour the lowland cane.

And so Vanier often found a difficulty in determining whether he should call rats "rats," or the "whiskered vermin race." We might extend our notices of Pastoral Poets almost indefinitely. Among them we might name Erasmus, who describes love with all the common-places of pipes, crooks, and kids ; Vida, Bishop of Cremona, whose "Poetics" and whose "Chefs" have been more than once translated into English, and whose "Silkworms" and "Christiad" well deserve to be so ; but whose three Eclogues are on a par with those of his fellows. Then, too, we have Pomponius Gauricius, whose tedious compositions are ended by this portentous line—and yet the man was a scholar too :—

Urforumque, canumque, importunorumque luporum :

which how he scanned we should like to know. Then there was the learned Joachim Camerarius, better employed in writing his *Life of Melancthon* and his *Commentary on the New Testament*, than his *Dixæ* and his *Querela* ; and a host of inferior pastoralists, John Rainerius, Hannibal Cruceius, and George Sabinus, a friend of Luther and Melancthon : then, again, we have Cynthius Giraldus, Philip Girineti, and him who but for his immoralities would have been one of the brightest lights of modern Latin verse, John Secundus. But we will not inflict a list of their Pastorals on the reader. When we look back and see what wretched trash were then the poems which professed to describe the country, and compare them with the power of description with which a truer study of nature has invested the

present age, it is indeed being liberated from the closeness of a medicated apartment to the freshness and wildness of a heath. The time has been when a not ignoble author, Burnett, the writer of the "Theory of the Earth," asserting that, "at its first creation, it was perfectly flat," made use of the argument, "that it could not have been consistent with the beneficence of a merciful CREATOR to deform it with those ugly excrescences called mountains."

It were unfair to close a sketch of the Pastoral poets of the Renaissance without alluding to our own true Pastoral poets. We do not mean Pope, nor Phillips, nor Gay, nor Thomas Warton, but Browne, and Wither, and Herrick. Browne's "Britannia's Pastorals" (if our readers are not acquainted with them), notwithstanding his occasional affectations, will be found the best of all similar poems. What a pretty country computation of time, for example, is this:—

So soon as can a martin from our town
Fly to the river underneath the down,
And back return with mortar in her bill,
Some little cranny in her nest to fill,
The shepherd came.

The poem was never finished; but what remains of it will fascinate those who are fond of studying the country life of the time of Charles I.

And now we have done. Our readers, warned as they were at the commencement of the barrenness of our subject, could not expect to be introduced to any rich vein of literary wealth. If we have laid before them one or two curious facts, and made them acquainted with one or two names that are not altogether deserving of oblivion, we shall be satisfied.





XV.

LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS.

ONE of the first observations which must occur to a student of the primitive Liturgies is this : how frequent are the quotations from Scripture with which they abound. We know, in fact, that the few Protestant writers, who have advanced even so far as to a respectable knowledge of these works, have never been weary of proclaiming their scriptural character—of pointing out that, although Antichrist was already beginning to whimper in his cradle, nevertheless reference was still made “to the law and to the testimony.”

The so-called sect of Evangelicals, again, would find a still closer resemblance between Liturgical quotations and their own. The passages cited are not, to use the words of an Evangelical Bishop, “from the Gospels, or the other less important books of the New Testament,” but are mainly from the Pauline Epistles. Reference may indeed be here and there made to a gospel fact—or some of our LORD’S promises may be pleaded with Him by Whom they were spoken. But still, as the rule, if a citation, not avowedly such, be made from Scripture, it is three times out of four from the Epistles.

But another view of the subject may be taken, and it is that to which we are at present about to direct the reader’s attention.

The question then for our present consideration is this :—The passages which occur in the original portions of the primitive Liturgies, and also in the Epistles,—are we to regard them as quoted in the latter from the former, or in the former from the latter ?

The offhand reply would of course be—Undoubtedly the Liturgical is a quotation from the Scriptural passage. A deeper

view of the subject may perhaps lead us to a different conclusion. It need hardly be said that, if this be the case, Liturgies become at once invested with a dignity and majesty scarcely inferior to that of the New Testament itself.

The question is one which has never yet been discussed at length. The late Professor Blunt—and would that he had been spared to follow out the path which he had indicated!—opened up this inquiry; and that with a manifest bias to the Liturgical side of its decision. We will endeavour—*haud passibus æquis*—to follow in his steps.

One of the cleverest critical essays, written during the last century, is that of Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, on the marks of poetical imitation. In this he professes to lay down a series of canons by which we may judge whether an apparent imitation is a real plagiarism or not. We shall find some of his remarks very useful to carry with us as we go along: although our present question is not whether there be imitation or not, but in which of two given writings that imitation is to be found.

In the first place it is well to observe that, without any manner of doubt, scriptural writers are in the habit of quoting, not only heathen authors, as in the three examples which S. Paul affords from Aratus, from Simonides, and from Epimenides, but also from the ecclesiastical compositions of that era.

Let us first set down the places where avowedly S. Paul does make a quotation;—and that, not from the Old Testament;—and it will be convenient to have them both in English and Greek.

1.—1 Corinthians ii. 9.

But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.

Ἄλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίᾳ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

2.—1 Corinthians xv. 45.

And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam *was made* a quickening spirit.

Οὕτω καὶ γέγραπται· Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωντοποιῶν.

3.—Ephesians v. 14.

Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and CHRIST shall give thee light.

Διὸ λέγει· Ἑγείρε ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφάνουσι σοὶ ὁ Χριστός.

4.—1 Tim. i. 15.

This *is* a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that CHRIST JESUS came into the world to save sinners.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι.

5.—1 Tim. iii. 1.

This *is* a true saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· Εἰ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλὸν ἔργον ἐπιθυμεῖ.

6.—1 Tim. iv. 8, 9.

For bodily exercise profiteth little : but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

Ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος· ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμος ἐστίν, ἱπαρχλίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης·

This *is* a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος.

7.—2 Tim. ii. 11-13.

It *is* a faithful saying: For if we be dead with Him, we shall also live with Him.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· Εἰ γὰρ συνηπάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν·

If we suffer, we shall also reign with Him: if we deny Him, He also will deny us:

Εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν· εἰ ἀρνούμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς·

If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himself.

Εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει· ἀρῆσασθαι ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται.

8.—2 Tim. ii. 19.

Nevertheless the foundation of GOD standeth sure, having this seal, The LORD knoweth them that are His. And, Let every one that nameth the name of CHRIST depart from iniquity.

Ὁ μόντος στερεὸς θεμέλιος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστηκεν, ἔχων τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην, Ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύριος τοῦς ὄντας αὐτοῦ· καὶ, Ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας πᾶς ὁ ὀνομάζων τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.

9.—Titus iii. 8.

This *is* a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in GOD might be careful to maintain good works.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαι σε διαβεβαιῶσθαι, ἵνα φροντίζωσι καλῶν ἔργων προϊστάσθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες τῷ Θεῷ.

To these we may add, as bearing on the subject :—

10.—Eph. v. 19.

Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the LORD.

Ἀλλήλους ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

11.—Col. iii. 16.

Let the word of CHRIST dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the LORD.

Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡκουέτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες, καὶ καθετιόντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

12.—2 Tim. i. 13.

Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in CHRIST JESUS.

Ἐπιμένειν ἔχει ἡγιασμένην λόγον, ἃν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας, ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

13.—2 Tim. iv. 13.

The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring *with thee*, and the books, *but* especially the parchments.

Τὸν φάλλον, ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τροάδι παρὰ Κάρπου, ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.

Now, from (10) and (11) it follows that Christian hymns and spiritual ᾠδαι were extant, and well known, when the Apostle wrote.

From (12), that a form of sound words was delivered by S. Paul to Timothy, as Bishop of Ephesus. What could this be but one of two things,—a Creed or a Liturgy?

Observe, further, that six out of the nine acknowledged quotations occur in the Pastoral Epistles; though these only contain thirteen short chapters, while the rest of the Pauline Epistles contain eighty-seven. Is not this what we might have expected, considering S. Paul's repeated commands that "Bishops" should give attendance to reading? And putting all this together,—and coupling it with the acknowledged fact that the "cloke" has been, by many writers, even from the earliest times, understood of a Liturgical vestment,—we shall not improbably come to the conclusion that either the books or the parchments were Liturgical.

Let us, however, examine No. 1 as a substructure for our future remarks.

In 1 Cor. ii. 9, we have this passage:—

BUT AS IT IS WRITTEN, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.

Where is this written? "Why," they say, "in Isaiah lxiv. 4." Now, we do not deny that, *so far as our English version is concerned*, there is a certain resemblance between the passage in the Corinthians and that in Isaiah: but it is now universally allowed that our English version of the text in Isaiah is quite indefensible; it probably was only made from the predetermi-

nation of considering S. Paul to be giving the right sense of the prophet; and the true version is given in the margin. Let us see how the passage stands in the LXX, which S. Paul must have quoted, and which gives the correct interpretation of the Hebrew:—

From the beginning have we not heard, neither have our eyes seen, a GOD beside Thee, and Thy works, which Thou shalt do to them that wait for mercy.

There is not much likeness here; but we will go a great deal further yet. However, let us first hear what Bishop Lowth says on the matter. His version is:—

For never have men heard, nor perceived by the ear,
Nor eye hath seen, a GOD beside Thee,
Who doeth such things for those that trust in Him.

His note is:—

For never have men heard—] S. Paul is generally supposed to have quoted this passage of Isaiah, 1 Cor. ii. 9: and Clemens Romanus in his First Epistle has made the same quotation, very nearly in the same words with the Apostle. But the citation is so very different, both from the Hebrew Text and the Version of the LXX, that it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile them by any literal emendation, without going beyond the bounds of temperate criticism. One clause, “neither hath it entered into the heart of man,” is wholly left out; and another is repeated without force or propriety, viz. “nor perceived by the ear,” after “never have heard:” and the sense and expression of the Apostle is far preferable to that of the Hebrew text. Under these difficulties, I am at a loss what to do better, than to offer to the reader this, perhaps disagreeable, alternative—either to consider the Hebrew text and LXX. in this place as wilfully disguised and corrupted by the Jews: of which practice, in regard to other quotations in the New Testament from the Old, they lie under strong suspicions: (see Dr. Owen, on the Version of the Seventy, sect. vi.—ix.): or to look upon S. Paul’s quotation as not made from Isaiah, but from one or other of the two Apocryphal Books, entitled The Ascension of Esaias, and the Apocalypse of Elias, in both of which this passage was found: and the Apostle is by some supposed in other places to have quoted such apocryphal writings. As the first of these conclusions will perhaps not easily be admitted by many; so I must fairly warn my readers, that the second is treated by Jerom as little better than heresy. See his Comment on this place in Isaiah.

Now, we will see if we cannot explain what so completely puzzled—and it is to his great credit he confesses it—Bishop Lowth.

First, here is the version of the LXX:—

Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἤκούσαμεν, οἷδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον Θεὸν πλὴν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ ποιᾷς τοῖς ὑποκείμενοις ἡμῶν.

Now, S. Paul:—

‘Ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται’ “Ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἐτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.”

Observe (1), that there is not ONE WORD, literally not ONE WORD, the same in Isaiah and in S. Paul.

(2). Nevertheless, this is manifestly a textual quotation. We say nothing of the καθὼς γέγραπται: but the ungrammatical structure of the sentence, the relative without an antecedent, the beginning with ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε,—shows that it is a mere fragment, taken bodily from some other writer. The English reader will understand this better, if we translate—what our version has not done—literally:—

But as it hath been written:—“WHICH eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and into the heart of man hath not ascended,—which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.”

You see it is manifestly a broken sentence—an exact textual reproduction of some passage where the first *which*—“*which* eye hath not seen,” must have had an antecedent. Cast your eyes back to the literal version of the LXX, and you will now agree that S. Paul *could not* have been quoting Isaiah; and *was* quoting some one else—that some one else, in all probability, distantly referring to the prophet.

This we should confidently say, even if we could not find what S. Paul was quoting.

Can we find it?

Turn to the Anaphora of S. James, (p. 63.)*

Now then:—

‘Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπισκεψίαν καὶ ἀφ’ αὐτῆς σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ὑπερβὰς καὶ ἐξελείψας: τί καθ’ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τῶν σὴν ἐπιστῶν, χάριση ἡμῖν τὰ ἱκανά καὶ αἰσπρά σου δωρήματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἐτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσίν σε· καὶ μὴ δι’ ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἀνετίσης τὴν λαὸν, φιλόανθρωπε Κύριε.

Now we have the textual quotation. Now we can explain the want of an antecedent to the relative. Now the ἃ refers to τὰ σου ἀγαθά.

We translate for the English reader:—

But according to Thy gentleness and measureless love, passing over and blotting out the handwriting against us Thy suppliants, Thou wouldst be-

* The references are all made to my own edition of the “Primitive Liturgies” (Hayes, Lyall Place).

flow on us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, WHICH eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and into the heart of man hath not ascended, which Thou hast prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thee.

Is it not now absolutely certain—certain beyond all assurance—that *this* is the passage which S. Paul was quoting? This passage may very probably glance at Isaiah, though only distantly. This is so very important that we repeat the argument.

1. There is not one word the same in the passage in the Corinthians, and in that of Isaiah—and the sense is altogether different.

2. Yet the passage in the Corinthians is a textual quotation—textual even to ungrammaticalness.

3. The exact words of this quotation, the ungrammaticalness supplied, occur in the Liturgy of S. James.

But irrefragable as this argument appears to us, it will be considerably strengthened when we come to consider the quotations—to one of which Bishop Lowth refers—of this same passage in the Apostolic Epistles.

We then come to this consequence, the theological importance of which may truly be called tremendous.

Whenever two passages occur in the same words,—on the one hand in the Liturgy of S. James,—or rather in its Anaphora,—and on the other in the Epistles to the Corinthians,—or in any later Epistles,—S. Paul quotes the Liturgy.

And notice what follows with regard to this very passage. The very next verse proceeds:—

But GOD hath revealed them unto us by His SPIRIT; for the SPIRIT searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of GOD.

Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ.

But this occurs in the Post-Sanctus of S. James,—which precedes the Words of Institution:—

Holy art Thou, King of Ages,—and LORD and Giver of all Holiness: Holy also is Thine Only-Begotten Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST: Holy also is Thy Holy SPIRIT, Who searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of Thee, O GOD.

Ἅγιος δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα σου τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ ἐρευνᾷ τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰ βάθη σου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

How beautifully natural, so to speak, that S. Paul, having quoted “Eye hath not seen” from the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, should speak of that Blessed SPIRIT, and speak of Him in words of the same Liturgy, (though in another place.) But how perfectly startling is the Apostle’s continuation:—

E E

But GOD hath revealed them unto us by His SPIRIT : for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of GOD.

For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of GOD knoweth no man, but the Spirit of GOD.

Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of GOD ; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of GOD.

Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the HOLY GHOST teacheth ; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

It is of the Invocation primarily he is thinking, when he speaks of "receiving the Spirit Which is of GOD ;" it is to the gifts and graces catalogued together at the end of that Invocation (εις ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμόν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, κ.τ.λ.) that he refers when he tells of "the things that are freely given us of GOD ;" the πλουσίας δωρεὰς τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος, as it there follows. And then, at verse 13, to what should he refer but to "the form of sound words," the Liturgy, which he left to his Corinthian converts? They are no words of us, the Apostles, merely :—i.e. were taught them by that very SPIRIT.

Now, then, observe :—how completely the whole sequence of thought is the same in the Liturgy and the Epistles—so completely that that sequence must have been as much followed as the words were quoted either by one or the other. How perfectly natural, if S. Paul quoted the Liturgy! How impossibly unnatural, if the writer of the Liturgy quoted S. Paul! In the latter case, the mental process must have been this :—about to compose the Invocation, he called to mind S. Paul's description of the gifts of the SPIRIT. Recollecting what preceded that, he, by a retrograde process re-quoted S. Paul's quotation, and put it in before the Invocation. But who would maintain so ludicrous an hypothesis! Yet, allow that S. Paul was the later, and it *must* be maintained.

But yet further notice. What is the sentence preceding that clause, "Eye hath not seen, &c?" It runs thus :—"Beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy gentleness and ineffable love, passing by and blotting out the handwriting which is against us, Thy suppliants, wouldst grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts." This is word for word the same as that expression in the Colossians (ii. 14) : "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us : " a passage manifestly borrowed from this Liturgy,

and in which the word *χειρόγραφον* occurs, nowhere else to be met with in the New Testament.

Now take another example.

In that most magnificent commencement of the Anaphora in S. James's Liturgy we have the expression :—

“Οὐ ἰμάνουσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἰπουράνιος πανήγυρις, ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκου ἀπογεγραμμένη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, πνεύματα δικαίων καὶ προφῆτων.

The parallel passage in S. Paul is (Heb. xii. 22, 23) :—

Ἄλλὰ προσεληλύθατε Σιών ὄρει, καὶ πόλει Θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἰπουράνιος, καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρις καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκου ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένη, . . . καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τεταλειωμένων.

We might observe that the word *πανήγυρις* nowhere else occurs in the New Testament; nor is the term *πρωτοτόκος* elsewhere employed in that sense.

We might also remark, that this Epistle was written to the Hebrews, *i.e.* the very Church which first of all Churches employed S. James's Liturgy.

Further, when we take the passage as a reference to the crowning act of Christian life—its approach to, and union with, our blessed LORD in the Liturgy, what force do we give the comparison! “Your fathers in the wilderness—for them there “was the mount that burned with fire, the blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, when they “drew near to GOD. For you, according to the words which “you daily take in your mouths, there is the Heavenly Jerusalem “opened, the myriads of angels invisibly attending, the general “assembly and church of the firstborn united and uniting in your “earthly sacrifice.” Once take the passage thus, and does not any other interpretation seem impossible? Imagine the Liturgy to be the copy, and S. Paul's words lose half their force.

Let us, however, now go regularly through the Anaphora of S. James's Liturgy, and see what quotations we can find from it in S. Paul's Epistles. We will confine ourselves to the Anaphora, because, though there is much of the highest antiquity in the Proanaphora, yet there are also many manifest insertions, and some portions the age of which is fairly an open question. Quotations here will therefore not always be satisfactory. For example, in the Great Ektene after the Kifs of Peace we have this petition :—

Ἦπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἀγνείᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ ἐν σημαντῷ γάμῳ διαγόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς ἀγωνιζομένων ὅσων πατέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν.

Here *the dens and caves of the earth* is undoubtedly a Pauline expression, but its application to hermits shows that it cannot be earlier than the fourth, or, at the earliest, end of the third, century; and, therefore, must be a quotation from S. Paul.

But the *εὐχή τοῦ καταπετάσματος*, the *Prayer of the Veil*,—a prayer which finds its place in every Liturgy of this family, and which immediately precedes the Anaphora,—is clearly of the same date with that. We will first give a translation of it; and then show how S. Paul quotes it. It must be remembered that the Chalice-Veil is now raised, and the Holy Mysteries exposed to view:—

We render thanks to Thee, LORD our GOD, for that Thou hast given us boldness to the entrance in of Thy holy places, the new and living way which Thou hast consecrated for us through the veil of the Flesh of Thy CHRIST. We therefore, to whom it hath been vouchsafed to enter into the place of the tabernacle of Thy glory, and to be within the veil, and to behold the Holy of Holies, fall down before Thy goodness: Master, have mercy upon us: since we are full of fear and dread, when about to stand before Thy holy Altar, and to offer this fearful and unbloody sacrifice for our sins and for the ignorances of the people. Send forth, O GOD, Thy good grace, and hallow our souls, and bodies, and spirits; and change our disposition to piety, that in a pure conscience we may present to Thee the mercy of peace, the sacrifice of praise.

Now, compare with this a passage in the Hebrews (x. 19—25):—

Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus,

By a new and living way, which He hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, His flesh;

And *having* an high priest over the house of GOD;

Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.

Let us hold fast the profession of *our* faith without wavering; (for he is faithful that promised;)

And let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works:

Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting *one another*: and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

The next passage, then, on which we come is that about the “General assembly and Church of the First-born;” of which we have just spoken.

The next, that also commented on already, “the SPIRIT searcheth all things.”

Immediately after the Words of Institution follows a clause

which we will write as it occurs in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark, and in the Epistle to the Corinthians:—

S. JAMES.

Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τούτων, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τούτου πίνετε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

S. PAUL.

Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τούτων, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τούτου πίνετε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.

S. MARK.

Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τούτων, πίνετε δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τούτου, τὸν ἑμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάλυψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.

The first observation to be made is that, explaining the other two passages by that in S. Mark, which is undoubtedly the fullest, we shall imagine that both S. Paul and S. James intended to represent the words as uttered by our LORD, speaking of Himself in the third person. Whence follows a very important corollary. S. Mark cannot be copied from S. James (still less, of course, from S. Paul), because no man would have ventured to coin words as delivered by the LORD;—and the third person being employed in S. James, S. Mark's Liturgy, had it drawn from that source, would not have dared to use the first person. Whence it is of co-ordinate, and, therefore, (whether a little later or a little earlier) of contemporary authority. To this point we shall have to return again.

The next passages are, as we have already noticed:—

Ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρὶ γράφω, κ. τ. λ.

And the—

Ἄ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἷα εἶδε, κ. τ. λ.

And these are all the precise quotations which the Liturgy of S. James affords.

But let us now, dropping for a moment the subject of *literal* quotations, see what Liturgical vestiges occur in connection with them.

And first: it will scarcely be denied that the opening paragraphs of the fifteenth chapter of the First of Corinthians contain the fragments of a Creed. Be it remembered that S. Paul had a certain "form of sound words"—in other terms, an orthodox confession of faith, which he committed to his infant Churches. Of such a form he is reminding the Corinthians: "The gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain." What are the articles of this form?

CHRIST died for our sins according to the Scriptures;
And was buried,

And rose again the third day according to the Scriptures :
 And was seen of Cephas,
 Then of the twelve :
 After that of above five hundred brethren.
 After that, of James,
 Then of all the Apostles.

Compare this with the Pauline Exposition of the Faith, as given to the Jews. (Acts xiii. 26, seq.)

Article 1. "CHRIST died for our sins, according to the Scriptures."

Commentary.—(Suggested by the article as it presented itself to the Apostle's mind :)
 Unto you is the word of this salvation sent.

They that dwell at Jerusalem, *because they knew...not...the voices of the prophets* which are read every Sabbath-day, have fulfilled them.

Article 2. "And was buried."

Commentary.—They took Him down from the Tree, and laid Him in a sepulchre.

Article 3. "And rose again the third day according to the Scriptures."

Commentary.—But God raised Him from the dead.

Article 4. "And was seen of Cephas, &c."

Commentary.—And He was seen many days of those that came up with Him from Galilee to Jerusalem.

Surely this is not a mere coincidence of sequence :—and it is remarkable that neither in the Creed, nor in the Sermon, is there any reference to the Ascension.

Let us now put the Petrine Exposition of Faith in juxtaposition with the Pauline.

S. PAUL.

If ye keep in memory what I preached unto you.

CHRIST died for our sins, according to the Scriptures.

And was buried.

And rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.

S. PETER.

That word, I say, ye know.

GOD anointed JESUS of Nazareth with the HOLY GHOST, and with power.

Who went about doing good.

Whom they slew and hanged on a tree.

Him GOD raised up the third day.

And was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, &c.

And shewed Him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of GOD, even unto us.

He was ordained to be the judge of quick and dead.

Whosoever believeth in Him shall receive the remission of sins.

These may be compared with a passage in the Acts of S. Ignatius, (a passage which well supplies a missing link in the Creeds which we have quoted from the Epistles.)

The emperor, immediately before condemning S. Ignatius, is interrogating the saint about his faith. The replies of the saint are directed not so much to the emperor as to the Christians who are standing by. Indeed, his wording of the expression "bearing CHRIST within his breast" seems to have induced the emperor at once to sentence him as a fanatic. S. Ignatius allowed Trajan to understand his words in a sense different from that which they conveyed to the Christians. "Who is Theophorus?" said Trajan. "He," replied S. Ignatius, "who has CHRIST in his breast." "And do not we," said the emperor, "then seem to thee to have the gods within us, who fight for us against our enemies?" "You err," said S. Ignatius, "in that you call the evil spirits of the heathens gods. For" (here, if ever, is the place for a Creed,—the grand confession of CHRIST'S soldier)

"There is one GOD who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them;—

"And one JESUS CHRIST, His only-begotten SON, whose kingdom may I enjoy."

"His kingdom," replied Trajan, "you say (?) who was crucified under Pontius Pilate." "His," continued S. Ignatius, "who crucified my sin," and so on (condemned for saying that he carried the crucified within him). This passage seems to me to bear importantly on the Apostolic hymn in Acts iv. 24.

There is another argument to which we shall only allude. It is this,—Why is it more improbable that S. Paul should have quoted a prayer than a hymn? Yet that hymns, as distinct from psalms, then existed, and that of two species, hymns and spiritual songs, we know from his own testimony; and that he quoted them we are able distinctly to show.

Eph. iv. 14, *Wherefore he saith:*

Ἐγὼ εἶπε ὁ καθένας,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.
καὶ ἐπιφάνῃσιν σοὶ ὁ Χριστός.

Now, 1. These verses have clearly an Anacreontic swing about them, especially if we take the last to have really been written *καπιφαύσει*:

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And, in point of fact, the earliest Greek hymn writers, as S. Gregory and S. Sophronius, *did* frequently use Anacreontics.

2. Might we guess at the nature of the hymn, we should probably call it *baptismal*. We have not only the burial *with* Him, but the illumination *through* Him.

And, in point of fact, the present writer had long since, on these grounds only, come to these two conclusions.

But he was perfectly startled at a subsequent period, in studying the Gregorian Antiphonal (Thomas. Opp. v. 94), to find a baptismal hymn of the very same metre:—

Audite voces hymni,
Et vos, qui estis digni
In hac beatâ nocte,
Descendite ad fontes.

What more likely than that one who introduced so much that was Eastern as did S. Gregory, should have taken at least the *motif* of his hymn from that to which the Apostle alludes? Anyhow, the coincidence is singular.

Again, 1 Corinthians xv. 45, *And so it is written*:

The first Adam was made a living soul;
The last Adam was made a quickening spirit.

Most undoubtedly a hymn. And so we think is that glorious passage—the consolation of such millions of mourners:—*Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written*:

Death is swallowed up in victory!
O Death, where is thy sting?
O Grave, where is thy victory?

Of course there is a *reference* here—may be a close one—to the passage in Hosea. But, in the first place, the Prophet could not, and did not *then* say that Death *was* swallowed up; it is, “I *will* ransom; I *will* be thy plagues. And next, the remarkable word *κατεπόθη* does not occur in the Prophet at all. Besides, how jejune is the ordinary way of taking the passage!

It makes the Apostle—

1. Quote, very inexactly, the Prophet.

2. Then himself burst out into a rapturous exclamation of holy triumph. And then—

3. Coolly and, so to speak, prosaically, explain his own exclamation.

Did any man ever thus break out into a poetical burst of language, and then directly explain what he had meant? If it may be allowed on such a subject to use the expression, the idea is almost ludicrous. Remark also that a word of some importance is omitted in the English, τὸ ΔΕ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ. "Now the sting." As if the Apostle would say, When you use those words, *you know* that the ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ is ἁμαρτία. It is worth while to observe that we shall have the Anacreontic swing here, granting the quotation to be not quite perfect.

Καταπόδη (ω - -)
ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῆκος!
ποῦ σου, Θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;
ποῦ σου, Ἄλδη, τὸ νῆκος;

As we write, we feel absolutely sure that our hypothesis is correct; for how tamely does it thus proceed, τὸ δὲ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ, &c.

We have only broached this subject of Liturgical Quotations, and shall hope at some future time to return to it; meanwhile we express our firm belief that the mine may be worked much deeper, both in the Pauline Epistles, and in that which is in truth only a glorious Liturgical Vision—the Apocalypse.





APPENDIX TO LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS.

DEAR SIR,



ALL of us, I am confident, feel more than interested in the question of Liturgical quotations: the question, I mean, which is now openly admitted to discussion, as to whether the Pauline Epistles quote the ancient Liturgies or *vice versa*: whether of the two compositions, therefore, is the more ancient. To most critical and candid minds the one passage alone in the Epistle to the Corinthians, "Which eye hath not seen, &c.," furnishes conclusive proof of the superior antiquity of the Liturgy of S. James. It is not, however, my present intention to write to you concerning this and other proofs (and others do occur to a careful reader) which may be drawn from a searching comparison of the Scriptural Epistles (including the Apocalypse) with the Liturgies. I leave that mine to be worked by the hands which have opened it. What I do venture to ask is this. Have the Apostolic Fathers been duly examined with the same object in view? It seems to me that their testimony would be even more valuable than that of an Apostle, for their writings are equally old (or nearly so) with the canonical books, and by no means so likely to be quoted into the dictation of a liturgy. The Church might weave into the texture of her Liturgy the words of S. Paul, or S. Peter, but would hesitate to adopt in the same manner the phraseology of the Shepherd of S. Hermas or the Epistles of S. Clement. Yet it seemed to me that the search into the remains of these Fathers was so obviously desirable, that I could not but believe that it had been undertaken and completed by some hand whose work had escaped my notice. I have not, however, been able to discover that this is the case. Archbishop Wake, indeed, seemed, a century and a-half ago, to be treading on the very verge of

the question. He says in his introduction to the translation of the Apostolic Fathers :—

Since it can hardly be doubted but that those holy Apostles and Evangelists did give some directions for the administration of the Blessed Eucharist in those Churches; it may reasonably be presumed that some of those orders are still remaining in those liturgies which have been brought down to us under their names; and that those prayers wherein they all agree (in sense at least, if not in words) were first prescribed in the same or like terms, by those Apostles and Evangelists; *nor would it be difficult to make a farther proof of this conjecture from the writings of the ancient fathers, if it were needful in this place to insist upon it.*

This merely points to the line of search. But I could find little or no allusion elsewhere to it by him or others. I have ventured, therefore, to read through the Apostolic Fathers myself with this view and send you the result.

Considering the rigour of the *Disciplina Arcani*, I did not hope to find direct quotations from the Liturgies. Yet I thought it very probable that men who were in the custom of learning the Liturgy by heart would, consciously or unconsciously, reproduce with their lips the language which most nearly touched their hearts. I looked, therefore, to find liturgical terms of expression in the Epistles; and thought it not impossible that the passages in which the writers used argument or persuasion might be found to bear so decided a Liturgical tint as to prove to all reasonable minds that the diction and arrangement of the Liturgy must have been before the mind of the writer.

The first of the Apostolic Fathers whose writings I read with this view was S. Hermas. Knowing his habit of weaving into his sentences Scriptural texts and phrases without direct acknowledgment, I thought that I might discover Liturgical fragments inserted in the same manner. Any one reading a page of the Shepherd of S. Hermas will at once see what I mean. His language is that of a man whose mind is saturated with Holy Scripture, yet so seldom does he quote it directly that, if I mistake not, from beginning to end of his writings his modern editors have been unable to print in italics a single line as being a quotation. References to Holy Scripture there are in abundance in the margin, but no assertion of direct verbal quotation. You will see, then, the sort of Liturgical quotation which I looked for. Here is what I found. There is a remarkable passage in the Third Book of the Shepherd (Similitude v. 3) in which the same prayer in the Anaphora of S. James's Liturgy seems to be pointed at, which is quoted by S. Paul in the famous passage in 1 Cor. ii. 9 :—"What eye hath not seen, &c." For facility of comparison I send in parallel columns the passage in the Liturgy

and the passage in S. Hermas. I take the passage in the Shepherd, not from the old Latin translation of the second century, which was, till the year before last, the only entire version known to survive of S. Hermas, but from a fragment preserved in the *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem* of the pseudo-Athanasius :—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, taking bread in His *holy, spotless, pure*, and immortal hands, and looking up to heaven and showing it to Thee, His GOD and FATHER, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and brake, and gave it to His apostles and disciples saying, Take, eat, . . . Likewise also the cup after supper, having taken and mixed it with *wine and water*, and having looked up to heaven and displayed it to Thee His GOD and FATHER, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and blessed, and filled with the HOLY GHOST, &c. . . . We therefore also sinners, remembering His life-giving Passion, His salutary Cross, His glorious and terrible coming again, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice, beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy gentleness and ineffable love, passing by and blotting out *the handwriting* that is against us Thy suppliants, wouldst grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive *the things which Thou, O GOD, hast prepared for them that love Thee*.—(*S. James' Liturgy*, page 62, Neale.)

S. HERMAS.

First of all, be careful to fast from every evil word and sound, and *cleanse thy heart from every spot*, and from revenge and base gain.

And on the day whereon thou fastest be content with bread and herbs [this item "*herbs*" is not found in the Latin version], and water, giving thanks to GOD (*ὡς ἡμεῖς τῷ θεῷ*) ; and, having calculated the expense of the meal which thou wouldst have eaten that day, *give to the widow or the orphan, or the destitute, with which, having fully satisfied his soul, he will pray for thee to the LORD*.

If, therefore, thou shalt accomplish thy fast as I have directed thee, thy SACRIFICE shall be acceptable before the LORD, and *written in the heavens* on the day of rendering of the good things which have been prepared for the righteous.—(*Shepherd of S. Hermas*, bk. iii. sim. v. 3.)

Then follows in the Liturgy the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Prayer for all Conditions of Men. In the latter occurs this petition :—

Remember, LORD, them that bear fruit and do good deeds in Thy holy Churches, and that remember *the poor, the widows, the orphans, the stranger, the needy ; and all who have desired us to remember them in our prayers*.

Now with respect to many of the points of resemblance we could not infer that the one of these being placed beside the other would even suggest that there is any connection between the two passages. To say that the mention of the vine (immediately before the passage quoted from the Shepherd) and of the bread and water reminded S. Hermas of the bread, the wine, and the water of the Holy Eucharist (which are, of course, used in an entirely different sense) without further evidence would be ludicrously far-fetched. So also would it be to urge, from independent probability, any connection in idea between the purification of the Christian insisted on by S. Hermas and the "holy, pure, and spotless hands of CHRIST" in the Liturgy; although the phrase which accompanies it—"giving thanks to GOD"—(*εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ*) is certainly more than suggestive. And although the "rendering to every man according to his works" (Liturgy) fits well into the teachings of S. Hermas in this Similitude, yet it does not convey upon its face any proof of close connection between the two. When we come to the mention by S. Hermas of the "widow, the orphan, and the destitute," the supplication in the Liturgy may, perhaps, occur to us. It will certainly occur to us with very great force when we recollect that in it, as in S. Hermas, the petition for widows, &c. is connected with an inculcation of the efficacy of vicarious prayer.

Give to the widow, or the orphan, or the destitute, (says S. Hermas,) with which, having fully satisfied his soul, he will pray for thee to the LORD.

Remember, LORD, those who remember the poor, (says the Liturgy,) the widows, the orphans, the stranger, the needy; and all who have desired us to remember them in our prayers.

As, however, we approach the end of the passage in S. Hermas, the resemblance between it and the Liturgy becomes much stronger and more pronounced. For in S. Hermas we find next the remarkable expression, "Thy sacrifice shall be acceptable," (*δεκτὴ*, the regular Liturgical phrase.) What sacrifice? He has spoken of none. Does he mean the sacrifice of our good works? But this sacrifice apart from the eucharistic, which gives the reality, of which the other is but a counterpart, is as meaningless as in the same use would be the "reasonable sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies;" or as David's sacrifice of "the broken spirit" would be without the real presence of the "young bullocks upon the altar," to which he alludes in the same passage. Or does S. Hermas mean plain and direct the sacrifice of the eucharist? Either way the explanation points,

as it seems to me, in the direction of the Liturgy. If the term be used metaphorically, the reality on which the metaphor is based must be the eucharist. If, however, it be used directly of the eucharist that is all we want. However this may be (I offer the suggestion with diffidence), here are the two phrases. In the Liturgy, "The tremendous and unbloody sacrifice;" in S. Hermas, "The sacrifice acceptable to GOD."

In both occurs the metaphor of the "writing." In the Liturgy, "That GOD will blot out the *handwriting* that is against us:" in S. Hermas, "That our sacrifice may be *written* in heaven."

Lastly, let me pray you to notice the conclusion of each.

In the Liturgy, "the heavenly gifts;" in S. Hermas, "the sacrifice written in heaven."

In the Liturgy, "The gifts (*ἐπουράνιου καὶ αἰώνιά σου δωρήματα*, S. James—*τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν σου ἀγαθά*, S. Mark, p. 21, Neale), which Thou hast prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thee"—(*ἀ ἡτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε.*) In S. Hermas, "On the day of rendering the good things which have been prepared for the righteous"—(*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν ἡτοίμασμένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς δικαίοις.*)

This, then, is the first passage which arrested my attention. I offer it for what it is worth. It would perhaps be easy enough to explain away each particular point of resemblance: less easy, as it seems to me, to explain away the cumulative evidence of the whole series. It should be added, however, that the passage of S. Hermas, as rendered in the Greek, is much closer in resemblance to the Liturgy than the same passage as rendered in the old Latin translation. This fact will make one look out with no small interest for the publication of "Tischendorf's newly-discovered MS. of S. Hermas," which is announced for this year. In the Latin version the Greek *θύσια* is rendered by *hostia*.

The next passage to which I will direct your attention is in the Second Epistle of S. Clement. I am not concerned now to dispute as to the apostolic antiquity of this Epistle. Whether it be his epistle or the epistle of somebody else; whether it be an epistle at all, or only a sermon, may be interesting subject for dispute to those who will admit into their index no writings, however brief and unpretending, except those for which positive external proof can be adduced. Suffice it to remember that there is no proof in the Epistle itself which may deprive it of its claim to primitive antiquity, and that fourth-century writers speak of it as of unknown antiquity in their day. In the passage to which I allude, the author has been quoting a passage,

from some lost apocryphal book, about the vine, (the very same passage, by the way, which is quoted at length in the First Epistle, chap. 23.) He says that, as in the vine there is first the leaf, then the four grape, and lastly, the rich cluster, so shall the Christian go through many changes and developments, but shall finally attain to his reward (*ἐπειτα ἀπολήψεται τὰ ἀγαθά*). "Therefore, brethren," he continues, "let us not be faint-hearted, but abide in hope, that we may win our reward." I place the rest of the passage in parallel columns with the passages in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark:—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.
Page 63.

We, therefore, also sinners, remembering His life-giving Passion . . . His glorious and terrible coming again, when He shall come . . . to render to every man according to his works, offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, . . . but according to Thy gentleness and ineffable love . . . wouldst grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man the things which Thou, O GOD, hast prepared for them that love Thee.

EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT.
II. 11.

For he is faithful that promised to render to every man the recompence of his works. If, therefore, we shall do justice in GOD's sight we shall enter into His kingdom, and shall receive the promises which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, nor hath entered into the heart of man.

Let us therefore expect, in due time, the kingdom of GOD in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of GOD's manifestation (*ἐμφάνις*).

LITURGY OF S. MARK.
Page 21.

(Diptychs of the Departed.)

And to all the spirits of these give rest, our Master, LORD and GOD, in the tabernacles of Thy saints, vouchsafing to them in Thy kingdom the good things of Thy promise, which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man, the things which Thou hast prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thy holy Name. Grant rest to their souls, and vouchsafe to them the kingdom of Heaven; and to us grant that the end of our lives may be Christian, &c.

I will leave this passage to speak for itself, merely calling your attention to the *πιστὸς γὰρ ἔστιν*, &c. so common with S. Paul when introducing a Liturgical quotation or reference. One thing struck me as remarkable. The order of the substantives is inverted. Whereas S. James and S. Mark say with S. Paul, "What eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," the author of this Epistle puts the *ear* before the *eye*, and says, "which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen." It seemed to me, on consideration, that this was exactly the sort of variation to be expected, in quoting a Liturgy which is learnt by heart for the most part. In such a case it could scarcely be called a mistake, which it would assuredly be if it professed to be quoted from a written epistle. And this idea was confirmed by the discovery of the same passage in the Acts of the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp,—that most beautiful and touching of all the uninspired writings of the Apostolic age. The quotation there is identical with this one from the Second Epistle of S. Clement. Here it is. The author, or rather authors, are speaking of the sufferings of the Martyrs, and the reason of their courage.

For they had before their eyes, the escape from that fire which is eternal and shall never be quenched, and with the eyes of their heart they looked to

those good things which are reserved for the enduring, *which neither ear hath heard, nor eye seen, nor hath entered into the heart of man*, but which have been shown by the LORD to them, inasmuch as they were not men any longer, but already angels.—*Martyrdom of S. Polycarp*, A.D. 2.

Here are the parallel passages in the Greek :—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.
Page 63.

Τὰ ἁγίασμα καὶ αἰώνια σου δω-
ρήματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ εἶδον,
καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἤκουσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπα-
νήντησάν τινι, ἀλλὰ ὅσα ἐποίησας
ἀγαθὰ, ὅ, Θεὸς, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν σε).

MARTYRDOM OF S. POLY-
CARP.—A.D. 2.

Τὰ παραύματα τοῦ ὑπομάρτυρος
ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὐκ οὐκ ἤκουσαν, οὐκ
ὀφθαλμοὶ ἶδον, οὐκ οὐκ ἐπανήντη-
σαν τινι, (ἀκούοντες δὲ ἐπὶ ἐλπί-
δι, κ. τ. λ.)

2 S. CLEM.
xi.

Αἰνέματα καὶ ὑπερβαλὺς ἔ-
ργα οὐκ ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ
ἶδον, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἐπανήντησαν τινι.
ἀλλὰ (ἐκτελέσας οὖν κατὰ
ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ,
κ. τ. λ.)

It is worth noticing how all these passages identify the senti-
ment "which eye hath not seen, &c." with the second Advent
of CHRIST; an idea very prominent in the prayer of the Li-
turgy, but not occurring in the passage in the Epistle of S. Paul.
"Remembering," says the Liturgy, "His life-giving Passion,
"His salutary Cross, . . . and His glorious and terrible coming
"again (τῆς δευτέρας, ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβησῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας), when He
"shall come with glory to judge the quick and dead, and to
"render to every man according to his works, &c." Grand and
terrible words! fit preface to the sweet promise of infinite reward
and happiness which, rising from Christian lips in the daily obla-
tion, seemed to remind the giver of His promise, and even to
furnish the meet expression to the yearnings of the faithful.

Constantly, in reading the early Fathers, one seems to catch
sight of it for a moment. One says to oneself, "The writer could
"not have spoken thus had not the words of this promise been
"floating before him;" but, on examining closely the passage,
there is only a general resemblance, such as one cannot quote
without incurring the charge of conjuring up an imaginary form
upon a background which supplied features of resemblance pos-
sibly fortuitous. Such passages I refrain from quoting. One of
them, however, I cannot help pointing out, from the writings of
a Father immediately after the Apostolic age :—

This expression (says S. Justin Martyr), "Binding his foal unto the Vine,
and his ass's colt unto the Choice Vine," is a foreshadowing of the works
which He did *at His first coming* (ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ), and fore-
shadows the Gentiles who should believe in Him. . . . And they have borne
the yoke of His instruction, and submitted their backs to endure all things,
because of the good things which they look for, and which He has promised
(πρὸς τὸ πάντα ὑπομένειν διὰ τὰ προσδοκώμενα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατηγγελμένα ἀγαθά).—
Dial. 54.

This resemblance may be accidental, perhaps. If so, it is re-
markable.

The next passage to which I will invite your earnest attention is one of most singular interest in the First Epistle of S. Clement. I approached the writings of this Father with the greatest hope. Where shall we find the same class of quotations as those used by S. Paul, if not in the Epistle of "the beloved fellow-labourer whose name is written in the Book of Life;" an epistle addressed, too, to the same Corinthians, whom S. Paul addressed in words of such earnest and sorrowing love? Besides, his polished and full style affords more scope for Liturgical quotation and reference than the terse practical missives of S. Ignatius do, or, indeed, than the style of any other of the Apostolic Fathers would lead me to expect.

The first passage which I shall quote is the more valuable as containing not only the famous Pauline quotation, "What eye hath not, &c." but also other words and expressions direct from the Liturgy (in the same Liturgical prayer), to which there is no illusion whatever in S. Paul. I need not point out the importance of this—more than importance, indeed; for if the fact can be established there is an end of the question—the Liturgists have the day.

S. Clement is saying that GOD made man after His own image. Man must therefore strive after perfection. We have CHRIST for an example (*ὑπογραμμὸς*), therefore let us do good works. We then proceed with the passage which I tabulate together with the Liturgy of S. James and the passage in S. Paul. I may as well premise that in the Liturgy the Triumphal Hymn (Holy, holy, holy, &c.), shortly precedes the passage transcribed, I therefore have added it at the head of the column.

I S. CLEMENT.
XXXIV.

The good workman receives with confidence (*παύνησις*) the bread of his work, the lazy and negligent cannot look in the face of his master. It is necessary, therefore, that you should be zealous in good works. For of Him are all things. For He says to us, "Behold the LORD, and His reward is before His face, to render to every man according to his works" (*ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*). He urges us, therefore, with all our heart hereto, that we should not be idle or remiss to every good work. Let our heart and our confidence (*παύνησις*) be in Him. Let us submit ourselves to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of His Angels, how standing near Him they do service to His will (*ἀποκρίνομεν πνεύματι*). For the Scripture says, "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by Him, and thousand thousands

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.
Page 62 (Greek).

(Cherubim and Seraphim hymn Thee), singing with a loud voice, crying (*βοῶντες*), praising, sacrificing (*σacrificing*), and saying (*λέγοντες*), "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest: blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the LORD: Hosanna in the highest." . . . We therefore also sinners remembering His life-giving Passion, His salutary Cross, His death and Resurrection from the dead on the third day, His ascension into heaven, and session on the right hand of Thee His GOD and FATHER, and His glorious and terrible coming again, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works (*ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*), offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseech-

S. PAUL.
I Cor. ii. 1.

And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of GOD. For I determined not to know anything among you save JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified. And I was with you in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling; and my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the honour of GOD. Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect (*σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τέλει*), yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to naught: but we speak the wisdom of GOD in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which GOD ordained before the world unto our glory, which none of the princes of this world

I S. CLEMENT.

ministered to Him," and they *veriferated* (*βεβαιωσαν*), "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of His glory." And we therefore, having unanimously assembled together, by our confidence, let us cry (*βοησωμεν*) to Him intensely (*κενῶν*), as from one mouth, that we may become partakers of His great and glorious promises. For He says, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, how many things He hath prepared for them that await Him."

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

ing Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities; but according to Thy gentleness and ineffable love, passing by and blotting out the handwriting that is against us, Thy suppliants, wouldst grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, *which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee.*

S. PAUL.

knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the LORD of Glory: but as it is written, "eye (*ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς*) hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."

It requires small critical knowledge to see which of the three passages has furnished quotations for the other two. Now let us examine the quotations, apparently from the Old Testament, in this chapter of S. Clement; and first with regard to that beginning, "Behold, the Lord." It looks at first sight like a plain quotation from the Prophets. But on referring to the margin I find that the commentators are not satisfied that they have found any single text which will fit. They have therefore given two references. I tabulate them here:—

S. CLEMENT.

Behold, the LORD, and His reward is before His face to render to every man according to his works.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Behold, the LORD GOD will come with a strong hand, and His arm shall rule for Him: behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him.—*Isa.* xl. 10.

Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him.—*Isa.* lxii. 11.

There is nothing more here than a certain general resemblance. The first part of the sentence in S. Clement seems to be a reminiscence of these passages in Isaiah. The latter half is literally word for word identical with the expression in the Liturgy.

S. CLEMENT.

Ἀποδοῦναι ἐκδόστω κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.
See Epistle 2. Ch. xi. (already quoted.)

Πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδοῦναι ἐκδόστω τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. (Here we get the element of the *μισθός*.)

LITURGY.

(Ὅταν μίλλη) ἀποδοῦναι ἐκδόστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

Now for the other quotation. This, too, has embarrassed the

commentators. It is from no single passage of Scripture. Two passages are quoted as furnishing the original. I here tabulate them, as I have done with the first :—

S. CLEMENT.

Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by Him, and thousand thousands ministered to Him, and they vociferated, Holy, holy, holy, LORD of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of His glory.

OLD TESTAMENT.

A fiery stream issued and came forth from before Him: thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him: the judgment was set, &c.—*Dan.* vii. 10.

And one (seraph) cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory. And the posts of the door moved, &c.—*Isai.* vi. 3.

The passage in S. Clement is, you see, a combination of these two texts :—an anthem compiled from them. A verse is taken from Daniel and another from Isaiah, and both are linked together by the expression, *and they vociferated* (καὶ ἐκέκραγον). The materials are evidently from the Old Testament, but the composition of them is new and artificial. Is this anthem the original composition of S. Clement? Examine this passage from the Liturgy of S. Mark, and judge for yourself. (S. James's Liturgy contains it also, but at greater length; I therefore select S. Mark in preference.)

Thou art above all power, and dominion, and might, and principality, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. *Round Thee stand thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand armies of holy angels and archangels.* Round Thee Thy two most honourable creatures, the cherubim with many eyes, and the seraphim with six wings, with twain whereof they cover their feet, with twain their face, and with twain they do fly; *and vociferate* (κέκραγον) one to the other, with incessant voices and perpetual praise, singing, vociferating, glorifying, crying (ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δεξιλογῶντα, κειραγόντα), and saying to the Majesty of Thy glory the triumphal Trisagion :—*Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of Thy holy glory.*—*S. Mark's Liturgy*, p. 21.

The quotation in S. Clement is simply the backbone of this passage. Clear away the redundancies and you have S. Clement's very words. I have written them in italics in the above passage from S. Mark's Liturgy. Notice, too, how the diction of the passage in S. Clement breathes of the Liturgy, especially in this sentence :—

Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν ἡμοῖσι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες, τῇ συμπιθήσει, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς, εἰς τὸ μετέχουσ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἑπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν ὁμοσίᾳ—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ—τῇ συνειδήσει—βοήσωμεν—ἐκτενῶς—μετῶ-
χους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ. All these are eminently Liturgical phrases.
And it seems to me that any one denying the exclusively Litur-
gical application of the passage evacuates of its meaning the
sentence about the angels; whose presence and assistance at the
Holy Eucharist the Church recognizes and has ever striven to
realize. S. Clement merely paraphrases, in a few words, the
preface to the Trisagion, when he says:—

Καταπόσωμεν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ πᾶς τῷ θαλάμῳ αὐτοῦ λειτ-
ουργοῦσιν παριστώτες.

The Liturgy (S. James) specifies “angels, archangels, thrones,
“dominations, principalities, virtues; the many-eyed cherubim,
“and the seraphim with six wings, with twain of which, &c.
“&c.” at great length: (see also in S. Mark’s Liturgy)—τὸ
πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἀγγέλων,”—“all the company of heaven,”—in-
cludes them all.

It may be worth a passing notice to observe that the slight
difference in the phraseology of the Trisagion tells in favour of
the proof that S. Clement quotes the Liturgic version.

πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, says Isaiah.

πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, say all the three Liturgies,—S. James, S. Mark,
S. Clement. (And the Ambrosian hymn follows them.)

πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, says S. Clement here.

In the chapter before he had said:—

The Creator . . . by His Almighty power established *the heavens* and
adorned them with His incomprehensible wisdom: and He separated *the*
earth from the surrounding water, and settled it on the firm foundation of
His own will.

So that we see the signification of S. Clement’s κτίσις.

Neither is there any difficulty in the expression, “*For he*
says,” as if that necessarily identified the quotation with a text
from the inspired Scriptures. S. Paul uses the same phrase for
introducing quotations of unquestionably ecclesiastical character,
e. g. :—

Wherefore he saith (ἀπὸ λέγει),

Awake thou that sleepest,

And arise from the dead,

And CHRIST shall give thee light.—Eph. v. 14.

In this latter instance the margin, with some embarrassment,
suggests, “*IT saith*.”

It is noticeable that, in the first of the three quotations in this

thirty-fourth chapter, the words prefacing it are, *προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν*; the quotation being probably Liturgical. In the second, which is undoubtedly compiled originally from holy Scripture, the words are, *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή*. And in the case of the third ("eye hath not"), which is unquestionably Liturgical, the words are, *λέγει γὰρ*, "*it says*," to adopt the marginal reading as quoted above. Thus much for the passage itself. Now let us sound the chapter before and the chapter after, and see if we can find any further coincidences. You will agree with me that, considering the nature of the proofs already adduced, any additional evidence will be of most powerful value.

Now, immediately following the Trisagion, in the Liturgy of S. James, and preceding the words of Institution, there occurs a prayer, the key-note of which is *the Fall of man from the image of God in which he was created, and the restoration of that image by Christ, who "with His holy, and undefiled, and blameless, and immortal hands took Bread, &c."* I write out the prominent parts of the two passages in parallel columns:—

I S. CLEMENT.
xxxiii.

For the Creator (*δημιουργός*) Himself and Master of all rejoices in His works. For by His Almighty power He established the Heavens, and adorned them by His incomprehensible wisdom Above all with *His holy and blameless hands* He formed man, the most excellent of His creatures, and the greatest, as endowed with reason, *the impress of His own image*. For thus says God, *Let us make man after our own image and likeness*. And GOD made man, &c. (of whom CHRIST became the *ὑπογραμμὴς*: and so the chapter ends.)

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.
Page 50 (English.)

Holy art Thou, O omnipotent, Almighty, good, tremendous, long-suffering and of great compassion towards Thy creatures: Thou Who *didst make man from the earth after Thine image and likeness*, and didst give him the delight of Paradise, and when he . . . fell, Thou didst not . . . leave him, but didst . . . send forth into the world Thine only-begotten Son our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that He might come and *renew and restore in us Thine image*, Who . . . in the night wherein He was betrayed . . . taking bread in *His holy, and undefiled, and blameless, and immortal hands*, and looking up to Heaven . . . He gave thanks, &c.

The passages, you see, are identical in argument, and very similar in expression. Notice the phrase, "*blameless hands*." A man using, on his own invention, such an expression as the *ἁγίωμοι χεῖρες* of his GOD would be, at least, bold. But the Liturgy applies it distinctly to the action of the Man CHRIST at the Eucharist. S. Clement, having the Liturgy before his mind, and thinking of CHRIST in the capacity of Creator of that mankind whom He was to recreate in the Eucharist, applies to

the first as a term borrowed from the second. This seems to me unquestionable. Here are the parallel Greek texts :—

S. CLEMENT.

"Ἀνθρώποι ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοις χερσὶν
ἔπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνης χαρακτῆρα.

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

Περὶ τὸ πλάσμα τὸ σὸν ὁ πατήρ σου
γὰρ ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσεν.
Λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχρί-
στον καὶ ἀμώμοτον καὶ ἀθανάτην αὐτοῦ χερσὶ
. . . ἔδωκεν, κ. τ. λ.

This passage in S. Clement begins with the title *δημιουργός* as applied to GOD. He constantly uses it all through his Epistle. The Liturgies, too, use it constantly. Would S. Clement, in face of the Gnostic heresy, have ventured thus to use the term, unless thoroughly adopted and sanctioned by Liturgical use? This by the way.

So much for the chapter preceding the thirty-fourth: now for the chapter which follows it. Here, too, are the footprints of the Liturgy, and imprinted in right and even order and sequence (as, indeed, in the case of the other passages).

Now I cannot in the limited space of a letter do justice to this chapter. The whole must be read to be appreciated. The soil of the original Greek is perfectly volcanic with Eucharistic phrases and turns of expression. After concluding the last chapter with the quotation "eye hath not seen, &c." he continues thus :—

How blessed and wonderful are *the gifts* (δῶρα) of GOD, beloved? Life in immortality (ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ,—see S. Ignat. Eph. xx. end), splendour in justification, truth in confidence (παρήσσια), faith in trust, temperance in sanctification, and all these things fall within our understanding (διάνοια). What then are "the things which are prepared for them that await Him?" The CREATOR and FATHER of ages, *the All-holy One* Himself, (ὁ πανάγιος αὐτὸς) knows their abundance and their beauty. Let us, therefore, strive to be found in the number of those who await Him, that we may share in the promised gifts (ὅπως μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπιγγεμένων δωρίων). But how shall this be, beloved? If the powers of our minds (ἡ διάνοια) be firmly set on faith towards GOD. If we search out what is well-pleasing and acceptable to Him, if we shall perform the rites which are due (ἵνα ἐπιτελέσωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀμώμῳ βουλῇ σου) to His blameless Will, and shall follow the path of truth, *having cast away from ourselves* every injustice and lawlessness, *all avarice* (πᾶσαν πλυσίαν), stripes, evil manners, and *guile* (δόλος), whispering and backbitings, impiety, pride and arrogance, *vain-glory* (κεκοδοξίαν) and churlishness. They who do these things are hateful to GOD.
—1 Clem. xxxv.

In the corresponding place in the Liturgy we find the following passage. Addressing GOD, the priest prays thus :—

Thou hast received in Thy goodness the *gifts* (δῶρα), presents, fruits, that have been offered before Thee for a sweet-smelling savour, and hast been pleased to sanctify and perfect them (ἀγιάσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι) by the grace of Thy

CHRIST and the visitation of Thy *All-holy SPIRIT* (παναγίου σου πνεύματος). Sanctify (ἀγίασον) also, O LORD, our souls, bodies, and spirits: touch *the powers of our minds* (τὰς διανοίας), search out our consciences, and cast out from us every evil thought, every impure imagination, every base lust, . . . all falsehood and guile (δόλον), every worldly distraction, all avarice (πῶσαν πλεονεξίαν), all vain-glory (πῶσαν κηδοξίαν), all idleness, . . . all motion of body and soul at variance with the Will of thy Holiness.

There seem to me to be many points of resemblance here; they can scarcely be accidental, I think, especially considering the position of the two passages. I cannot produce in writing the conviction which influences one who comes upon these coincidences in searching for them. One reads a passage in S. Clement and detects a clause or a phrase identical with some expressions in the Liturgy. One reads on, and gradually another phase of argument or exhortation unfolds itself from the pages of the Fathers. One turns anxiously and nervously to the Liturgy, to see whether similar matter follows there, too, in due sequence. And there, sure enough, it is, just in the very place where one looks for it! It is true that in many of these passages the resemblance may, at first sight, seem fanciful. I am quite aware of that. But I argue that the combination of them in the order and sequence in which one finds them cannot be accidental, but must be designed; and besides, that in many instances the actual resemblance is anything but fanciful. Of course, I do not mean to speak thus of a direct quotation, such as those in Chapter xxxiv. In such cases, I think, the evidences supply positive proof. But in chapters such as this thirty-fifth, the resemblances may seem to some accidental, at first sight. Not so however, I think, on further examination. Look at the terms used. Where did S. Clement get that word *πανάγιος*, which he uses so confidently?—ὁ πανάγιος αὐτὸς, as though he wished to strengthen the idea by the use of a title familiar to all. But how familiar? It is not a Scriptural term; but the Liturgies all teem with it, long before it became a distinctive epithet of the Virgin. Hence, then, its use by S. Clement here.

Notice, too, the identical substantives used to express the passions, introduced by the same idea of "casting out." Lastly, notice how S. Clement concludes his exhortation. No one can doubt of the thoroughly Eucharistic sense of the whole when he reads this conclusion. Immediately after the passage above rendered, he gives (from Ps. l.) a quotation ending, "The sacrifice of praise (θυσία αἰνέσεως) shall glorify me, and there is the way, whereby I shall show to him the salvation of GOD." He then sums up. "This is the way, beloved, whereby we find JESUS CHRIST our salvation, the High Priest of our

"oblations, the Defender and Helper of our infirmity;" and so on in the same strain.

Before leaving this passage in the Epistle of S. Clement, I will venture to ask this question. If these passages, three in number, from the Apostolic Fathers do not quote the Liturgy in the text, "What eye hath not seen, &c." what do they quote? Do they quote Isaiah? I tabulate them side by side with the passage in Isaiah, which is the only original which has ever been suggested for the quotation in S. Paul.

| Isaiah. | S. Paul. | 1 S. Clement. | 2 S. Clement. | Abi of S. Polycarp. | Liturgy of S. James. |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|
| lxiv. 4. | 1 Cor. ii. 9. | xxxiv. | Chap. xl. | Chap. ii. | Page 63 (Greek) |
| Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἑώρακεν, οὐδὲ εἶδεν, οὐκ ἔφησα, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ὃ ποιεῖς τοῖς ὑπομύνοσιν σου. | Ἡ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι αὐτόν. | Ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὃ ἠτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομύνοσιν αὐτόν. | Ἡς οὐκ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς ἰδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη. | Ἡ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔκρινεν, οὐκ οὐκ ὀφθαλμὸς ἰδεν, οὐκ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη. | Ἡ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὃ ἠτοίμασεν, ὃ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι αὐτόν. |
| From eternity have we not heard, nor have our eyes seen, a god beside Thee, and Thy works which Thou shalt do to them that wait for mercy. | Which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, what GOD hath prepared for them that love Him. | Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, how many things He hath prepared for them that wait for Him. | Which ear hath not heard, nor eye hath seen, nor upon the heart of man, hath ascended. | Which neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor upon the heart of man hath ascended. | Which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, what THOU, O GOD, hast prepared for them that love Thee. |

It is impossible to suppose that they quoted this passage in Isaiah. There is hardly a word or an idea the same. No criticism can be strained to admit it.

So they then quote S. Paul?

But S. Paul himself expressly asserts that the passage is not his own, but quoted; and, indeed, puts the construction of his sentence to some inconvenience, in order to introduce it abruptly and faithfully as a borrowed quotation.

It comes, then, to this.

These Fathers all quote what S. Paul quotes. They all use the same phraseology with one another. Yet nowhere in Scripture is the original text quoted to be found, nor any in any reasonable degree resembling it. There seems to me to be no alternative. All (including S. Paul) *must* quote the Liturgy, the one common, daily-used, possession of all.

It is even the case that of all the quotations that in S. Paul comes nearest in diction to the Liturgy. All the others have antecedents with which their relatives agree. His has none.

καθὼς γέγραπται· ὃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν.—S. Paul.
Τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἧς οὐκ οὐκ ἔκρινεν.—2 S. Clement xi.

τὰ . . ἀγαθὰ, ἃ ἔντι αὐτῷ ἤκουσεν.—*Acts of S. Polycarp.*
 1 S. Clement xxxiv. quotes without relative.

And the Liturgies:—

τὰ θαύματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ εἶδεν.—*S. James.*
 τὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελλῶν σου ἀγαθὰ, ἃ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ εἶδεν.—*S. Mark.*

All, you see, except S. Paul, weave the quotation into their sentences. He is so anxious to acknowledge the quotation that, in order to keep the reference clear, he preserves the article as it stands in the Liturgy: a construction which makes the sentence appear very harsh, and to any one unacquainted with its faithful allegiance to the Liturgy so inexplicable, that the translators of the Bible have actually ventured to omit it altogether.

I think, then, that we may very fairly ask those who do not allow the quotation of the Liturgies by S. Paul:—How, then, do you explain this phenomenon from the Apostolic Fathers? Give us *any* other solution, probable or improbable. We see none, and we venture to think that none can be found.

The next passage which arrested me is in the second chapter of the same Epistle. There is no direct quotation in it; but, as it seems to me, a great many allusions. Supposing the Liturgies to be already in existence at the time when the Epistle was written, the allusions are far too pointed to fail in reminding its readers of their Liturgy: supposing the Liturgies not to be in existence, the coincidences seem to me remarkable enough to call for some other explanation, if any could be found. It appears to me to be exactly the sort of passage which a man would write who is writing to general readers, both catechumens and faithful, yet who wishes to use the most solemn priestly persuasion to those of them who were in a position to understand it; without encroaching on the forbidden ground fenced in by the *Disciplina Arcani*.

The sentence in question opens with a bold and metaphorical substantive; so bold and metaphorical, indeed, as at once to fix the attention.

Being furnished with the *viaticum* of God (τῷ ἐφοδίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκοῦμεθα), and hearkening diligently to His word, ye were enlarged in your bowels, and His Passion was before your eyes.

Such are the words with which S. Clement begins this exhortation in the second chapter of his First Epistle. Now, what are these ἐφοδία τοῦ Θεοῦ,—this *viaticum* of God? Wake, not seeing the Liturgical drift of the diction, does not venture upon a literal translation. He renders it, “Being content with the

portion which God had dispensed to you." And Professor Chevalier follows him literally. But the primary and unquestionably proper meaning of *ἐφῶδια* is not merely a portion, but a portion prepared for use on a journey,—a "*viaticum*." Here I take it to mean the Eucharist plain and simple: the real food which the Christian traveller receives from his GOD, and which is here coupled with the hearing of the Word: the latter possibly used in the sense of Justin Martyr for the prayer of consecration; possibly, however, generally for the hearing of the Scriptures.

But how does S. Clement come to use this word *ἐφῶδια* for the Eucharistic food? It is no common word: it is not Scriptural; it does not occur in the New Testament anywhere; and the metaphor involved in it is no common ordinary metaphor. Yet it is introduced without comment or qualification by S. Clement, such as he would almost certainly have used if the idea had been his own and newly coined.

The fact is, however, that the word is not his own. It occurs in the sense of the *Viaticum of Life* both in the Liturgy of S. Mark and in that of S. James. Here are the two passages:—

We give Thee thanks, Master, LORD, and our GOD, for the reception of Thy holy, spotless, immortal, and heavenly mysteries, which Thou hast given us for the well-being, and sanctification, and salvation of our souls and bodies; and we pray and beseech Thee, good LORD and lover of men, to grant that the participation of the holy Body and precious Blood of Thine only-begotten Son, may be to faith that shall not be ashamed, to love unfeigned, to the fulfilment of piety, to the turning away of the enemy, to the keeping Thy commandments, *to a provision on our way to eternal life* (ὡς ἐφῶδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου), to an acceptable defence before the fearful tribunal of Thy CHRIST; by whom, and with whom, &c."—*Lit. of S. Mark*, p. 29. (Eng. edit. Neale.)

Again and again, and evermore in peace, let us make our supplications to the LORD. That the participation in His sanctification may be to us for the turning away of every evil thing, *for a viaticum of eternal life* (ὡς ἐφῶδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου), for the participation and gift of the HOLY GHOST.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 63.

Such, then, is the Liturgical meaning of "the *ἐφῶδια* of God." Such also, without doubt, is its meaning here. For if it be not so, and we are to accept the ordinary translation, you will notice how weak and vapid the sentence becomes; with its mild beginning so utterly discordant with the bold significance of the other clauses.

I now proceed to give the whole passage in S. Clement, and will then point out what seem to me to be the points of contact between it and the Liturgies:—

Being furnished with *the viaticum of God*, and sedulously paying attention

to His words, ye were enlarged (*ἐστετισμένοι*) in your bowels, and *His Passion* (*τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ*) *was before your eyes*. Thus *peace* deep and soothing was given to all, and an insatiable yearning towards the performance of good deeds, and a full effusion of the Holy Spirit was upon all: and being full of holy counsel in good confidence (*πρόθυμα*), with pious trust (*πιστοθόσως*), you stretched forth your hands to the Almighty God (*ἔξτεταλται τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν*), supplicating Him to become propitious (*ἰδως*), if at all you have sinned in ignorance (*οὔτι ἀσυνετῆς ἡμάρτυται*). And there was a contest to you both by day and by night in behalf of all the brotherhood, that with mercy and conscience (*μετ' ἰλως καὶ συνειδήσεως*) the number of His elect may be saved. Ye were sincere and without offence towards each other: not mindful of injuries. All *sedition* and all *schism* was an abomination to you; you grieved over the *transgressions* (*παραπτώμασι*) of your neighbours; you esteemed their deficiencies your own; you were without repentance in the performance of all good works, being ready for every deed. Being adorned with all-virtuous and reverential conversation (*σεβασμῶν πολιτίῳ*) ye performed all your offices (*πάντα ἐπιτελεῖτε*) in the fear of Him: the injunctions and commandments of the LORD were written on the breadth of your heart. All glory and enlargement was given to you, and so was fulfilled that which is written:—"My beloved did eat and drink, he was enlarged and waxed fat, and he kicked."—1 S. Clem. ii. iii.

Ye were enlarged in your bowels and His Passion was before your eyes—
ἐστετισμένοι ἦτε τοῖς σπλάγχχνος, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦ πρό ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.

How was the Passion of the LORD before the eyes of the Corinthian Christians, unless in the Eucharistic representation of it? He does not say in a general way "the *πάθη*," but "the *πάθηματα*." He will have them remember τῶν ζωοποιῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, κ. τ. λ.—(*Lit. of S. James*, 62.) Keep them before their mind's eye here, that hereafter they may receive the reward which eye hath not seen. This gives an adequate reason for their being *ἐστερνεσμένοι τοῖς σπλάγχχνος*, which otherwise is not so apparent. Without an Eucharistic application the phrase seems too strong for its place. Between the *ἐφ' ὁδία* and the *παθήματα* we can well understand its force in an Eucharistic sense.

Thus (he proceeds) peace deep and soothing was given to all—*οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθύα καὶ λιπαρά ἰδίδοτο πάντων.*

"*Thus*." How "thus?" Peace could not be given by the contemplation of the Passion, but by the participation in it. Notice the hiatus. The knowledge of the mystery (which is supplied by the Liturgy) fills this hiatus with the communion of the faithful, to which S. Clement could not allude before the catechumens. From this communion flowed the peace "deep and soothing" which was given by GOD.

The adjectives *βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρά*, as applied to peace, seemed to me very peculiar. What is a *λιπαρά εἰρήνη*? It appeared as though the terms were quoted from some passage in

which they bore a peculiar allusive meaning. The term *παρὰ* especially, of which, perhaps, the literal meaning is “*fat*,” directed one’s mind to a sacrificial connection at once. So I turned with confident expectation to the Liturgies, thinking that I should certainly find the original use of the word there. I was however disappointed. I do not think that the word occurs at all in the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Clement, or S. Basil. Can you give me any clue to its use anywhere in this sense? The words may be noted anyhow for future search.

And now comes the really strong part of the quotation. S. Clement, after mentioning the ardent longing (*πόθος ἀκόρεστος*) for good deeds,—an applicable phrase to those whose love had been kindled by the reception of the mysteries, but scarcely fitting the sober routine of daily life,—proceeds to say that a “full effusion (*ἐκχυσίς*) of the HOLY SPIRIT was (*ἐγίνετο*) upon all.” At once we turn to the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST in the Liturgies, and here, sure enough, is a most remarkable circumstance. For within the bounds of the Invocation and the Intercession, which are appended to it (about three pages), occur all the principal phrases and more than all the leading ideas of this passage in S. Clement. I say more than all the leading ideas, for the substance and position of these ideas in the Epistle occur in such a manner that they might almost do duty as an analysis of the more expanded diction of the Liturgy of S. James. I am convinced that the one passage could not have been written without an acquaintance with the other. I will give the coincident passages in the Liturgy, first in their order:—

Priest (repeats thrice).—For Thy people and Thy Church *supplicate* (*ὑποτίθουσι*) Thee.

People.—Have mercy upon us, LORD GOD, *Father Almighty*.

Have mercy upon us, *God Almighty* (*ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*).

Have mercy upon us, O GOD, according to Thy great *mercy* (*ἔλεος*), and *send forth upon us*, and upon these proposed gifts Thy *all-holy Spirit*, the LORD and life-giving; sharer of the throne and of the kingdom with Thee, GOD and Father, and Thine only-begotten Son, consubstantial and co-eternal, Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and Thy New Testament, Who descended in the form of a dove on our LORD JESUS CHRIST in the river Jordan, and rested on Him, who descended upon Thy holy Apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion, at the day of Pentecost: *send down the same most Holy Ghost, Lord, upon us*, and upon these holy and proposed gifts, that coming upon them with His holy, and good, and glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread the holy Body of Thy CHRIST.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—And this cup *the precious Blood* (*αἷμα τιμὸν*) of Thy CHRIST.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—That they may be to those who partake of them for remission of sins and for eternal life, for sanctification of souls and bodies, *for bringing*

forth good works; for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; freeing it from *all heresy and scandals*, and from them that work wickedness, and preserving it till the consummation of all things. We offer them also to Thee, O LORD, for Thy holy places, which Thou hast glorified by the divine apparition of Thy CHRIST, and by the advent of Thine all-holy Spirit: especially for the glorious Sion the Mother of all Churches. And for Thy holy Catholic Apostolic Church throughout the world. Supply it, O LORD, even now, with the plentiful gifts of the HOLY GHOST. Remember also, O LORD, our holy fathers and brothers in it, and the bishops. . . . Remember also, O LORD, every city and region. . . . Remember, O LORD, Christians voyaging, . . . our fathers and brethren. Remember, O LORD, the sick. . . . Remember, O LORD, every Christian soul in trouble and distress. . . . Remember, O LORD, all for good; *have pity*, LORD, on all; *be reconciled to all of us* (πᾶσιν ἡμῖν διαλλάγηθι); give peace to the multitude of Thy people; dissipate scandals; put an end to wars; *stay the rising up of heresies*; *give us Thy peace* and Thy love, O GOD our Saviour. . . . Remember, LORD, them that bear fruit, and *do good deeds* in Thy holy Churches. . . . Remember also, O LORD, . . . the deacons . . . grant them blamelessness of life . . . that they may find mercy and grace with all Thy saints . . . our ancestors and fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and *every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ*. Remember, LORD, the GOD of the spirits and all flesh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, *from righteous Abel* unto this day. . . . And direct, O Lord, *in peace the ends of our lives*, so as to be Christian and well-pleasing to Thee and blameless; collecting us *under the feet of Thine elect*, when Thou wilt, and as Thou wilt, only without shame and offence. Through, &c.

Deacon.—And for the peace and stability of the whole world, . . . and for the people that stand around, and for all, both men and women.

People.—For all, both men and women.

Priest.—For which thing's sake, to us, also, as being good and the lover of men.

People.—Remit, forgive, pardon, O GOD, *our offences, voluntary and involuntary* (τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἰκούσια, τὰ ἀκούσια), in deed and in word, *by knowledge and ignorance*; *by night and by day*; in mind and intention; forgive us all, as being good and the lover of men.

Priest.—Through the grace, and pity, and love, &c.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 52. (English.)

There are very many points of contact here. I mark the principal ones by italics. As I have transcribed both the passages at length, I leave the comparison to yourself. I add here the Greek of part of the passage in S. Clement in parallel columns with the corresponding passage in the Liturgy:—

EPISTLE.

Οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λεπαρὰ ἐδίδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκέραιος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοπύλιν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο· μαστοὶ τε ὅσας βουλῆς ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθέντων ἐξενείκωται τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν ἱκετεύοντες

LITURGY.

Ὁ γὰρ λαὸς σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου ἱκετεύουσί σε. . . Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. . . Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου. . . τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην χάρισσαι ἡμῖν. . . ἐπισυνάγων ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου. . . Ἄνσι, ἀφες, συγχώ-

αὐτὸν ἵκεω γινώσκει εἴτε ἀκούσας
 ἡμάρτετε. Ἄγων ἦ ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε
 καὶ νυκτὶς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδιελφότητος,
 εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι μετ' ἐλπίδος καὶ συμπό-
 σιως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν
 αὐτοῦ (. . ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν,
 κ. τ. λ.)

ησεν, ὁ Θεὸς, τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν,
 τὰ ἰκούσια τὰ ἀκούσια· τὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
 καὶ λήγῃ, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ·
 τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

This shows many of the verbal coincidences. Notice the uses of that term ἵκεω in the Epistle. Surely if any word is distinctly and emphatically Liturgical as used for an epithet of the ALMIGHTY, this is; ἱκετεύειν, too, and ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς literally transferred. The entreaty, too, for pardon for sins of ignorance so earnestly put forth in the Liturgy; here it is,—εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. The idea of the independent efficacy of sins of ignorance, the inherent sinfulness of sin, I mean, independently of the mind which conceives it, is not so strongly and plainly taught in holy Scripture as here. Not so plainly, anyhow, as to prevent Pelagius from claiming the support of Scripture for the opposite doctrine. But in the Liturgy forgiveness for such sins is exclusively implored in this prayer, and in the Epistle S. Clement alludes to such alone and none other. This seems to me very strong evidence. Then in both the same keynote is struck about the good works. In both the same word, παραπτώματα, is used for sins. In both heresy and schism are earnestly deprecated. In both εἰρήνη and ἔλεος. In both the brotherhood of the faithful is specified as the object of intercessory prayer.

There was a contest to you both by day and night in behalf of all the brotherhood.—*Ep. of S. Clem.*

And in behalf of the people who stand around, and in behalf of all, both men and women. (People respond.) In behalf of all, both men and women.—*Liturgy of S. James.*

Neither is it without significance that the mention of Abel follows both passages. In the Liturgy memorial is made of him as one of the holy dead. In the Epistle his sacrifice is alluded to. There is, therefore, no similarity in the allusion. Still the fact is noteworthy in combination with the other evidences, I think.

You will notice, however, that I have emphasised some expressions in the Liturgy which have no corresponding resemblances in the Epistle, *e. g.* :—

Be reconciled to all of us.

Direct, LORD, in peace the ends of our lives, so as to be Christian and well-pleasing to Thee, and blameless.

Every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy CHRIST.

Now in explaining the reason for my underlining these expressions, I am happy to say that I have it in my power to call your attention to a fact in every way confirmatory of my belief, that these directions of S. Clement are not mere hap-hazard moral exhortations, but were designedly so worded by him as to recall the words of the Liturgy to the minds of the faithful without violating the *Disciplina Arcani*. And the additional reason for my believing so is this. In another passage, much later in the Epistle, he repeats his words "supplicating Him to become propitious," and with them furnishes these additional points of identity with the same passage in the Liturgy. Here is the sentence:—

Let us then remove this (sedition) speedily; and let us fall down before the LORD and weep, *supplicating Him that becoming propitious He may be reconciled to us*, and may reinstate us in the reverend (σικμὴν) and holy course of brotherly love (καταύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἴδως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σικμὴν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀπακαταστήσῃ ἡμᾶς) Many gates then being opened, this gate in righteousness is the gate in CHRIST, at which blessed are all they who enter, and *who direct their way in holiness and righteousness bringing all their work to its end without confusion* (ἐν ἧ μακάριοι οἱ εἰσελθόντες, καὶ καταυθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀταράχως πάντα ἐπιτελοῦντες).

Here we have, besides the "supplicating Him, &c." the "*Be reconciled to all of us.*" In the Liturgy, πᾶσιν ἡμῖν διαλλάγηθε: in the Epistle, ὅπως ἴλ. γεν. ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν. Surely this is a very remarkable resemblance; the more remarkable, as it seems to me, because they are both entirely at one in regarding the reconciliation of GOD and man in a different aspect from that of S. Paul. I do not mean, of course, that the doctrine of the one is at variance with that of the other, but that the manner of approaching it is peculiar to the Liturgies and to this Epistle of S. Clement. Exception has even been taken to the Clementine Liturgy because it also views the reconciliation from this point of view. Here are the words of the Clementine Liturgy:—

That all who shall partake of it (Thy blood) may . . . be filled with the HOLY GHOST, may be made worthy of Thy CHRIST, and may obtain everlasting life: Thou, O LORD ALMIGHTY, being reconciled (καταλλάγησθαι) to them.—*Lit. of S. Clement.*

And again, still more strongly:—

The Priest (was pleased) to be Himself the sacrifice; the Shepherd a sheep; to appease Thee His GOD and FATHER, to reconcile Thee to the world (τῷ κόσμῳ κατέλλαξεν) and deliver all men from the impending wrath.—*Lit. of S. Clement.*

“Be Thou reconciled to us,” says S. James, (2 Cor. v. 20.) agreeing with the Clementine Liturgies.

“That being propitious, He may be reconciled to us,” says the Epistle of S. Clement, following the Liturgies.

People might have attacked the claim of the Liturgies to Apostolic antiquity perhaps, alleging the peculiarity of this phrase. No one, however, doubts the Apostolic antiquity of S. Clement's Epistle, which contains the identical phrase. Its use, therefore, supplies a strong argument to our side.

In the next place this passage in S. Clement's Epistle supplies us with the phrase :—

Who direct their way (*καταβύοντες*, &c.) in holiness and righteousness, bringing all their work to its end without confusion.—*Ep. of S. Clem.* xlviii.

Seeing this, I have underlined the sentence in the above passage of the Liturgy of S. James running thus :—

And direct (*καταβύον*), LORD, O LORD, in peace the ends of our lives, so as to be Christian and well-pleasing to Thee, &c.

I have also underlined the words, “*The precious Blood,*” (*αἷμα τίμιον*.) I did so because the word *τίμιον* is the regular acknowledged Liturgical word for the Blood of the SAVIOUR. I do not, of course, mean that it is not used in Scripture also; but that it has been so thoroughly adopted into the Liturgies that it is difficult to find a page (in the Anaphoras, anyhow) without it. So much so indeed, that, to any one conversant with the Liturgies, the bare mention of the word calls up a host of Eucharistic associations. Now S. Clement does use the word, and, as it seems to me, throws the whole force of his exhortation into it alone. He tells the Corinthians to look not merely “to the Precious Blood,” but “to the Blood *how precious it is.*” This occurs three pages after the first passage which I quoted (chap. ii.) The passage which I now give is in Chapter vii.

Let us gaze earnestly on the Blood of CHRIST, and behold *how precious* (*τίμιον*) to GOD is His Blood, which, being shed (*ἐκχυσίτην*) for our salvation, obtained the grace of repentance for all the world.”—*1 S. Clem.* vii.

To me it seems as if S. Clement here took it for granted that the Corinthians were conversant with the term “precious Blood,” and that he only had to remind them *how* precious it was. The passage seemed to me worth noting. My idea may be fanciful, perhaps. I do not insist upon it, nor put the passage on a level

with the other quotations. Yet the Eucharistic origin of the passage receives strange support from a remarkable sentence in the First Epistle of S. Peter (i. 19). There, too, is mention made of the *τίμιον αἷμα*.

(Ye know that ye were redeemed) *with the precious Blood* (τιμὴν αἵματι) of CHRIST, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.—1 Pet. i. 19.

If there be Liturgical quotations in the Epistles of S. Peter, we should naturally look for their originals in the Liturgy of S. Mark. Nor do we turn in vain, as it seems to me, for the origin of the passage in which this expression occurs. It is in the Prayer of the Priest, immediately preceding the *Sancta Sanctis*, from which it evidently takes its whole tone. I will transcribe the two passages in parallel columns.

LITURGY OF S. MARK, p. 27.

GOD of light, Father of life, Author of grace, Framers of the worlds . . . who givest to the weakhearted (ὀλιγοψύχους) who trust in Thee *those things into which the angels desire to look*; who hast raised us from the abyss to light, hast given us life from death . . . illuminate the eyes of our understanding by the visitation of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that we may without condemnation (ἀκατακρίτως) partake of this immortal and heavenly food: and sanctify us wholly, soul, body, and spirit (quoted in 1 Thess. v. 23, which passage also borrows the term *ὀλιγοψύχου*, from above; see 1 Thess. v. 14), that with Thy holy disciples and apostles we may say to Thee this prayer, Our Father, &c., and make us worthy, O LORD, and Lover of men, with boldness, without condemnation (ἀκατακρίτως), *with a pure heart* (ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ), with an enlightened soul, with a countenance that needeth not to be ashamed, with hallowed lips to dare to call upon Thee (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σε), *our Holy God and Father, &c.* (Then follow the Embolismus and Prayer of Intense Adoration, in which is this petition):—Enlighten our soul with the rays of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that we, being filled with knowledge of Thee, may worthily participate in the good things that are set before us, *the spotless Body and precious Blood*

1 PET. i. 12.

Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves but unto us they did minister the things which are now reported (ἀπαγγέλλει) unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you (τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς) with the HOLY GHOST sent down from heaven (ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ); compare the Invocation in the Liturgy, *ἐξαποστείλον ἐξ ὑψώσε τοῦ ἁγίου σου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, &c. (i. e.); *into which things the angels desire to look*. Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober (νήφοντες), and hope to the end (τελευτῶς, however) for the grace which is borne to you in the revelation of JESUS CHRIST: as children of obedience not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance, but as He who called you is holy (κατὰ τὴν καλίσαντα ὑμᾶς ἁγίον), so be ye holy in all your conduct: *because it is written, "Be ye holy, for I am holy"* (ἅγιος γένησθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι). And if ye call on the Father (πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε), who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work; pass your time in fear; knowing that not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, ye were redeemed from your vain conduct received by tradition from your fathers, *but with precious blood as of the lamb without blemish and without spot, even Christ*; who was foreordained, indeed before

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of Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. . . . Holy, high, tremendous LORD, who resteth in the holies; sanctify us, LORD, by the word of Thy grace, and the visitation of Thy most HOLY SPIRIT. For Thou, Lord, didst say, "Be ye holy, for I am holy" (ἄγιοι ἵνα ὦμεν ἁγίοις αἰμαί). . . . Holy things for holy persons.—*Lit. of S. Mark*, 25.

the foundation of the world, but was manifested in these last times for you, who by Him believe in GOD who raised Him from the dead and gave Him glory, so that your faith and hope might be in GOD, having purified (ἁγιασθέντες) your souls in the obedience of the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren (εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀποστήκοντων): [in the next page of the Liturgy there occurs the prayer, "Grant to us the communion of the holy Body and precious Blood, εἰς ἀγνότητα συνειρημένων], with a pure heart (ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ) love one another fervently (ἐκτινέτε).—1 Pet. i. 12—22.

This is the only passage in the New Testament in which the expression τίμιον αἶμα occurs, and it seems to me to be borrowed from the Liturgy above quoted. Any critical eye will see that if either quotes from the other, it is the Liturgy which is quoted, and not the Epistle of S. Peter. That quoted speech, "Be ye holy, &c." (ἱεσθε, *Lit.*, γένεσθε, *S. Peter*), challenges attention. Is it possible that it is a saying of our LORD (in the words of Leviticus) which has been preserved in the Liturgies, but not in the New Testament? S. Peter introduces it with, Διότι γέγραπται. The Liturgy of S. Mark and that of S. James (p. 59) introduce it with, Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας, δέσποτα. You will observe many other interesting points about the two passages; especially, perhaps, the yearning of the angels after the διακονία of the mysteries, which seems to strike the very note of the ancient Gallican Missa:—"Nulla vox angelorum, nisi forte laudare nos possunt, qui adesse nobis possent, quum Filii tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem."—(*Reichenau MS.* p. 12.)

For these reasons, I have thought the passage in S. Clement about the τίμιον αἶμα worth indicating, following, as it does, in the wake of the passage which seems to allude to the Invocation.

Another expression I have underlined in the long passage which I transcribed from the Liturgy of S. James. It is this:—

Every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ.

There is a certain resemblance, slight indeed, but still a resemblance not to be altogether passed over perhaps, between this and a sentence in the chapter immediately following the second

passage in S. Clement, which I quoted as containing the ἰλαως, &c. (chap. xlviii.) Here are the two. I give the Liturgy first:—

That they may find mercy and grace with all Thy saints *that have been well-pleasing to Thee* (σοι εὐαριστοσάντων), from one generation to another since the beginning of the world,—our ancestors, and fathers, patriarchs, prophets, . . . holy persons, and *every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ* (καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τετελειωμένου).—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 54.

In love all the elect of God were made perfect (ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ). Apart from love *nothing is well-pleasing to God* (οὐδὲν εὐαριστόν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ). In love the Master took us to Himself: on account of the love which He had towards us JESUS CHRIST our LORD gave His Blood for us by GOD's will, and His Flesh for our flesh, and His soul (ψυχὴν) for our souls.—1 Clem. xxix.

In the first of the two passages which I quoted from S. Clement (see above, p. 443), there is a phrase which I have underlined as appearing to court attention:—

You stretched forth your hands to the Almighty God.

Ἐξτείνετε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν πανταρχάτορα Θεόν.—*Ep. of S. Clem.* ii.

Now, is this an allusion to any definite action? Does it refer to any ritual deed of the faithful, any stretching forth of the hands of the worshippers in the oblation to the “mercy-feat of the holy Temple?” And here I ask a question with the greatest diffidence. In the Liturgy of S. Mark (p. 22, Eng.), in the middle of the Words of Institution occurs the cry of the deacon, *ἐκτείνετε*. Here is the passage:—

He distributed to His holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying, Take, eat.

Deacon.—ἐκτείνετε.

Priest.—For this is My Body which is broken for you, and distributed for the remission of sins.

Choir.—Amen.

Priest.—Likewise also the cup after supper, having taken and mingled with wine and water, and looking up to heaven to Thee, His own Father, our God, and the God of all, He gave thanks, He blessed, He filled with the HOLY GHOST, He distributed it to His holy and blessed apostles and disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this.

Deacon.—Ἐγὼ ἐκτείνω.

Priest.—This is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed and distributed for you and for many, for the remission of sins.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Do this in remembrance, &c.

The word occurs twice: in the first place for the Body, and in the second place for the Blood. Now, the word *ἐκτείνετε* is usually rendered, “*Pray earnestly*,” as though identical with *ἐκτενῶς εἰπῶ*—

μεν. Is there sufficient authority for this, so strong as to exclude the hypothesis that the original meaning of the word, as here used, was, "*Stretch forth your hands?*" Surely this would be very apposite. No prayer (strictly speaking) is being offered to GOD. While the central act of the "tremendous sacrifice" is being performed in the sight of GOD and of the faithful, surely their participation in the act with the priest would be more aptly signified by the lifting of holy hands, than by private prayer, which in this one place of all others would perhaps be almost slighting to GOD'S Majesty. Nor is this idea, I think, altogether without support. S. Paul, in the First Epistle to Timothy (ii. 8), alludes to the "lifting of holy hands" by the men as distinguished from the women of the congregation. In verse 1 he has been giving directions for the order of the Liturgy, basing them on the Incarnation of CHRIST and His position as Mediator; and, in verse 8, he concludes his address by saying:—

I wish, *therefore*, that the men (τοὺς ἄνδρας) should pray everywhere, *lifting up holy (ἁγίας) hands*, without wrath and doubting. In like manner also, that the women adorn themselves, &c.—1 Tim. ii. 8.

So also S. Athanasius, speaking of the prayer for the Emperor in the Liturgy:—

Σὺ δὲ θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ ποῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἂν ἤθελεις ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐχεσθαι περὶ σου.—*Athanas. Apol. ad Imp. Constant.* chap. xvi.

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, speaks of a man—

Χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα.—*Ad Xystum Rom.* (*Euseb.* vii. 9.)

Though this certainly refers more to the act of reception. In the Liturgy of S. James the phrase is used of GOD in the act of blessing:—

Σὺ τοὺς αὐχένους ἐκλίναντες ἐκτενον τὴν χεῖρα σου τὴν κραταίαν καὶ πλάην ἐλογίζου.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 71. (Greek.)

So that certainly the Liturgies are familiar with the ordinary use of the verb ἐκτείνειν, and actually do use it with the identical substantive τὴν χεῖρα, in the sense of actual physical extension. But, excluding this passage which I am considering from the argument, I do not think that they use the verb anywhere in the metaphorical sense of mental prayer, do they? The adverb ἐκτενῶς they do in connection with εἰπώμεν, δεηθώμεν, &c. So does S. Clement and other early Fathers often enough.

But I do not think that they, any more than the Liturgies, (I speak under correction,) use *ἐκτείνειν* to signify intense adoration. It may at a later (slightly later perhaps) period have acquired that meaning; your acquaintance with the early writings may supply you with proofs that this was the case, which have escaped my notice: but even if this be the case, does it utterly cancel the possibility that the first meaning of *ἐκτείνετε*, as introduced into the Liturgies, was, "Stretch forth your hands?" signifying in fact, to use these words of S. Clement, "Stretch forth your hands to the Almighty GOD, supplicating Him to become propitious, and" (as the Liturgies would phrase it) "to forgive your sins and the ignorances of the people."

It is remarkable, too, that the idea of *holiness* is almost invariably associated with this lifting of the hands to GOD. Considering the earnestness of the prayers for holiness, purification, sanctification, &c. in the Liturgies, and the sincere belief that these were imparted by the Eucharist, this circumstance seems significant. The phrases indicating purification cluster especially thick around the *ἐκτείνετε* of the Liturgy. So also in the passage quoted from S. Paul, "lifting up *holy* hands." So, with peculiar emphasis, in a passage in Chap. xxix. of S. Clement's Epistle, which I subjoin:—

Let us come to Him then in holiness (*δοξοῦντες*) of soul, *lifting up pure and undefiled hands to Him* (*ἀγὰς καὶ ἀμείαντους χεῖρας ἀνέντις πρὸς αὐτὸν*); loving our gracious and merciful (*ἐπιεικὴ καὶ εὐσπλαγχνον*) FATHER, who has made us to partake of His election (*ἐκλογῆς*). . . . Being, therefore, a part (*μερὸς*) of the Holy One (*ἀγίου*), let us do all the things of the sanctification (*ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα*), &c.—*1 Clem. xxix.*

I recollect a passage in Tertullian's "De Baptismo" which suggests the same idea. I have not the book at hand, and so can only quote from memory, trusting to you to correct me if I misquote. I do not think that I shall, however, as the passage made a deep impression upon me at the time. Speaking of those who have just been baptized (and confirmed) he proceeds:—

Igitur benedicti quos gratia DEI expectat, quum de illo sanctissimo lavacro novi natalis ascenditis, et primas manus apud matrem (sc. ecclesiam) cum fratribus aperitis; petite de Patre, petite de Domino, peculia, gratias, distributiones charismatum (is this the χαρισμάτων πηγὴ of S. Mark's Liturgy?) subiciente, Petite et accipietis, inquit.—Tertull. De Bapt. sub fine.

This looks to me very like an indication of the first communion, by an allusion to the visible act of participation in the sacrifice by the lay communicant.

The note in the Benedictine edition referred to an expression

in the "De Idololatriâ,"—"Attollere ad Deum Patrem manus." I should like to see that passage.

There is also a passage in S. Cyprian which quotes Psalm cxli. 2, as applying to the Eucharist:—

Et iterum in Psalmis, Allevaio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Nos autem resurrectionem Domini manè celebramus.—S. Cyprian ad Cecilianum, 16, end.

And, unless I am mistaken, the posture was actually prescribed from immemorial antiquity by the *Sarum Use* among ourselves.

Yet the idea of stretching forth the hands in prayer is too general to build upon. It is difficult to say that when the Fathers speak of it they indicate this particular extension at the time of consecration. But we may safely say, I think, that the act was sufficiently familiar to all to allow of its being enjoined by the simple *ἐκτείνετε*; and, furthermore, that S. Clement's words seem distinctly to indicate an extension at such a moment.

It may be also worth noting that in S. Mark's Liturgy nearly all the exclamations of the Deacon are postural, or merely give notice of a prayer, which follows immediately; and that if this *ἐκτείνετε* does refer to mental prayer, it is an exception to the meaning of all the rest. The word "*pray*" (*προσεύξασθε*) seems at first sight an exception. It is, however, seen (in page 31, Greek) to be equivalent to "*stand up for prayer*," (*ἐπὶ προσευχῇ στάθητε*), when not simply introductory. It comes in thus:—

Deacon.—Stand up for prayer.

Priest.—Peace be to all.

Deacon.—Pray.

Here are the Deacon's exclamations in the Liturgy:—

Before the Anaphora.—Pray—Pray for the King—Pray for the Pope and Bishop—Stand for Prayer—Stand up—For prayer—For Prayer—Stand, let us hear the Holy Gospel—Begin—Look, left any of the Catechumens—Kiss one another—Stand to make your offerings according to your order—Stand for prayer—Pray for them that offer (the prayer follows)—

Anaphora.—Sir, pray for a blessing—Ye that are sitting, stand up—To the East—*ἐκτίνατε*—*ἐν ἐκτίνατε*—Come down, ye Deacons—Pray—Bow your heads to JESUS—With the fear of GOD—Pray—Stand for Prayer—Pray—Depart in peace.

Now read the sentence in S. Clement with this meaning attached to the *ἐκτείνετε*, and see what light is thrown upon it.

A full effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT was upon all, and being full of holy counsel in good readiness, with pious trust you stretched forth your hands to the ALMIGHTY GOD, supplicating Him to become propitious if ye have sinned in ignorance.

This is one of those passages in which the words of Mr. Palmer recur so forcibly to one's mind:—"It is impossible to peruse the notices supplied by the Fathers, without perceiving that the baptized Christians were supposed to be familiar with every part of the service; and continual allusions are made to various particulars as well known, which it would be impossible to explain, except by referring to the Liturgies still extant."—*Orig. Lit.* p. 9.

I will now refer you to a passage in another Apostolic Father, —S. POLYCARP. After giving particular directions, towards the close of his Epistle, respecting the conduct to be adopted by the Philippians towards the priest Valens, who had misconducted himself, he proceeds, in Chapter xii, to pray for them, and then to direct them how to pray for others. These are his words:—

BUT the GOD and FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST and the Eternal High Priest Himself, JESUS CHRIST the SON of GOD, build you up in faith and in truth, and in all gentleness, and without anger, and in patience, and long-suffering, and endurance, and chastity; and *give you a lot and part among His saints* (det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos), and to us together with you and all who are under Heaven, who shall believe in our LORD JESUS CHRIST and in His FATHER who raised Him from the dead. *Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and powers, and princes; and for those who persecute you and hate you; and for the enemies of the cross; that your fruit may be manifest in all, that ye may be perfect in Him.*—*Ep. of S. Polycarp*, ch. xii.

The original Greek of this chapter is lost. It bears every appearance of Liturgical allusion. That expression, "give you a lot and part among His saints," is found in a prayer near the end of the Liturgy of S. James, immediately after the Communion of the Faithful.

GOD, Who through Thy great and ineffable love to man didst condescend to the weakness of Thy servants, and hast vouchsafed that we should partake of this heavenly Table, condemn us not in the participation of Thy spotless mysteries, but guard us, good GOD, by the sanctification of Thy HOLY GHOST; *that, being holy, we may find part and inheritance with all Thy saints* who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world in the light of Thy countenance, through, &c.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 63. (Eng.)

So also, in Syriac, S. James:—

We yield Thee thanks, O GOD, and laud Thee above all things for Thine ineffable love to men; O LORD, condemn not those whom Thou hast vouchsafed to admit to the participation of Thy heavenly Table for the reception of Thy holy and unspotted mysteries; but, O good LORD, *preserve us in righteousness and holiness*, that being made worthy of the communion of Thy Holy Ghost, *we may obtain a part, lot, and inheritance with all Thy Saints*, who have pleased Thee out of this world, through, &c.—*Neale's Introduction*, p. 710.

And, again, in the *Diptychs of the departed* in S. Mark's Liturgy:—

Grant rest to their souls, and vouchsafe to them the kingdom of heaven; and to us grant that the rest of our lives may be Christian and well-pleasing to Thee, and without sin, *and grant to us to have a portion and lot with all Thy Saints.*—*Lit. of S. Mark*, p. 18. (English.)

Now test the order of the prayers prescribed in the passage in S. Polycarp. Is not that order the order of the Liturgies? These are S. Polycarp's words:—

1. Pro omnibus sanctis orate :
2. Orate etiam pro regibus, et potestatibus, et principibus,
3. Et persequentibus et odientibus vos,
4. Et pro inimicis crucis—ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, ut sitis in illo perfecti.

This is the order in which the Liturgies place the petitions in their intercessions; the same order as that prescribed (or alluded to) by S. Paul in the passage addressed to Timothy, which I have already referred to as preceding his mention of the “raising holy hands:”—

I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority.

It is, however, in S. Clement's Liturgy that it comes out most strongly,—that mysterious Liturgy which, like the high-priest whom it places in the van of its commemorations, has (so far at least as regards our knowledge) neither beginning of days nor end of life. I quote the passage in this Liturgy, directing at the same time your attention to the fact that there is more than a similarity in mere order.

Send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT, the witness of the sufferings of the LORD JESUS, on this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the Blood of Thy CHRIST; that all who shall partake of it may be confirmed in godliness (θεβαινωμεν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν—not unlike the “ædificat vos in fide et veritate,” &c. of S. Polycarp). . . . We further pray Thee for Thy holy Church, spread from one end of the world to the other, which Thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST, that Thou wilt keep it, &c. Further we call upon Thee for my own unworthiness who am now offering, and for the whole presbytery: for the deacons and all the clergy, that Thou wouldst endue them with wisdom and fill them with the HOLY GHOST. Further we call upon Thee, O LORD, for the king and all that are in authority, for the success of the army, that they may be kindly disposed towards us: that leading our whole life in peace and quietness we may glorify Thee through JESUS CHRIST our hope. Further we offer to Thee for all the saints who have pleased

Pray for all the saints.

Pray, also, for kings, and powers, and princes.

Thee from the beginning of the world ; the patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, . . . We further offer to Thee for this people . . . for the virgins . . . for the widows of the Church . . . for the married . . . for the young . . . for the city . . . for the sick . . . the prisoners . . . the travellers by land or by water ; that Thou wilt be to all of them an helper, strengthener, and supporter. We further beseech Thee *for those who hate us and persecute us* for Thy Name's sake : for *those that are without and remain in error* : that Thou wouldst convert them to that which is good, and appease their wrath against us. Further we pray unto Thee for the catechumens of the Church : for those that are under possession (lit. "*tempest-tost by the alien*"), and for those our brethren who are in a state of penance : that some Thou wilt perfect in the faith, and some Thou wilt cleanse from the power of the wicked one—(is this the "enemy of the Cross?")—and of some Thou wilt accept the repentance, and grant to them and to us the remission of our sins. Further we offer to Thee for seasonable weather, and that we may have plenty of the fruits of the earth, &c.

And for those who persecute you, and hate you.

And for the enemies of the Cross; that your fruit may be manifest (!).

Here the prayer for all saints in reality does, I think, precede the prayer for the king. There is a petition immediately following the petition for the king, which certainly also appears to be a prayer for all saints, indeed, the very expression "all the saints" is used. Yet it seems only to pray particularly for the same blessing which has been implored generally for the whole Church and the clergy at the commencement of the Intercession.

Notice that the prayer of the deacon which follows these intercessions goes over exactly the same ground again, giving the same petitions much abridged, but in the same order : being, in fact, an epitome of the intercessions. Each petition here begins with, "Let us pray for," except one, and that one is the petition corresponding to the petition in the intercessions which follows the prayer for the king. This one has the heading, "Let us commemorate." It is not a prayer at all, but a memorial (and would not therefore come under the head of "Orate pro").

Notice, also, that the prayer preceding that for the king in the deacon's proclamation brings out, more fully than in the longer form, the intercession for the people :—

Let us pray for this Church and people.

Let us pray for every episcopate; for the whole presbytery; for all the deacons and ministers in CHRIST; for the whole congregation; that the LORD will preserve and keep them all.

Let us pray for kings and all that are in authority, that they may be peaceable towards us, &c.

Commemorate we (μνημονεύομεν) the holy martyrs, that we may be deemed worthy to be partakers of their trial; (and so on, p. 88.)

This may be accidental or it may not.

I have seen it alleged against the antiquity of the Liturgies that they pray for the whole Catholic Church throughout the world (a frivolous objection, I allow, for a reader of Justin Martyr, and the Epistle to Diognetus). Yet the objection is made. Now these Liturgical petitions are not the only passages which should be brought to bear on the Epistle of S. Polycarp. Those other solemn sayings of this saint recorded in his Acts are well worth attention, not merely because of the exquisite beauty and undoubted authenticity of the narrative in which they are recorded, but because they tally in a remarkable manner with the chapter of the Epistle which I have quoted.

Now in the Acts there are two prayers of S. Polycarp recorded; the first on his arrest, the second when he had been bound to the stake before the pile was lit. With regard to the first, it is recorded that having asked leave for an hour's liberty in order to pray, "he stood praying, being full of the grace of GOD." Of the substance of this prayer all that is recorded is this:—

He remembered all men, whether little or great, honourable or obscure, that had at any time been acquainted with him, and with them the *whole Catholic Church* throughout the world.

Could we in one single sentence better describe the intercessions in the Liturgies? Look, for instance, at those in the Liturgy of S. James:—

Priest (rising up, in a low voice).— . . . We offer them also to Thee, O LORD, for Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the world. Supply it, O LORD, even now with the plentiful gifts of Thy HOLY GHOST. Remember also, O LORD, our holy fathers and brothers . . . Remember every city. Remember those voyaging, journeying; (and so on for three pages).—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 53.

But we are not left to conjecture as to the substance of S. Polycarp's prayers. The prayer before the sacrifice of his life,—the second of the two prayers mentioned by me above,—is given at full length, and an exceedingly remarkable prayer it is. It is evidently either an original, but lost, Anaphora, or, so religious was the care to preserve the main features of these apostolic compositions, a compilement from the existing Anaphoras in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark. You will notice that some of its expressions are evidently the originals of those in the passage in the Epistle. I will underline them here. The narrative of the martyrdom, following S. Polycarp's own application of the oblation to himself, describes him as bound like the sacrificial lamb awaiting the knife of the slayer. This, then, is the passage:—

He, having put his hands behind him, and being bound as a comely ram chosen out of a great flock for the oblation, and an acceptable victim prepared for God, looking up to heaven, said :—

“O LORD GOD Almighty, the Father of Thy well-beloved and blessed Son, JESUS CHRIST, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the GOD of angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole race of just men who live in Thy presence; I bless Thee that Thou hast made me worthy of this day and hour, that I should *have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life*, both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the HOLY GHOST: amongst whom may I be received in Thy presence to-day in a fat and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou hast fore-ordained, and manifested beforehand, and fulfilled, the infallible and true GOD. Wherefore, and for all (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων), I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee (αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε), *with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with Whom to Thee and the HOLY SPIRIT be glory, both now and to exceeding ages. Amen.*”

The narrator here continues, laying stress upon the “Amen.”

And when he had sent up the Amen (ἀνατίμωλλον δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἄμην), and had finished the prayer (καὶ πλεόσαντες τὴν εὐχὴν) the firemen lighted the fire.

“*The Amen*,” you see: the Amen which formed the recognized response of the people at the end of the oblation.

When thou shalt bless with the Spirit (says S. Paul), how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say *the Amen* at thy giving of thanks (τὸ Ἄμην ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ)?—1 COR. xiv. 16.

And Justin Martyr, yet within the shadow of Apostles, in his celebrated description of the Church service, speaks of the Amen in the same manner :—

When he (the celebrant) has concluded the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent by saying Amen.—*Apol.* i. 65.

And again, two chapters later :—

Bread is brought, and wine, and water; and the celebrant offers up prayers (ἀνατίμωμι εὐχάς, by the way) and thanksgivings with all his strength, and the people give their assent by saying the Amen.—*Apol.* i. 67.

So, also, Dionysius of Alexandria, describing the principal acts which mark out the faithful, speaks of one of these (claiming to be one of them, anyhow) as,—

Listening to the prayer of thanksgiving, and joining in saying the Amen, and standing at (παρεστώσα) the table, and stretching forth his hands to receive the holy food.—*Ad Xyst. Rom.* (*Euseb.* vii. 9.)

Thus the mention here of “the Amen” seems to have peculiar significance, as indicating the nature of S. Polycarp’s prayer.

With regard to the prayer itself, I would rather not venture to suggest more, so remarkable is it in its resemblance to and yet difference from the Anaphoræ of the two great Liturgies. It suggests a close investigation into the remains of the Gallican and Mosarabic rites as possibly indicated by the Smyrnan Bishop at their Ephesine fountain-head. Look at that clause, so evidently from the beginning of an Anaphora :—

Wherefore and for all I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, &c.
(See parallel passage in *S. Mark* 14, *S. James* 49.)

The doxology given here occurs also in the *Gloria in Excelsis*. It is not, of course, Scriptural ; but if not from Scripture, whence is it ? It must be from the Liturgies, unless the parallelism be accidental, which nobody will suppose for a moment. The very words are used in the Liturgy of *S. James*.

The writings of *S. Justin Martyr* court the most careful investigation. Born within the lifetime of the last Apostle, and himself the pupil of those who drew their teaching from apostolic lips, this great Confessor may well be allowed to rank with the Apostolic Fathers as an authoritative witness to Church doctrine. And I suspect that if his writings be sifted (more thoroughly than I have yet been able to sift them) he will be found to be, beyond all dispute and question, a witness equally to Church fact,—the fact of the Liturgies. Yet one would not at first sight expect this. His great writings are not in the first instance designed for Christians. His Apologies are addressed to the heathen : his Dialogue with Trypho to the Jews. To both of these the Liturgies were a sealed book. Not to such was it granted to catch with yearning ear the first accents of the voice of adoration within the veil, which were the signal of departure to those who unbaptized, yet obedient, awaited the hour of their illumination. In spite of this, however, such evidence is not wanting. *S. Justin* knew that the faith of the Church could not be adequately explained without an exposition, however elementary, of her ritual which is at once its casket and its conductor. This ritual he describes openly and avowedly in the famous passage in his First Apology (chaps. 66, 67), wherein he gives the account, with which we are all so familiar, of the Eucharistic celebration. He also alludes, in an unmistakable manner, as I think, to the substance of the Prayers themselves in several places. And, unless I am much deceived, he quotes solely and pointedly one particular Liturgy, that Liturgy being the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions,—the Liturgy of *S. Clement*. This adherence to one particular Liturgy is exactly what we should expect to find as marking the difference between *S. Justin's*

quotations and those of the Apostolic Fathers. The streams have now left the common channel. The dwellers on the banks of each draw from their own stream; being out of view of the kindred waters which, each now in his own course, are fertilizing the Delta of the Church. It is for us to visit all in turn and, drawing from each what it casts up in common with its fellows, to pronounce without doubt that this is a product of the parent stream.

Now look at this passage in the thirteenth chapter of the First Apology (page 32, Otto), S. Justin is contrasting the heathen sacrifices with the Christian. He says that we do not burn our sacrifice as they do, but consume it ourselves.

"We praise Him," says he, "*to the best of our power* (*ὅση δύναμις αἰνούμεν*), with the word of prayer and of thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίας*) in all our oblations."

And then proceeds actually to give the very substance of the Prayer of Oblation in these words:—

In speech we offer Him solemn acts of worship and hymns (*πύμνας καὶ ὕμνους*) for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities (*ποιότητες*) of things, and for the changes of seasons, and we put up petitions that we may again be in incorruptibility (*τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γινώσθαι*) through our faith in Him. And the Teacher of these things, born even for that purpose, JESUS CHRIST, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Procurator of Judæa in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, we having learnt to be the Son of the Very GOD, and holding Him in the second place, and the Prophetic Spirit in the third rank, evidently worship with reason (*μετὰ λόγου*).

Notice the order of the Petitions:—

1. For our creation.
2. For all our means of health.
3. For the qualities of things.
4. For the changes of seasons.
5. For our restoration to incorruptibility, through faith in CHRIST.

Then follows the commemoration of the birth and life of CHRIST, and His death under Pilate.

Now compare them with the Anaphora of the Liturgy of S. Clement. I write out the latter, putting S. Justin's own words in the margin. Wherever I omit, I do so for the sake of brevity, marking the *lacuna* by dots: but I only omit *amplifications* upon the preceding clause, not foreign matter.

ANAPHORA OF S. CLEMENT.

P. 77, English.

Bishop.—Lift up your mind.

People.—We lift it up unto the LORD.

Bishop.—Let us give thanks to the LORD.

People.—It is meet and right.

Very GOD from everlasting, of Whom the whole family in
 heaven and earth is named, Who alone art unbegotten, without
 beginning, the supreme LORD, Almighty King, and Self-suffi-
 cient : Author and Giver of all good things, without cause,
 without generation, self-existing, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.
 At Thy word, as from a necessary original, all things started
 into being. For Thou art everlasting knowledge, fight before
 all objects, hearing before all sounds, wisdom without instruction : the first
 in nature, the law of being, exceeding all number. Thou createdst all
 things out of nothing by Thine Only-begotten Son, begotten before all
 ages by no other means than Thy will, Thy power, and Thy goodness :
 GOD the Word, the Only-begotten Son, the living Wisdom, the First-born
 of every creature, the Angel of Thy great counsel, Thy High Priest, but
 LORD and King of all sensible and intellectual creatures, Who was before all
 things, and by whom all things were made. Thou, O Eternal GOD, didst
 make all things by Him, and by Him, too, didst graciously bring all
 things into being, by Him Thou continuest all things in well-being. . . . For it is Thou who hast fixed the heaven like an
 arch, and stretched it out like the covering of a tent ; and didst establish
 the earth upon nothing by Thy will alone. . . . Thou hast made water for
 drink, and for cleansing, the vital air for respiration. Thou madest fire for
 our consolation in darkness, and for the relief of our necessities, that we
 might be both warmed and enlightened by it. Thou didst divide the great
 sea from the land. . . . The former Thou hast replenished with small and
 great beasts, the latter, too, both with tame and wild : and hast, moreover,
 furnished it with various plants, crowned it with herbs, beautified it with
 flowers, and enriched it with seeds. Thou didst constitute the great deep
 . . . sometimes Thou dost swell it by the wind so as to equal the high
 mountains, and sometimes smooth it into a plain ; now making it rage with
 a tempest, then stilling it with a calm for the ease of mariners in their voy-
 ages. The earth, which was made by Thee, through CHRIST, Thou hast
 compassed with rivers, watered with currents, and moistened with springs
 which never fail. . . . Thou hast replenished and adorned it
 with fragrant and medicinal herbs, with many and various kinds of living creatures, strong and weak, for food and for
 labour, tame and wild ; with the dull harsh noises of those creatures which
 move upon the earth, and the soft sprightly notes of the gaudy many-
 coloured birds which wing the air : with the revolution of
 years, the number of months and days, the regular succession
 of the seasons ; with the courses of the clouds big with rain,
 for the production of fruits, the support of living creatures ; where, also,
 the winds take their stand which blow at Thy command, and for the re-
 freshment of trees and plants. And Thou hast not only created the world,
 but man, likewise, the citizen of it : manifesting in him the beauty and ex-
 cellency of that beautiful and excellent creation. For Thou saidst to Thine
 Own wisdom, Let us make man in our own image and after our likeness
 . . . Therefore Thou madest him of an immortal soul and perishable body ;
 the soul out of nothing, the body of the four elements. . . . Thou didst
 plant a garden eastward in Eden. . . . Thou gavest him the privilege of
 enjoying all its delights, with this only exception, that he should not out of
 vain curiosity, in hopes of bettering his condition, taste of one tree, and
 immortality was to be the reward of his obedience to this command ; but
 when he had broken through it and eaten of the forbidden fruit, over-

In speech we
 offer Him solemn
 acts of worship
 and hymns ;

for our creation,

for all our means
 of health,

for the qualities
 of things,

for the changes
 of seasons,

reached by the guile of the serpent and the counsel of the woman, Thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise; but in Thy goodness didst not despise him, nor suffer him wholly to perish, for he was the work of Thine own hands: but Thou gavest him dominion over all things. . . . And having subjected him for awhile to a temporary death, Thou didst bind Thyself by an oath to restore him to life again, loosing the bands of that death by the promise of a resurrection to the life which is eternal.

for our restoration
to incorrupti-
bility through
faith in CHRIST.

Then follows a commemoration of the saints of the Old Testament: Abel, Enoch, Joseph, Moses, &c. &c., ending with a beautiful commemoration of the birth and life of CHRIST, and His death under Pilate.

Holy is Thine Only-begotten Son JESUS CHRIST, our LORD and GOD, Who always ministering to Thee His GOD and FATHER, not only in the various works of the creation, but in the providential care of it did not overlook lost mankind. . . . He Who was man's Creator was pleased with Thy consent to become man: the Lawgiver to be under the law: the Priest to be Himself the sacrifice: the Shepherd a sheep. . . . He was incarnate of a virgin, GOD the Word, the beloved SON, the Firstborn of every creature. . . . He that was without flesh, became flesh: He that was begotten from eternity was born in time. . . . He manifested Thy Name to them that knew it not: He dispelled the cloud of ignorance, restored piety; fulfilled Thy will, and finished Thy work which Thou gavest Him to do. And when He had regulated all these things . . . He was by Thy permission delivered to Pilate the governor: the Judge of the world was judged.

And so on in words which look very like an old original creed preserved within the structure of the Liturgy. Then follows this sentence:—

Calling to remembrance, therefore, those things which He endured for our sakes, *we give thanks* unto Thee, O GOD ALMIGHTY, not to the extent of our duty, but to the best of our power (*ὡχ ἕως ἐφάλομεν ἀλλ' ἕως δυνάμεθα*).

This last sentence is clearly the original of S. Justin's assertion above quoted:—

We praise Him to the best of our power with the word of prayer and of thanksgiving in all our oblations.

A comparison of these passages quite satisfies me that the Liturgy supplies in itself the true rendering and significance of this same phrase when it occurs again in the great sixty-seventh chapter.

"The celebrant sends forth," says S. Justin there, "*both prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power* (*ἕως δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ*)."

It seems to me to mean neither extempore prayers, nor prayers from memory, nor prayers uttered with a loud voice, but prayers

which he offers in the spirit of ὁσὴ δυνάμεις : in this spirit in fact, " Though we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer " unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this " our bounden duty and service," &c.

And now, in turning to the famous sixty-fifth chapter of this First Apology, notice the order and arrangement, as well as the substance of the several parts of the Liturgy as there described. There can be no better description of the Liturgy of S. Clement. Everything is there which the Liturgy of S. Clement contains : nothing is given which is not to be found in that Liturgy. I need not remind you that S. Justin gives a recapitulation in chap. 67 of the description of the celebration in chap. 65 : the intervening chapter (66) being devoted to a parenthetical definition of the Eucharist itself. I will give the order in the words of S. Justin, written out in a tabular form, for facility of reference and comparison :—

S. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apol.* i. chap. 65.

(Page 154, Otto ; page 50, Oxford translation.)

Prayers for ourselves,
 ——— for the newly baptized,
 ——— for all others everywhere,
 that we may be good citizens,
 ————— keep the commandments,
 ————— obtain everlasting salvation.

Kiss of Peace.

Elements brought—(bread, wine, and water).

Prayer of praise and glory to the FATHER through the SON and HOLY GHOST.

Thanks for being vouchsafed these things by Him.

Amen, by all the people in assent.

Communion.

Reservation by Deacons, for the sick.

Chap. 67. (Page 158, Otto ; page 51, Oxford translation.)

Apostles and Prophets read.

Exhortation.

Rise and pray.

Elements brought—(bread, wine, and water).

Celebrant offers (ἀντίστασις) prayers and thanksgivings—(ὁσὴ δυνάμεις).

Amen, by all the people in assent.

Communion.

Reservation by Deacons, for the sick.

This chapter supplements the sixty-fifth in a very remarkable manner. It gives the reading of the lessons and the sermon which *preface* the Liturgy, and which are not noticed in the former chapter. I will now write out the order of the Liturgy of S. Clement, and you will see how exactly it tallies with this

description. For facility of reference I give the pages in the little English edition (Hayes, 1859).

LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT.

Apostles and Prophets read, p. 66.

Exhortation, p. 66.

Prayer for ourselves (Catechumens, Energumens, &c.), p. 67.

— for the newly baptized, p. 70.

— for all others everywhere, p. 72—75.

Rise up: Bishop prays, p. 75.

Kiss of Peace, p. 76.

Elements brought—(bread, wine and water), Anaphora, p. 77.

Prayer of praise and glory.

1. To the FATHER (as Creator), p. 77—84.

2. By the SON (words of Institution), p. 85.

3. Through the HOLY GHOST (Invocation), p. 86.

Amen, by all the people, p. 89.

Communion (each saying *Amen*), p. 89.

Reservation by the Deacons, in the *παρασφύρια*, p. 90.

Thanksgiving for being “vouchsafed to receive His holy mysteries,” p. 90.

I ought to mention that in chap. 67, S. Justin uses these words of the oblation:—

In all our oblations we bless *the Creator of all things*, through His Son JESUS CHRIST, and through the HOLY GHOST.

The evidence of these chapters may speak for itself. As it seems to me, nothing that I can say can strengthen it. It is fact,—not theory.

I will select one more passage from the writings of S. Justin Martyr, as a specimen of the evidence to be found by those who desire to glean behind your footsteps. This time the passage is in the “Dialogue with Trypho.” S. Justin there quotes to Trypho the substance of one of those remarkable prayers at the commencement of S. Clement’s Liturgy. There is a phrase in the sentence by which I very strongly suspect that the Liturgy is designated. I will first give the passage in S. Justin at length. It occurs in chapter 30 of the “Dialogue:”—

It is manifest to all that the word of the prophecy speaking in set form (*σχηματισμένης*) says, *as from the person* (*ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου*) of one of the faithful, that we who believe on Him pray Him to *preserve us from the alien* (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν*),—*that is to say, from the evil and wandering—spirits*. And we constantly implore (*παρακαλοῦμεν*) GOD through JESUS CHRIST that we may be preserved from *those evil spirits which are aliens from the piety* (*θεοσεβείας*) of GOD, and whom we formerly used to adore: in order that after our turning to God through Him we may be blameless. For Him we call our Helper and Redeemer (*λυτρωτὴν*), at the power of Whose Name even the evil spirits (*τὰ δαιμόνια*) tremble; and being exorcised by us at this day in the

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governor of Judæa, they are subjected to us; from which it is plain to all that the FATHER gave Him so great power that even the evil spirits submit to His Name, and to the dispensation (or stewardship) of His Passion (τῇ τοῦ γενημένου πάθους αὐτοῦ διακονίᾳ).

In this passage S. Justin describes a prayer. He speaks of it as of a thing actually existing, to which reference may be made, in support of his argument with the Jew. He uses certain unusual expressions, which he qualifies or explains with a view to their better comprehension by Trypho. Passing over the σχηματοποιήσας, which may be worth investigation, one may notice the ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου, in which S. Justin evidently uses the ἀπὸ προσώπου in a technical sense, making its application here by the ὡς (which has puzzled his commentators not a little). It seems to me to fix to the celebrant the act whose nature and efficacy is derived from its identity with the sacrifice upon Calvary, and the continual presentation upon the heavenly altar.

We may look, then, for the occurrence of this expression in the Liturgy, as applied to CHRIST Himself.

Again, there is that very remarkable expression "*the alien*,"—the ἀλλότριος," as applied to the devil and his angels. It is evidently a peculiar title: for S. Justin goes out of his way to explain it,—a thing which he would scarcely have done in the case of a word of his own invention or of ordinary use. This, then, we may expect to find in the Liturgy, if S. Justin be quoting it; and may also look for the terms "*evil and wandering spirits*" by which he explains it.

With regard to the expression "*the stewardship of the Passion*" I will say more presently.

S. Justin also says that we call CHRIST "*our Helper and Redeemer*," probably describing (in the words of Psalm xix. 14) some Liturgical appeal to our LORD in that character. He also says that the evil spirits are *exorcised by us at this day*. And here at once I put my finger upon the passage. This is the key,—the door opens at once, on the exorcism of the possessed in the Liturgy of S. Clement. Here it is:—

PRAYER FOR ENERGUMENS, LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT,
Page 68 (English).

Deacon.—Pray ye that are troubled by unclean spirits.

Let us all pray earnestly for them, that GOD, the lover of men, may through CHRIST rebuke the unclean and *evil spirits*, and *may deliver His suppliants from the over-mastery of the alien*. He that rebuked the legion of fiends and the primæval source of evil, the devil, let Him rebuke also now the *apostates from piety* (ταῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας, compare S. Justin above, ἀλλότρια τῆς

θεοειδίας), and preserve his own handiwork from the energy of Satan, and purify them whom with much wisdom He made. Furthermore, let us intently pray for them: save and raise them up, O GOD, in Thy power. Bend your heads, ye energumens, and receive the blessing.

Bishop prays over them.—Thou that didst bind the strong man, and spoil his goods; Thou that *didst give us power* to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and all the power of the enemy . . . whom all things shudder and *tremble at from the person* of Thy power (ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου) . . . Only-begotten GOD, SON of the mighty FATHER, rebuke the *evil spirits*, and deliver the works of Thy hands from the energy of the *alien spirit*: for to Thee is glory, honour, and worship, and by Thee to Thy FATHER and the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

Notice that the Bishop's prayer here is not, as are the other prayers, addressed to the FATHER through CHRIST, but directly to CHRIST Himself. S. Justin's account, therefore, is strictly correct. The spirits were "exorcised in the Name of CHRIST," and the Prayer of exorcism is addressed immediately to Him. After these particular prayers for different classes of people, and immediately before the Kiss of Peace and the Anaphora, there occurs this general prayer for ourselves, and each other. In this will be found the remaining allusions of S. Justin. I was greatly pleased to find when I had got thus far in the proofs (and only then) that both Jebb and Otto have been before me in noticing the connection between *this latter* prayer and the passage in S. Justin. (See Otto, page 99; Oxford translation, page 106.) It seems to me very strange that with this clue in their hands they went no further: strange, too, that even here in quoting the passage they omit what appear to be the strongest points of similarity. Here is the passage:—

LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT.

(Page 74, English).

Deacon.—Let us pray for each other that the LORD may guard and preserve us by His grace unto the end, and may *deliver us from the evil one*, and from all the offences of them that work iniquity, and may save us to His heavenly kingdom—(very like the *debris* of the lost *embolismus* this).

Let us rise up.

Having earnestly made our supplication, let us commit ourselves and each other to the living GOD through His CHRIST.

Bishop prays over them.—LORD ALMIGHTY, most highest, Thou that dwellest in the highest, . . . Thou who through CHRIST didst give us the preaching of knowledge, . . . do Thou Thyself now look down through Him upon this Thy flock, and *redeem* (λύτρωσαι) it from all ignorance and evil practices, and grant that it may entirely fear Thee, and perfectly love Thee, and may be bedewed *from the person* (ἀπὸ προσώπου) of Thy glory. Be Thou kind to them and propitious (ἐλεος) and affable in their prayers, and *keep them without turning, without blame*, without accusation, that they may be holy in body and in soul, not having spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them may be incomplete. O Helper, Mighty, regarding not the persons of men, be Thou the

Assistance of Thy people, whom Thou didst purchase with the precious blood of Thy CHRIST; Defender, Guardian, Steward, most secure Wall, Fence, Security, for none can pluck them out of Thine hands, nor is there any other god like Thee, for in Thee is our trust. Sanctify them in Thy truth, for Thy word is truth. Thou that art not to be flattered, Thou that art not to be deceived, deliver them from all sickness and all infirmity, from every fall, from all injury and deceit, from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, from the thing that walketh in darkness: and vouchsafe to them the eternal life, which is in CHRIST, Thine Only-begotten Son, our GOD and SAVIOUR, through Whom, &c.

These are the passages. You will notice how S. Justin alludes to them. The manner in which he explains the meaning of the word *ἁλλοτρίων* is very singular. He says:—

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλλοτρίων (ταῦτίστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ποικίλῶν καὶ πλανῶν) πνευμάτων.

“Alien” spirits mean, says he, “evil and wandering” spirits. The word “*evil*,” as applied to the spirits, occurs in the passage from the Liturgy given above. The word “*wandering*” (a rare word) is also applied by this same Liturgy to the devil in page 86, English; page 104, Greek:—

That they may be delivered from the devil, and from his wandering (τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ).

There is another thing worth notice. S. Justin says:—

At the power of Whose Name even the evil spirits trembled (τὰ δαίμονα τρέμει).

The Liturgy says:—

Whom all things shudder and tremble at from the person of Thy power.

Ὅν πάντα φρίσσει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου.

The *φρίσσει* here is additional, you see. It is, however, restored in a sentence, evidently bearing on this part of the Liturgy, in the forty-ninth chapter of the Dialogue:—

The hidden power of God was in the crucified CHRIST, whom both the evil spirits and all the powers and principalities of the earth shudder at.

Κρυφία δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονε τῷ σταυρωθέντι Χριστῷ, ὃν καὶ τὰ δαίμονα φρίσσει καὶ πᾶσαι ἀπλῶς αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι τῆς γῆς.—Dial. Trypho, 49 (end).

There are other common allusions which you will notice; e.g. that of the evil spirits being “*subject to us*” (S. Justin); “*under our power*” (Liturgy).

Lastly, what is the “*dispensation of the Passion*” (οἰκονομία τοῦ πάθους). I cannot help thinking it possible that this may refer

to the Liturgy itself through the Eucharist. I do not deny that the term *οἰκονομία* is used generally by the early Fathers sometimes to express the counsel of GOD in the Incarnation. Particularly, however, I think that it is distinctly applied to the Eucharist.

Thus S. Paul says :—

A dispensation (stewardship, *οἰκονομία*) is committed to me.—1 Cor. ix. 17.

And again, more definitely :—

Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of CHRIST, and stewards (*οἰκονόμους*) of the mysteries of GOD.—1 Cor. iv. 1.

Just as S. Peter speaks of—

Stewards of the manifold grace of GOD.—1 Pet. iv. 10.

And S. Paul, in addressing Titus, says :—

A bishop must be blameless as the steward of God.—Tit. i. 7.

The epithet *οἰκονόμος* is applied to priests in the Liturgy. So in Lit. S. James, page 58 (Greek) :—

That we . . . being counted worthy to minister without guile at Thy altar may receive the reward of faithful and prudent stewards.

But perhaps the most applicable of all the passages in which the word is used occurs in page 61 (Greek) of the Liturgy of S. James, immediately before the consecration : thus—

Who descended from heaven, and being incarnate of the HOLY GHOST and Mary the Virgin and Mother of GOD, and having had His conversation with men, accomplished all the dispensation (*πάντα ὁικονόμησας*) for the salvation of our race (and being about to die took bread, &c.).—Page 50, English.

There are doubtless plenty more passages to the same effect.

Now, S. Justin is here speaking about particular exorcisms on particular occasions. He does not say (what he might have said, of course, with perfect truth) that the power of the devil was broken once and for all upon Calvary ; but he says that when we, by exorcism, take up the power of victory then won for the Church by our LORD, the devils are expelled by “the stewardship of the Passion.” How do we expel them by the stewardship of the Passion unless by that application of the Passion whereof we are stewards ?

There are many passages which seem confirmatory of this. See, for instance, Apol. ii. 6, where S. Justin speaks again about the exorcisms ; and compare the first part of the chapter, wherein S. Justin speaks of the work of the Father and of the Only-

Greek).

But the strongest support of all is to be found in the words of S. Justin immediately after the passage itself. Having said, "even the evil spirits submit to His Name, and to the stewardship of His Passion," S. Justin continues:—

And if so great power is shown to have attended, and STILL TO ATTEND, the stewardship of His Passion, how great shall that power be in His glorious coming again?

Εἰ δὲ τῇ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίᾳ τοσαύτη δύναμις δίδυται παρακολουθεῖσα καὶ παρακολουθεῖσα, πόση ἢ ἐν τῇ ἐνδεῇ γενόμενῃ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ;—*Trypho*, 31.

This is the *ἐνδοξος παρουσία* of the Liturgies (*passim*), which ever forms the point towards which they look in their commemorations of the Passion, whose merits they apply. (After the words of Institution, follow, "Remembering, therefore, His life-giving Passion, His Cross . . . His glorious coming again . . . we offer this sacrifice," &c.)

S. Justin argues thus, as it seems to me:—

If the Presence here on earth of His invisible Manhood, together with the Holy Angels in the stewardship of the Passion has so great power over the devil and his angels, how glorious will be that final triumph over the spirits of evil when He shall come again, no longer veiled from human sight, but visible as the Son of Man with the Angels in the clouds of heaven.

For S. Justin actually does continue thus; these are his words:—

For as the Son of Man He shall come upon the clouds of heaven, and the angels with Him.

There is one class of quotations to which I have made no allusion. Was there any definite creed used in the Liturgies in Apostolic times (as later,) and are there any traces of this in the Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers? I think that there are, and those not faint nor indistinct. There are passages in the Epistles of S. Ignatius upon which I should much like to have your opinion. In searching for the indications of a genuine "form of sound words," I knew, of course, that I should not find the article on *the Descent into Hell*, and did not expect to find *the Communion of Saints*, nor *the Life everlasting*. I looked sharp, however, for the last two with great interest. Now look at these passages. The first is from the Epistle to the Smyræans.

S. Ignatius says that he knows that the Smyræans are "settled in an immoveable faith" (*κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει*),

and “fully believe in our LORD” (πεπληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν) :—

Being truly from the race of David according to the flesh;
 SON of GOD according to the will and power of GOD;
 Truly born of a Virgin;
 Baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him;
 Truly crucified by Pontius Pilate;
 By the fruits of which we are, even by His Blessed Passion;
 That He might raise a token for ever by His Resurrection,
 To all His Saints and faithful, whether among Jews or Gentiles,
 In the One Body of His Church.—*Ep. Smyrn. i.*

This bears, as it seems to me, every mark of a creed. Such a creed as would be inserted in a letter by a man who had learnt by heart a regular form. Nor does the passage stand alone. Here is another from the Epistle of S. Polycarp to the Philippians :—

Believing in Him who raised our LORD JESUS CHRIST from the dead;
 And gave Him a throne and glory on His right hand;
 To whom all things in heaven and earth were subjected;
 Whom every living creature serves;
 Who is coming as JUDGE of quick and dead;
 Whose Blood GOD will require of those who disobey Him;
 But He who raised Him from the dead will also raise us, (if we do His will,) &c.—*Ep. of S. Polyc. ad Phil. ii.*

And here is a very strong case from the Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Trallians. “Stop,” says he, “your ears, therefore, when any one speaks without (χωρίς) JESUS CHRIST :”—

Who was from the race of David;
 Who was from Mary;
 Who was truly born, ate and drank;
 Was truly persecuted by Pontius Pilate;
 Was truly crucified, and died; while things in heaven and on earth and under the earth looked on;
 Who was also truly raised from the dead by the FATHER who raised Him;
 After the same manner as He will also raise up us who believe in Him by JESUS CHRIST,
 Without Whom we have not the true Life.—*Ep. Trall. xi.*

Compare this with the creed given above from the Smyrnæans. With the exception of the clause of *the Baptism*, which is wanting in the Trallians, the two are very like, and supplement one another in a singular manner. The last clause in the Trallians has something very like *the Life everlasting*. The last clause but one of the Smyrnæans looks very like a rough draft of *the Communion of Saints*. Altogether they are very much what one would write oneself if one were to throw the Apostles' Creed

faithful.

Look also at this passage in the Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Ephesians (chap. xviii.) :—

Our GOD, JESUS CHRIST,
Was conceived in the womb (*ἐν κοιλίᾳ*) by Mary, according to GOD's dispensation,
Of the seed of David and of the HOLY GHOST,
Who was born, and was baptized,
That by the Passion He might cleanse the water.—*Eph.* xviii.

Supposing this to be a relic of a creed existing in ante-Nicene times in a Liturgy or in a Baptismal Office (the passage in the Smyrnæans gives the baptism clause too), it is possible that this last clause may have furnished the original of Tertullians' expression. (I quote from memory) :—

Utpote nondum adimpletâ gloriâ Domini, nec institutâ efficacîâ lavacri per Passionem et Resurrectionem ipsius."—*De Baptismo*.

S. Ignatius seems to allude to the same formula in Chapter xx. of the same Epistle :—

Come together
In one Faith, and in one JESUS CHRIST,
Who was of the race of David according to the flesh,
SON OF MAN, and SON of GOD, &c.—*Eph.* xx.

Here is another passage from the Epistle to the Magnesians. Warning them against false doctrine, he tells them that "in the Church (*ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ*) there is one form of prayer, one supplication," (*μία προσευχή, μία δέησις*),—an useful hint respecting the Liturgies, by the way,) and that therefore they are "to approach, as to one altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), to one JESUS CHRIST." He directs them, therefore, not to go astray to false doctrine (*ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις*). For holy men have undergone persecution in order that misbelievers should be fully convinced (*πληροφορηθῆναι*) that—

There is One GOD who manifested Himself by JESUS CHRIST His SON.

Compare this with the famous passage in S. Hermas, which was fought for both by Catholics and Arians; and which so startles those who are accustomed to believe in the absence of clear dogma before the Nicene period.

First of all believe that—

There is One GOD :
Who created and formed all things of
Nothing into Being :
He comprehends all things,

And alone is incomprehensible :
Who can neither be defined by word
Nor conceived by the mind,
Therefore, believe in Him.—*S. Herm. Mand. i.*

S. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær. iv. 20*) says :—

Well, therefore, has *the Scripture* pronounced which says, “First of all, believe that there is One GOD.”

This, of course, is generally taken as a strong proof of the early veneration for S. Hermas. But if S. Hermas had any early form of a creed in his memory, there may be another reason for the use of the word. In the First Vision of S. Hermas are some expressions which may be referred to the same thing :—“GOD, Who dwells in Heaven, and framed all things “ of nothing into being, and multiplied them for the sake of “ His Holy Church.”

To return to S. Ignatius. He goes on to speak to the Magnesians about the Life in CHRIST (chap. ix.) :—

How (says he) shall we be able to live without (*χωρίς*) Him whose disciples the Prophets being, did by the SPIRIT expect Him as a Master? And for this reason He whom they justly awaited being come (*παρὼν*), raised them from the dead.

He therefore exhorts them not to Judaize, and continues with these words :—

As one of the least among you I am desirous to forewarn you that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine, but that ye be fully instructed in the Birth, and in the Passion, and in the Resurrection, which took place in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate; being truly and certainly accomplished by JESUS CHRIST our Hope, from which may GOD forbid that any of you be turned aside. . . Study, therefore, to be confirmed (*βεβαιωθῆναι*) in the doctrines of our LORD and of the Apostles (*ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*).—*Ep. Magnes. xii.*

This passage, though not explicit, seemed to me to court attention, and to compare well with 1 Cor. xv. 3. This last text, indeed, is a good subject for testing the critical value of the opinion advanced here respecting the indications of a creed in the Apostolic Fathers. For I think that the passages here quoted from S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp are all far closer in diction and in completeness to the creed which we possess than is that passage in the Corinthians. Yet it is unhesitatingly assumed by our best Liturgists that this last contains at least the elements of a creed. Mr. Freeman says :—

The creed in the earliest times would, of course, be comparatively brief: but the rudiments at least of such a formula were certainly delivered by S. Paul to the Churches, (*vide* 1 Cor. xv. 1, &c.), and, doubtless, by the other Apostles. And it is almost inconceivable that the Churches of the East can have secured a correct, uniform, and universal acquaintance with the articles of the Christian faith on the part of their members in any other way than by using the creed, from the time its very rudiments existed, in their public Offices.—*Principles of Divine Service*, vol. i. p. 98.

I heartily agree with him, and believe that these Fathers were quoting the creed used in their Liturgy, which creed was, of course, superseded after the Nicene period by the authoritative creeds of the Councils.

These, then, are the passages on which I wish to have your opinion. They are not the only ones towards which the study of the Apostolic Fathers should be concentrated, with a view to Liturgical knowledge. I am conscious of having only scraped the surface of a very rich soil. There are many other passages which I passed with a longing eye, and a positive conviction that a wider knowledge than mine, and a keener eye, may yet draw from them treasures which I can indicate, but not extract without further study. However, I send you what I have got, and shall await your verdict.

Yours truly,

GERARD MOULTRIE.

Reading,

Eve of the Ascension,

1862.





XVI.

STUDIES OF THE WESTERN CHURCH,

1815—1861.



CONTEMPORARY Ecclesiastical History—where shall we look for it? Inquire for any annals of the English Church from the rise of Wesleyanism to the present time—the work does not exist. In France, the Abbé Guettée's history only comes down to 1801. In Spain

and Portugal the series of newspapers would alone form the ecclesiastical annals of the last seventy years. Austria's Church history finds a tolerably interesting writer in Gams; but that of the other German States must be picked out of concordats and gazettes, local histories and descriptions. Italy, as distinct from the papacy, is quite silent. Prussia—as our list shows—is rather more fortunate. Of the Universal Church, during that most eventful period since the Congress of Vienna, there is no detailed history; the best *résumé* is undoubtedly contained in the last 150 pages of Dr. Alzog's book.

Whoever is to be the Baronius of the present century will have difficulties to contend with of which that great father of Church history, of which Pagi, of which Cabassutius, of which Fleury, of which Natalis Alexander, knew nothing. The enormous mass of works which he must procure and study, however formidable a hindrance, is nothing to that which arises from the disuse of Latin as the European language for Church history. Even granting that a scholar, devoted to the task, might master, in a few years, all the Romance languages of Europe sufficiently to serve his purpose, and, in a few more, under the same limits, the Teutonic tongues; then comes the more terrible difficulty of Slavonic, culminating from its easiest family, the old Church language, to its hardest, that most fearful study of Polish. And

after that, Magyar lies behind him. And all this for the modern Church history of Europe alone.

We propose, in the following paper, to give a brief sketch of the Church history of Europe from the Congress of Vienna to the present time. We must bespeak the reader's kind consideration, and will previously apologise for the mistakes into which we are almost certain we shall fall. All we can pledge ourselves to do, is that we will not spare our labour. It is curious to think how very little is known of events which have happened in our own days, of personages who have lived within the last twenty years, when compared with similar events and people in the early and mediæval Church. How many, for instance, who are intimately acquainted with the life of Athanasius, of our own Thomas of Canterbury, of Gregory VII, never heard the name of the ever-memorable Clement August von der Drofte? Ask for the teaching of Nestorianism, and you shall get a fluent answer; put a question about S. Simonianism—and a blank silence. A man shall tell you what was condemned at Constance in 1415, who is perfectly ignorant what great doctor narrowly escaped censure at Bordeaux in 1853. And such names as those of Frayssinons, Balmez, Sailer, Hinterberger, Brentano, Klee, Gitzler, Powondra, Reinhe, and the like, how unknown are they to most English ears.

We commence at the period when the fountains of the great deep, broken up by the First Revolution, seemed to have subsided. It is marvellous to think that, from the very first to the very last, that tempestuous period only lasted twenty-six years; in other words, that our Queen's present length of reign is not so far short of measuring it. And what portentous changes it had brought on the Church! Monasticism swept out of France, a third part of her bishoprics suppressed, the union of the secular and ecclesiastical rule, in such sees as Salzburg, Cologne, Mayence, Liège, at an end for ever; the Holy Roman Empire, that secular correlative of the Papacy, shattered in pieces; the Church treasures of Spain and Portugal utterly gone; religious houses in Belgium escaping but by the skin of their teeth; Austria and Bavaria secularising nearly half their convents; in fact, Naples and Sicily the only lands that retained unaltered the old *régime*. The temporal power of the Papacy seemed trembling in the scale; another large Protestant kingdom had arisen, partly on the ruins of Austria. The times seemed very dark for the Latin Church when the Congress of Vienna met.

Gregory Barnabas Chiaromonte, Cardinal Bishop of Imola, was then in the sixteenth year of his pontificate as Pius VII. Considering the composition of the Congress at Vienna, that no

man of eminent talent espoused the interests of the Church, that Dalberg, Primate of Germany, would not interfere, the general decision of the assembled statesmen was remarkably favourable to the Holy See, especially in the precedence which they accorded to its legates. True, Consalvi, Vicar-General of Constance, Papal Nuncio at Vienna, felt himself bound to issue a protest against certain acts which trench on Roman prerogative; but, on the whole, the calm holy old man who then steered S. Peter's bark must have felt that he had achieved a victory. On the dissolution of the Congress, the altered territorial disposition of Germany first claimed the attention of Rome. The new kingdom of Wurtemberg had aggregated to itself parts of the once independent bishoprics of Constance, Wurzburg, Worms, Spire; Baden, too, Nassau, and Electoral Hesse had so changed their hands as to necessitate an altered ecclesiastical régime. Accordingly, by the bull *Provida solersque sollicitudo* (Aug. 16, 1821), Freiburg in Breisgau (not many years before given up by Austria) was constituted the archbishopric for the Grand Duchy of Baden; with the suffragan sees of Rottenburg for Wurtemberg (the Lutheran ecclesiastics evincing a great objection to the creation of a bishopric in Stuttgart), Limburg for Nassau, Mainz for Hesse Darmstadt, and Fulda for Electoral Hesse. The bull *De salute animarum* (July 16, 1821) settled the ecclesiastical affairs of Prussia; and, in 1824, a concordat for Hanover re-established the two sees of Osnabrück and Hildesheim. The reintroduction of the Jesuits into some of the Italian States, the reform and aggrandisement of the Propaganda, principally carried on by Cardinal Pedicini, and a perpetual struggle with the Carbonari, occupied the Pope's last years. A concordat with Victor Emmanuel, of Sardinia, gave that kingdom nineteen bishoprics under the archiepiscopal Sees of Turin, Vercelli, and Genoa. Another, with Ferdinand, of Naples, united some few small sees in Calabria, increasing their number in Sicily. Dignities in abbeys, and collegiate and cathedral churches, were reserved in the first six months to the Pope, in the last to the bishop. Church property remained with an *uti possedetis*. Full of years and honour, Pius VII. departed this life August 21, 1823, having lived eighty-two years, and held the Pontificate twenty-three; a year shorter than his predecessor, longer than any other pontiff but one. Those who sat more than twenty-one years are only—

| | Years. | Months. | Days. |
|-------------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| Pius VI. | 24 | 6 | 14 |
| Hadrian I. | 23 | 10 | 17 |
| Pius VII. | 23 | 5 | 6 |
| Alexander III. | 21 | 11 | 23 |
| S. Silvester I. | 21 | 0 | 4 |

It is well known that an ancient tradition forbids the hope to any of S. Peter's successors *pervenire ad annos Petri* : i. e. to reign twenty-five years.

While we are on this subject, we may mention the very singular rule, or rather coincidence, which has been imagined to determine, in the earlier half of a century, the length of the reigning pontiff's life. Add his number to the number of his predecessor, and that to ten, and the result is the fatal year. Pius VII. succeeded Pius VI.—six and seven are thirteen ; add ten, which makes twenty-three ; Pius VII. died in 1823. Leo XII. succeeded Pius VII.—twelve and seven are nineteen ; add ten, and you have twenty-nine ; Leo XII. died in 1829. Pius VIII. succeeded Leo XII.—eight and twelve are twenty ; add ten, thirty ; Pius VIII. died in 1830.

Pius VII. was succeeded by the Cardinal Hannibal de la Genga, who took the name of Leo XII. The holiness of this pontiff's life was never denied ; but his strong political views, concurring as they did with the height of the reactionism against the French Revolution, left, no doubt, an influence on the Holy See, which, in after days, brought forth sad trouble. He became an especial mark for Protestant indignation, on account of the bull *Ut primum ad summi*, in which he especially condemned Bible Societies. His chief work was the reorganization of the Bishopricks of Brazil—in connection with the separation of that vast empire from Portugal. He died Feb. 10, 1829.

After an interregnum of forty-nine days, Cardinal Castiglioni succeeded as Pius VIII. Times were now changing. Reform was advancing with hasty steps in England—the Legitimist dynasty was almost at an end in France. The new pontiff had but little time allowed to show how completely he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor. He nobly exerted himself in the cause of the poor slaves in Brazil—put forth the whole power of Rome in the matter of mixed marriages in the Rheno-Prussian provinces ;—entertained a closer correspondence with the "Uniat" Armenians ; and considered freemasonry of so deistical a tendency as to direct a bull against it. It was at the commencement of his pontificate that that most righteous act of "Catholic Emancipation" was carried in England. The July revolution broke out—Charles X. became an exile ;—and the difficulties and dangers of the time are imagined, by his biographer, to have shortened the good but rather narrow-minded pontiff's life. He went, as we may piously believe, to a better world, on S. Andrew's day, 1830.

The conclave which followed—in its fifty days' length—fixed

the eye of Europe on its deliberations, on account of the gloomy state of both the political and ecclesiastical atmosphere ;—till at length, on Candlemas Day, 1831, the words, *Evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum—habemus Papam*, were heard from that eagerly watched window ; and Cardinal Mauro Capellari was chosen, and took the name of Gregory XVI. The commencement of his Pontificate was marked by the rebellion of Bologna, and the uneasy feeling of sympathy which manifested itself in Rome itself—both crushed out, for that time, by the Austrian soldiery. The glory of his reign, however, consisted in the unusual number of brilliant scholars who then flourished at Rome. In dogmatic theology, Perrone and Delsignore ; in Scripture exegesis, Patri-tius ; in philosophy, Ventura, Orsi, Bonelli. Angelo Mai, the learned librarian of the Vatican, and that marvel of languages, Mezzofanti, were both advanced by Gregory to a place in the Sacred College. The great blow which under this Pope the Roman Church received in the re-amalgamation with the Eastern Church of the Uniats of White Russia, has been too often referred to in these pages to need more than one sentence here ; while the troubles connected with Lemennais, and the struggle between Cologne and Berlin, will better be told in another place. Gregory XVI. departed this life, June 1, 1846. As dark times seemed at hand, an instant choice was necessary. The conclave only sat three days, and on June 16 Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, then only fifty-four years of age, became Pius IX.

The early alliance of this pontiff with liberal notions—its unsatisfactory result—the revolution at Rome—his flight to Gaeta—the French intervention—all these matters are fresh in the remembrance of our readers. Pius IX's ecclesiastical actions have certainly afforded matter for history. His encyclic to the Oriental Christians (Jan. 6, 1848), which we noticed at the time, raised a perfect storm of indignation in the East. Not unnatural, indeed, was the feeling ; it is only to be regretted that the temper of the document in which the Patriarch replied was not equal to the soundness of its reasoning. The most celebrated and by far the saddest event of his pontificate was the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of the faith (Dec. 8, 1854), a day hereafter to be remembered with bitter tears by the Latin Church ; and his confirmation of that declaration in the bull *Ineffabilis*—thenceforward a wider gulf than ever between us and Rome—while the great schism of East and West is fearfully exasperated, and grievous injury done to those great saints like Bernard, who strongly opposed as even a permissive belief what is now asserted as a certainty. The bulls

of Sept. 24, 1850, and March 7, 1853, which constituted a Roman hierarchy respectively in England and in Holland, must not be forgotten. Happier works were, the Concordat with Spain (March 16, 1851), with Austria (Aug. 18, 1855), Wurtemberg (April 8, 1857), and Costa Rica (June 9, 1858). The principal Cardinals raised by him to the scarlet hat are, Von Geissel, Archbishop of Cologne; Von Scitofski, Archbishop of Gran; Wiseman, so-called of Westminster; and Von Rauscher, of Vienna. The saints he has canonized are, of Jesuits—John de Britto and Peter Claver; John Grande, of the order of S. John of GOD; and Paul of the Cross, who founded the order of that name; also Maria Anna de Paredes.

It is worth while, before we turn from the See of Rome, to look at the characters given to the Popes whose reigns we have been considering, in the famous prophecy of S. Malachi; because, whether his or not, we cannot but believe it to be more than a coincidence that the prediction and fact should so tally. It was first printed in 1595, by Arnold Wyon, in his "*Lignum Vitæ*;" but the reader may most easily see it in Moreri's Dictionary, or M. Henrion's *Histoire des Papes* (Paris, 1832).

Pius VII. *Aquila rapax.*

Is not this a wonderful motto, when we remember how the French eagle swooped on the aged Pontiff, and ravened him out of his possessions?

Leo XII. *Canis et Coluber.*

Pius VIII. *Vir religiosus.*

Gregory XVI. *De Balneis Etruriæ.*

He was of the order of the Camaldulites; and the baths of Camaldole in Tuscany, their mother-house, are famous.

Pius IX. *Crux de Cruce.*

The arms of Sardinia are a cross argent; a heavy cross indeed to the reigning pontiff. (We believe that this is the first time this explanation has been given—the prophecy not having been re-published since the crowning aggression of Sardinia.)

The remaining eleven Pontiffs—for according to this prophecy, there will be only eleven more—are thus characterized:

1. *Lumen in celo.*

2. *Ignis ardens.*

3. *Religio depopulata.*

4. *Fides intrepida.*

5. *Pastor angelicus.*

6. *Pastor et nauta.*

7. *Flos florum.*

8. *De medietate lune.*

9. *De labore solis.*

10. *Gloria olive.*

11. In persecutione extremâ sacræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sedebit PETRUS Romanus, qui pascet oves in multis tribulationibus: quibus transactis, civitas septicollis diruetur, et Judex tremendus judicabit populum.

In connection with this last prediction, we may remark that Imperial Rome began and ended in Augustus—the ten tribes in Oshea or Hoshea.

We will next give a glance at the history of the Church in each principal European nation; and will commence with France.

On the accession of Louis XVIII. the Catholic faith was in the constitutional charter established as the national religion, with toleration for Lutherans and Calvinists; but not—so far as regards public teaching—for any sectarian who declined to class himself in one or the other of the two recognized heresies. The King himself was a man of real piety: but his encouragement of and attendance on religious processions in a city which, only twenty-one years before, had raised on its Cathedral high altar, and there worshipped, a naked prostitute, was doubtless in the highest degree injudicious. Taking the hint from our own Christian Knowledge Society, “The Catholic Association for the Dispersion of Christian Books” was formed under the presidency of the Duke de Montmorency, and soon obtained considerable success. A new concordat with Rome was arranged under the management of Count Blacas and De Persigny, (July 11, 1817), superseding that of Leo X. with Francis I. and the organic Articles of 1801. By the latter arrangement, the French sees had been fixed at the number of sixty; ten archbishops, fifty bishops. But one whole metropolitan province, Meclun, with its seven bishops, had since been lost to France; so had the See of Nice, in the province of Aix. The suppressed *régime* had contained 23 archbishops and 133 bishops. The new concordat proposed to strike a mean between the two; and immediately met with great opposition in the Chambers, and could not be carried out till 1822; the number was then fixed at sixty-six bishops and fourteen archbishops. The French traveller will observe the evil consequences arising from the suppression or union of so many sees. Laon was joined to Soissons; the old diocese of Laon is one of the most dead in France. Beauvais and Noyon were added to Senlis; Noyon at least (for of Beauvais the writer knows less) is very sluggish. So with regard to Toul, which went to the comparatively modern see of Nancy. We give instances with which we are familiarly acquainted.

Another difficulty had to be contended against; the depressed and impoverished condition of the Church rendered it hard to find labourers for her vineyard. The younger sons of the nobility who could have been commendatory abbés, or deans, or who might have accumulated a few prebendal stalls in various

collegiate churches, would now scorn to accept a bishopric. It was actually hailed as a symptom of reviving religion in 1823, that two hundred priests in that year had been ordained more than had died. The King exerted himself to remedy the financial difficulties of the Church; and, in a short time, her revenues were increased by the yearly increase of nearly 4,000,000 francs. What was that, however, compared to her enormous wealth previous to '89? And, in good truth, however laudable in Louis XVIII. was the effort, this outward mine of wealth could do nothing without the inward advances of earnestness. Nor were tokens of the latter wanting. Even then the influx of German and Flemish workmen had begun, which has since, in Alsace, raised Colmar and Thann, and Soultz and Uebweller, to be what they are. In like manner, Flanders has made Lille and Roubaix rivals of our own manufacturing towns. The Brothers of Christian Doctrine, the spiritual offspring of the venerable De la Salle, then first began to assume their present importance; and the Ursulines were honourably distinguished above the other orders for their zeal in education, for the propagation of the faith prospered greatly. Nor was the Church deficient in writers; Frayssinons, Bishop of Hermopolis *in partibus*—he died in 1841; De Maistre (1821); and Cardinal Bonald (1840), are, with whatever drawbacks in the case of the second, names that deserve to live in honour.

The accession of Charles X. (Sept. 19, 1824) was followed by intenser strife between the Royalist and Liberal parties. The King himself, like his brother, was a man of strong religious feelings. The attempt to carry a law of sacrilege (1825) through the Chambers, followed by the address of sixty archbishops and bishops, gave rise to a reaction. Very unwillingly, the monarch was compelled to suppress the Jesuits' schools, by an ordinance of July 16, 1828:—the bishops protested in no measured language; Leo XII. assumed the part of apologist for the King. Two short years, and the Three Days made Charles X. an exile for life; and the Gallican Church entered, under Louis Philippe, the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

The new charter no longer recognized the Catholic as the religion of the State; only as that of the majority of the French people. The Papacy had learnt wisdom from experience, and, in reply to a formal question of the Archbishop of Paris, ordered the clergy to acquiesce in, and to pray for, the new dynasty. Everywhere, however, the masses seemed to be separating from the Church; and, in consequence of an imprudent service performed in S. Germain l'Auxerrois for the soul of the Duke of Berri, on the anniversary of his murder, the mob not only gutted the church, but also the Archbishop's palace.

It was under these circumstances that Lamennais, Gerbet, Lacordaire, the Count de Montalembert, and others, united in a journal called *L'Avenir*: its motto, "God and freedom," showed its aim. The Church was not an arbitrary, not a Legitimist body: the Church, the champion of freedom in the middle ages, ought to be and should be so now. Intellectual freedom was her doctrine, and so forth;—and by degrees this kind of teaching degenerated here and there into a near approach to free-thinking. Still, the attempt was well meant; and, though some check was necessary, one cannot but feel that the authors were harshly treated. There was somewhat really dangerous, no doubt, in the work: somewhat also that only appeared dangerous to the narrow-minded advisers of the Court of Rome. *L'Avenir* was condemned by an encyclic of Gregory XVI. August 15, 1832, and immediately ceased to appear. The other writers submitted themselves unreservedly to the censure; Lamennais only grew hardened, and presently produced the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," and the still more frightful "*Livre du Peuple*," the "*Essays and Reviews*" of that day. He had now thrown off the profession of the Catholic faith; and the ablest pens on the side of the Church were put into requisition against him. None wrote better or more touchingly than his former friend Gerbet: *—

On sent tout ce que ces paroles me content. Celui qui déclare une guerre ouverte à l'Eglise, qui prophétise sa ruine, qui, dans les dernières pages de l'écrit qu'il vient de publier, n'a pas craint d'outrager, par le plus brutal sarcasme, l'auguste vieillard que la Chrétienté salue du nom de Père, a eu en moi un ancien ami, qui l'aimait d'une amitié née au pied des autels, et qui avait pour lui autant de dévotion, je crois, qu'aucun de ces amis nouveaux qui sont venus courtoiser sa révolte. A ce souvenir je tombe aux genoux, offrant pour lui à Dieu des prières, dans lesquelles il n'a plus foi: et je ne me relève que pour combattre dans l'ami de ma jeunesse l'ennemi de tout ce que j'aime d'un éternel amour.

Thus fell one of the ablest of French ecclesiastics, Lamennais. May GOD have had mercy on his soul!

During the whole of Louis Philippe's troubled reign the Church seemed to be losing ground. No fashionable man, in the capital, but would have been ashamed to confess to the world that he was a regular attendant at mass. Readers of the French journals of that time must remember how, in the Chambers, if reference were wished to be made to any fact which could only be patent to a worshipper in the church, the stereotyped formula was,—"*Happening to be in—such a church—the other day, on occasion of a marriage, I there saw,*" &c.

* We quote, not from the original, which at this moment is not before us, but from Alzog.

And the opposition offered to this tide of irreligion was chiefly by the ultra-development of the worship of S. Mary,—or by that sickly, sensuous, sentimental devotion to the Heart of JESUS. At the same time, powerful pens were enlisted on the Catholic side; De Montalembert, whom, in spite of his wrong-headedness to the English Church, the writer is proud to reckon as a friend; Lacordaire, Rio:—and now, too, Rohrbacher began his learned, though confused and Ultramontane “*Histoire de l’Eglise*.” The Abbé Migne’s “*Patrologia*”—poor, hurried, and meagre as is the text—let no one ever trust to it—yet opened out a path which may hereafter be followed with great success. And later came the singular controversy, in which the Abbé Gaume took so great a share—that of the *Ver Rongeur*:—whether studies of the classical authors, usually so called, can be the fitting education of a Christian priest. The wisdom with which Rome mediated in the dispute is most remarkable.

Towards 1840, the Church began to recover her ground. The very curious discussions instituted in the churches of Paris—where one priest took the part of the infidel, the other of the Catholic—both, within certain limits, doing their best, drew interested multitudes. The present writer is not afraid to express his opinion, that, horribly profane as our English habits would make them here, in the city where they had their birth they were right, and they did good. The increasing influence of the Church is seen in the ministerial circular of May 22, 1841, which gave the Sisters of Charity such increased facilities of doing good.

During the interval which separated the fall of Louis Philippe from the Presidentship of Louis Bonaparte, the future of the French Church, to human eyes, seemed very doubtful. The wretched imposture of La Salette, the more wretched, because so devoutly believed in by many and many a faithful soul, undoubtedly, on the whole, strengthened the Church’s cause for a time. But was there ever such a success won without a reaction? The noble death of the Archbishop of Paris at the barricades, also, doubtless, was one living fact of the Church’s influence.

The present Emperor, as we know, has found it politically convenient, on the whole, to “patronize” the Church. *Nam tali auxilio*. But in her own energy and hard work the French Church may, especially in particular provinces, take just pride. To our mind, Belgium is the most earnest of all Roman Catholic countries. But next to that, Brittany (speaking generally), the whole western coast of France, ancient Burgundy and Auvergne

—then Normandy and Picardy—and then Dauphiné and Franche-Comté, are noble examples of real Christian work. Lorraine, Alsace, and great part of Champagne, seem to us about the deadeſt portion of the Church.

The remarkable efforts which Gallicaniſm has made during the laſt ten years deſerve at leaſt ſome notice. The *Obſervateur Catholique* is, we hope, known to many of our readers :—it ought at leaſt to be. Still more remarkable is *L'Union*, avowedly written by members of different branches of the Church. The great literary work of this revival is the Abbé Guettée's "*Histoire de l'Eglise de France*," which will immortalize his name, while it has ruined his earthly proſpects.

It was probably to override this naſcent ſpirit of Gallicaniſm that the provincial Councils of 1853 were held. That of Bordeaux, held at La Rochelle, was by far the moſt remarkable. It was ſeriously propoſed to condemn Boſſuet, and the Gallican Articles of 1682 : Guettée's hiſtory was condemned. As a ſpecimen of the compoſition of all, let us give the names of the component Biſhops of this :—

Donnet, Cardinal Archbiſhop of Bordeaux.
 Villecourt, Biſhop of La Rochelle.
 George, Biſhop of Perigueux.
 De Levezou de Vefins, Biſhop of Agen.
 Bailles, Biſhop of Luçon.
 Pie, Biſhop of Poitiers.
 Couſſeau, Biſhop of Angoulême.
 Leherpeur, Biſhop of S. Pierre and Fort-de-France (Martinique).
 Deſprez, Biſhop of S. Denis de la Reunion (Isles de la R.).
 Forcade, Biſhop of Baſſe-Terre (Guadaloupe).

Theſe three Colonial Biſhops lead, by compariſon with ourſelves, to the conſideration :—1. How utterly impoſſible it would be to conduct a colonial ſyſtem like our own on ſuch principles. 2. Have moſt of our prelates zeal enough to croſs the Atlantic, or the Southern Ocean, to attend a provincial council?

We may now turn our attention to Spain.

Here, immediately after the return of Ferdinand VII. in 1814, we find the Church in the ſame unhappy league with Abſolutiſm, and in the ſame oppoſition to ſo-called Liberaliſm, as in other European States. Ferdinand's tottering throne was upheld by the French advance of 1823 : but he gradually loſt the confidence of the "priest party," to uſe the wretched modern jlang—in plain Engliſh, of the National Church—and even in his life-time a plot was carried on for raiſing his brother, Don Carlos, to the throne. On the death of his firſt wife, the King married

his niece, Maria Christina, of Naples. And, be it observed, to the infamous dispensation which permitted him so to do, the Church of Spain owes her bitterest enemies. Ferdinand, finding his health declining, and the hope of a son at an end, abolished the then Salic Law of Spain, declared his daughter heir, in exclusion of his brother, and died on Michaelmas Day, 1833. The Basque Provinces and Arragon broke out in rebellion against Isabella II, a child of three years old. The clergy generally favoured Don Carlos. It was our own struggle of 1715 and 1745 over again; only fought out with the semi-Arabian blood of Spaniards. The cholera attacked Madrid (1834). The monks—ultra-monarchical beyond the secular clergy—were declared to have poisoned the wells. The most horrible calumnies were propagated against them: but, alas! there was also much horrible truth—not so much against the monasteries as against the cathedral and collegiate churches. It is wretched to speak of such things. But, acquainted as the writer is with the Peninsula, it would be dishonest in him not to confess them. The Chapter of Seville had about seventy greater and fifty lesser dignitaries. Of the former, at the dissolution, scarcely one but had his acknowledged mistress—his *barragana*—for the clergy had the disgrace of an especial word for such a connection. What a state of things that must have been when the proverb was current—

En la calle de los Abades
 Todos han *Tios*, y ningunos *Padres*.

Or this;—the “Commandments of the Canons:”—

El primero—
 Es amar a Don Dinero;
 El segundo—
 Es amolar a todo el mundo;
 El tercero—
 Buen vaca y carnero;
 El cuarto—
 Ajunar despues de harto;
 El quinto—
 Buen blanco y tinto:
 Y ellos cinco se encierran en dos,
 Todo para mi, y nada para vos.

The first—Sir Money to love with zeal;
 The second—to grind the world to meal;
 The third—of mutton and beef good store;
 The fourth—*he* may fast who can eat no more;
 The fifth—good wine both white and red:
 —And yet one thing remains to be said;
 The whole of the five may be summ'd in two,
 —All for me, and nothing for you!

Nevertheless, though these horrid scandals no doubt prevailed in some of the larger monasteries and collegiate establishments, the countless country foundations were the positive blessings of the land. Centres of religious teaching, charity, civilization—excellent landlords, skilful agriculturists—they formed the material for the enormous mass of Spanish ecclesiastical memoirs, and by subscribing to them they rendered publication possible. No sooner did a Church history come out, than some 1000 or 1200 copies were taken by the monastic libraries. Hence such glorious works as Florez's "*España Sagrada*;" which though nominally continued since the dissolution, is so only by Government aid, is little read,—and *comparatively*, from the wholesale destruction of records, little worth reading.

The law of June 21, 1835, suppressed NINE HUNDRED monasteries. The rest fell under the Jewish apostate, Mendizabal, on the 11th of the following October. In 1837 the Cortes declared tithes and all other possessions of the Church national property. A small pension was allotted to each monk, but never, or seldom, paid. The present writer first visited Spain in June, 1843. It was the most touching thing to see these poor aged men, ghosts of their former selves, ashamed yet forced to beg, creeping about the chapels of that great cathedral of Seville, or emerging from behind one of the enormous piers, and asking "in the most sweet name of JESUS," if it were but for a single *cuarto*. And all this sacrilege, did it enrich the land? Not by one farthing. The vast sums went, none knew where: no man made his fortune by them; the national exchequer was poorer than ever; land of course, having lost its best agriculturists, fell out of cultivation: and the cry of the poor went up to heaven. If any one wishes to see the *waste*, the brutal waste, of the suppression, let him go to Valladolid. There, in a hall of the museum, are some eighteen or twenty set of magnificent cinquecento stalls, some inlaid with marqueterie, some after the Grinling Gibbons style of foliage, collected from the suppressed monasteries, and there brought together to no possible purpose; not studies of art, not valuable as examples, never used, and never to be used. There also are *colgaduras*, *trasparentes*, *sagrarios*, and *facissoles*, that once would have delighted the very heart of an ecclesiologist, but which now are buried in a saloon, where they are hurried over by the visitor, and then consigned to the silence and solitude of weeks. But to return to our subject. A plan of Church reform was brought forward in 1837, which involved the suppression of seventeen and the erection of five sees. Numbers of priests and several bishops joined Don Carlos. Rome refused bulls for their successors; see after see fell vacant; and serious thoughts were

entertained of breaking off all connection with the Papal authority, and declaring Spain an independent national Church. At length, when twenty-two bishoprics at home and in the colonies were widowed, Don Julian Villalba was sent as agent to Rome. The Church found, however, her defenders; and the journals called *The Catholic*, *The Prophet*, and *Religion* were not without their influence. Then came the Septembrist battle of 1840, which had for its aim the banishment of Christina. Insurrectionary juntas were formed all over the country: venerable pastors and bishops were everywhere driven away; and miserable priests, suspended for infamous lives, or overwhelmed with debt, had but to call themselves *liberal*, and to step into what place they might fancy. The majority of the assessors of the *Rota de la nunciatura Apostolica* were suspended by the Madrid Junta. The Papal Nuncio, Ramirez de Arellano, protested. The Government of Espartero instantly gave him his passport, and ordered the police to see him over the frontier. Gregory XVI. in an allocution of March 1, 1841, set forth the manifold wrongs which that Government had done to the Church of Spain. It was answered by a manifesto of Espartero. The mob was everywhere hounded on against the priests—the Minister of Grace and Justice especially distinguished himself by the brutality of his language, and the insolence of his acts. The Pope, as a last resource, demanded, in an energetic epistle, the prayers of all the faithful for the persecuted Church of Spain.

Then it was seen that, notwithstanding all the dross that had gathered round it, there was yet fine gold that went into this furnace of affliction. Many a heroic action was then performed by priests, that yet lives in the hearth-talk of a winter night amidst the wild glens of the Alpujarras, or the upland farms of Oviedo, or the dreary *paramos* of Castile. Bishops there were, too, who set their faces like a flint against the incoming of blasphemy and infidelity, under the title of Liberalism. All honour to such men as Rafael de Velez, Archbishop of Santiago; as Fernando de Echanove y Zaldivar, Bishop of Tarragona; as Simon de Guardiola, of Urgel; as Fort y Puig, of Barbastro; as Felix Herrero y Valverde, of Orihuela; and as Domingo de Silos Moreno, of Cadiz. Balmez, perhaps the greatest theologian of his time, exerted himself in keeping up the courage of the younger priests. "Learn wisdom," he cried, "at the foot of "the cross, and this century is yours! Feel the privilege of "the light affliction, which is but for a moment, and unborn "Spaniards shall honour you as the LORD'S confessors! On "you hang the golden hopes of this country. Give way, and "she will sink lower and lower in the scale of nations: stand

“firm, and the present troubles are but her agony into a glorious “future.” Another noble name, too, Donoso Cortes, shows that even then, in her lowest degradation, Spain possessed at least one Catholic and honourable statesman. Against him it was that the *Times* used to spit its bitterest venom.

With the assumption of the reins of government by Isabella II. affairs mended a little. Gradually Rome and the Court of Madrid drew together; and in one day, Aug. 16, 1847, the following sees were filled:—Toledo, Cordova, Cuença, Sigüenza, Jaen, Carthagena, Osma, Avila, Granada, Santander, Gerona, Teruel, Majorca; thirteen in all. Almost as many were filled in the next month, and several in October. On March 16, 1851, the Concordat was signed, but the Church received another blow by the return of Espartero in 1854; and for a time the Nuncio Franchi left Madrid. Since then a miserable fraction of her property has been restored; but abbeys, convents, in a mass, and many a fair collegiate church are gone for ever.

It must be confessed that there is very little Church-life in Spain at the present moment; and no country, not even England, gives less outward appearance of being Catholic. The Church at present consists of the following provinces; the number of suffragans is affixed to each.

Patriarchate of the Indies, titular.

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Toledo, 7. | Granada, 2. | Valencia, 4. |
| Valladolid,* } | Burgos, 5. | Santiago de Cuba, 2. |
| Santiago, 12. } | Tarragona, 8. | Manila, 3. |
| Seville, 5. | Saragossa, 6. | |

Besides which, there are the exempt bishoprics of Leon and Oviedo; the Abad-Mayor (always a bishop) of Alcala la Real; and the Prior-Bishops of Ucles and San Marcos de Leon. There certainly now needs some reform in territorial arrangements. There are so many exempt parishes, which once depended on some great abbey, but which of course have now no head; so many collegiate churches with episcopal jurisdiction, but which are now scarcely in existence. Some of these jurisdictions *vere nullius*, as the Spaniards call them, are hooked and dovetailed into the middle of a diocese in the strangest imaginable way. There are also arrangements of this nature. In the odd years certain parishes are under the diocesan; in the even years they are *vere nullius*;—others, in the odd months, belong to the former, in the even months to the latter. These singu-

* Valladolid has only lately been raised to an Archbishopric, and the writer is not yet acquainted with the number of its suffragans.

After the Revolution of 1830, the Liberal press became more and more bitter in its attacks against the Church. To oppose these, an able periodical, the *Schweizer Kirchenzeitung*, was set on foot in 1832. But a greater danger sprang up within the Church herself. A strongly Erastian party arose, who advocated her separation from the Roman See. A theologian of some eminence for learning, but no great reputation for piety, Fischer, was at the head: its organ was the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung für Deutschland und die Schweiz*. The cantons which sympathised in the movement met at Baden, in 1834, and drew up certain Conference Articles, in which they made the Church the mere slave of the State. These Articles were condemned by Gregory XVI. in an encyclic of 1836. This led to the refoundation of the celebrated Jesuit College at Freiburg, originally founded by Canisius. Great success attended the work; the semi-infidel schools at Solothurn and Luzerne were well nigh crushed, and a great influx of parents took place into Freiburg. The educational establishment at Montet, for girls, conducted by Sisters of the Heart of Jesus, obtained also great influence.

At the commencement of 1841 the Council of Aargau, in formal contravention of a ground law of the Swiss Confederation, dissolved all the monasteries in that State, the revenues of which amounted to more than 30,000*l.* It was in vain that the Nuncio, Gozzi, and the Austrian ambassador protested. But the storm of indignation that followed compelled the National Council to declare all the sales of the convent property illegal. In January, 1844, the nuns returned to their convents. Bishop von Muri was acquitted of all fault, and the State condemned in costs. The continuous persecution of their enemies induced the Catholic cantons, perhaps imprudently, to form the Sonderbund. Joseph Leu, one of their most prominent leaders, was basely murdered for his religion by Jacob Müller, who was guillotined for the action. Then followed the war of the Sonderbund. The Catholics, besides their inferiority in numbers, were inferior to their opponents in military skill; and Freiburg first, then Luzerne, then the other cantons, were compelled, in November of 1847, to yield. The *vacua vicis* followed. Forty convents were suppressed; the bishop of Lausanne was imprisoned, and afterwards exiled. Then the reaction began. Good Bishop Marilley did more by his patience and labours in banishment than he could have effected by labouring at home. Catholic newspapers sprang up everywhere. A journal of Catholic art was set on foot. Catholic tracts were published for the poor Romance-speaking mountaineers of the Engadine. Catholic hymns and poems were composed for them. The reader may not be displeased to see a

and of the language :—

“ *L'amur da mamma.* ”

• • • • •
Un fecerdot ad ella s'avizina :

“ Tien figl partit sün volonted divina :

Guard' Abraham

Chi sün il clam

Dich : Dieu, sun pront et der il figl ch' eau am.”

“ Sench hom,” replica la adoloreda,

“ Respet tieu dir, ma non rest consoleda :

Mien figl hè pers,

E l'Univers

Non pò, me pü, am der que ch' eau he pers!

“ Dieu 'l cour da mamma memma bain cognuoscha,

E me vefs El mis quel in taunt anguoscha :

Ad Abraham

Fet el il clam :

Sarah vefs dit : ‘ Mieu Dieu, eau memma l'am.’ ”

Finally, in Geneva, where, up to 1793, it was *death* to say *mas*, on Sept. 8, 1859, Bishop Marilley, returned from exile, and assisted by four bishops and 150 secular and regular priests, consecrated the Liebfrauen-Kirche.

The population of Switzerland is given as 882,859 Catholics, as against 1,292,871 Protestants.

We turn to Portugal.

And here we must remember, in the first place, that Portugal differed most widely from Spain in having been deeply imbued with Gallican, and we fear we must also add with Erastian, views, since the Roman revolution of 1640. At that time Rome, out of complaisance to the Court of Spain, refused bulls for many years to the Bishops named by Dom João IV. (the *ci-devant* Duke of Braganza), and only gave way when a congregation of theologians declared that, in the case of so obstinate a refusal, bishops might be canonically consecrated without their bulls. Then the influence of the great Pereira in the eighteenth century, and (next to his translation of the Bible) his two most celebrated works, the “*Tentativa Theologica*” (translated into English by Mr. Landon), and the “*Demonstração Theologica*,” led public opinion in the same way. Even to this day, such works as the Catechism of Montpellier (which Rome calls heretical) are text-books in Portuguese schools.

In the civil war of 1829—1833, there can be no doubt that all that was good in the kingdom was on the side of Dom

Miguel. The very name, of course, was to Englishmen—*Times*—taught and constitution-adoring Englishmen—a synonym for tyrant. That he was rather a grave, stern man, adored by those that knew him, strictly just, a real lover of the poor, to whom that vile sycophant, Dom Pedro, pandered, by indulging their most brutal propensities, will probably here never be believed. It pleased GOD that the unrighteous cause should triumph. Now it was not in Portugal as in Spain. In Portugal, the monks had held aloof from all political agitation. Pedro wanted money, and so he took it from the monasteries; but he could not say, as Donna Isabella's advisers might with truth, that the religious houses had been against him. However, the decree of May 28, 1834, suppressed all at one stroke. Was Portugal enriched? Not by one *centil*.

No country had, in proportion to its size, so many monasteries as Portugal; nowhere was the progress of the nation more bound up with the prosperity of its religious houses. The Benedictine monastery of Lorvão was the first. The valley in which it was situated was then a waste howling wilderness; the monks made it the smiling garden it now is. Well says Diniz:—

Estas asperezas namoravam os monges, que se com fadigas folgavam : elles mesmos não querião viver senão do trabalho da suas mãos, imitando os Apostolos. O paiz escabroso e deserto, por meio do trabalho dos frades, se tornara ameno e risonho : com o suor do seu rosto foi que elles secundaram o solo, que hoje é tão fértil.

Yes; they all fell at one blow: Benedictines, Conegos da Vida Commum, Bernardos, with that historical monastery of Sa. Cruz at Coimbra, Premonstratensians, the Congregation de Rocha Amador, Franciscans with their many divisions, Borrás (the Portuguese title for the third order), Observantines, with their four families, S. Francisco da Cidade (black with white girdle), Xabreganos (black with grey girdle), Recollets (grey with grey girdle), Apostolic missionaries do Varatojo (the same with crucifix on breast)—how we might extend the list! We will only mention the very singular little order called *Pegos Verdes*, which was confined to Algarve. They were laymen, under no vow except of chastity for as long as they remained in their *conventiculo*: they lived by the labour of their hands, and sometimes the whole order consisted only of three persons. They were free to leave their convent when they would, and sometimes did so. They were great favourites with the excellent Bishop of Silves, D. Francisco Gomes de Avellas. They, too, are gone. Batalha, the Westminster of Portugal, with its glorious memories of Aljubarrota; Alcobaça, the finest Cistercian house south of the

in the teeth of a nation's wishes, prevail to their destruction. Hear what Lorrão is now. The description is from the pen of the celebrated historian Herculano, the first literary man in the Portugal of to-day :—

Imagine, meu amigo, uma noite, de inverno, no fundo desta especie do poço perdido no meio da turba de montes que o rodeiam : imagine dezoito ou vinte mulheres idosas mettidas entre quatro paredes humidas e regelladas, sem agasalho, sem lume para se aquecerem, sem pão para se alimentarem, sem energia na alma, e sem forças no corpo, comparando o passado, sentido o presente, anteendo o futuro. Imagine o vento que ruga, a chuva ou a neve fustigando as poucas vidraças, que anida restam no edificio : imagine essas orgias tempestuosas da natureza que passam por cima das lagrimas silenciosas das pobres cistercienses : e as horas eternas que batem na torre. Imagine tudo esse, e sentirá accender-se-lhe no animo uma indignação reconcentrada e inflexivel.

It was only in 1841 that negotiations were again entered into with the Holy See, and the Nuncio Capaccini came to Lisbon to settle a future concordat. In 1843 the Pope gave new bulls to the ecclesiastics nominated to the Patriarchate of Lisbon, the Archbishopric of Braga, and the See of Leiria ; but the concordat was not actually signed till after the accession of Dom Pedro V. In 1856 the cholera, in 1857 the yellow fever, ravaged Lisbon, and the exertions of the French Sisters of Charity were ceaseless and marvellously blessed. For this the " Liberal " party has never ceased to persecute them, and has now at last forced them to leave the country. Our own Sisters of Sion House, settled at Lisbon for so many years, have now once more returned to England, where it will be the only conventual establishment which has maintained itself from a period antecedent to the Reformation, with the one exception of that which till lately was at Spettisbury, but now is in Devonshire : the representatives of S. Margaret at Dartford.

In connection with the subject of Portugal, we must say a few words on the so-called *Schism of Goa*, and the famous *direito do padroado*.

In 1534, Paul III. by the bull *Æquum reputamus* erected Goa into a see, suffragan to Funchal in Madeira. The Portuguese, as we all know, were at that time the only European power in India, and to the King of Portugal was given the right of patronage in nominating to the See. Paul IV. in 1557 raised it to a metropolitanical rank ; he erected the Sees of Cochin and Malacca to be its suffragans, and as before vested the right of patronage in the Crown of Portugal. In 1575, Gregory XIII. founded the See of Macao, also suffragan to Goa, and gave the

patronage as before, *but now for the first time with an additional stipulation*; namely, that the king should provide all the funds necessary for the well-being of these sees, and should not permit them to be vacant an unnecessary time. By degrees there were added as suffragans, Funai, separated from Mecaó (1588), Angomala (1600), Meliapor (1686), separated from Cochín; Pekin and Nankin (1690), separated from Macao. All these were in the patronage of the Crown of Portugal, *sub conditione dotationis et fundationis*, and with the cautela of Gregory XIII. That Crown presently stretched its pretensions further, and considered its consent necessary before any missionary at all could enter the East. Clement VIII. so far gave in to this assumption as to forbid that any missionary should enter Asia except by way of Lisbon and Goa; but Paul V, finding the great inconveniences of the restriction, annulled it. An almost open war broke out between the clergy of Goa and those who entered India by other routes. They stigmatised them as *propagandists*, threw every obstacle in their way, and treated them as open enemies. That clergy, very rich and luxurious, was now scandalously inattentive to its duties. There were at one time three millions of Roman Catholics in India, there is now only one million; whole villages, once Christian, have relapsed into heathenism, and the result is professedly owing to the supineness of the Goan priests.

Innocent XII. found himself in a difficulty with regard to the increasing Church in China. The erection of Pekin and Nankin into bishoprics had not been at all pleasing to the Portuguese monarch, who, if he wished for the *direito do padroado*, had the expense of the institution and maintenance of these sees, and he now absolutely refused to erect any more. The Pope met the difficulty by sending out Vicars-Apostolic, and peremptorily forbade the Diocesan Bishops to exercise any authority within the new vicariates; a violent aggression on episcopal rights, and an evasion of the original stipulation with the Portuguese monarch. The clergy of Goa, however, whatever were their rights, were conducting themselves in a way which made them the scandal of India. The Bishop of Berytus *in partibus*, being sent by the Supreme Pontiff to investigate the causes of the decline of the Church there, was declared by the Inquisition a rebel against the authority of the Primate, and the faithful were forbidden to hold any spiritual intercourse with him. This kind of struggle went on for some years. The Primate, supported by all the authority of the Viceregal Court, was more than a match for the distant power of Rome. Some of the Papal missionaries submitted to the diocesan authority; some of the

not to be turned from his purpose. He instituted the Vicariate of Ceylon, Dec. 23, 1836, and that of Madras, June 3, 1837, and at the same time despatched a few Jesuit missionaries to India. The Goanese at this time charged for confessions of one year, two vintens; of two years, à rupee; of three years, two rupees; baptisms cost three vintens. At length, India being torn asunder by an open schism, Gregory XVI. by the brief *Multa præclare* (April 24, 1838) abrogated the decrees of his predecessors, abolished the Sees of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapor, marked out the limits of the Vicariates, making them dependent on the see of Rome only, and abolishing the metropolitan rights of Goa. It might have been a necessary step; but still one cannot help seeing in it another instance of the disregard evinced by Rome to diocesan rights.

After the interrupted relations between Rome and Portugal were restored, José Maria da Silva Torres was nominated to the Archbishopric of Goa. In the Consistory of June 16, 1843, it was resolved that the Bull of Institution should be accompanied by letters apostolic, limiting the jurisdiction of the new Archbishop to Portuguese territory only, and that he should swear to observe them, as well as the brief *Multa præclare*. He did so, and sailed to India; but on his arrival at Goa, he ratified all the preceding acts of the Chapter; declared publicly that the Pope had no power to annul the constitutions of his predecessors without the formal consent of the Crown of Portugal; and to strengthen his cause, he ordained no fewer than 800 ecclesiastics of different degrees, men who had been hurriedly educated in the episcopal seminary, and who had little acquaintance with any theological subject except the *jus patronatus*. These men were sent out into the vicariates, and gave considerable scandal.

The Archbishop allied himself closely with Antonio Teixeira, an Augustinian friar, who had been nominated by the Portuguese Government to the see of Meliapor, but had not been able to procure his bulls. He now visited his diocese, and the opposing parties in some cases came to blows. Gregory XVI. addressed an admonition to the Archbishop, but without effect, and at the time of the death of that pontiff the adherents of Goa were reckoned at 240,000.

Pius IX. endeavoured to procure the recall of the Primate. It was agreed that he should be transferred to an archiepiscopate *in partibus*, be made coadjutor of Braga (which boasts itself, in opposition to Toledo, the primatial See of All the Spains), with the promise of succession: the actual prelate was nearly eighty; besides which, he was to have the lucrative post

tainly could not complain of the terms, and accordingly he became Archbishop of Palmyra, and returned to Portugal. In his allocution to the Cardinals, of Feb. 17, 1851, before naming Da Silva future successor at Braga, the Pope commented in severe terms on the "schism of Goa;" and a reply to that allocution was printed at Lisbon, and reprinted in Goa.

On receiving official intelligence of the vacancy of the See, the Chapter of Goa elected as Vicar-General the Bishop-designate of Cochin, and named one Antonio Mariano Soares Archdeacon. This ecclesiastic called himself Vicar-General of Goa, in Bombay: five parishes in the city, and six in the island of Salsette, recognized his authority. In Calcutta, Madras, and Meliapor, the party was also strong. But the absence of an Archbishop, and the necessity of applying for confirmation to the Vicars-Apostolic, weakened the national party, and the Chapter summoned the Portuguese Bishop of Macao, Jeronymo Jose da Matta, to their aid. He landed at Bombay in the February of 1853. He celebrated pontifically, ordained some deacons and subdeacons, and confirmed 150 persons, first preaching at some length on the schism. Thence he went to Cochin and other places, performing episcopal acts everywhere. Doctor Hartmann, Bishop of Derbe *in partibus*, was Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay. He published a protest against the intrusion of the Bishop of Macao, sent a circular to the other vicars requesting their advice in this emergency, and despatched his private secretary with all speed to Rome. The *Bee*, the organ of Goa, continued to chronicle the Bishop of Macao's proceedings in a succession of ovations. He proceeded from Bombay to Goa, where he ordained thirty-one priests and eleven deacons. At length an open rupture occurred in Mahim, a village near Bombay. Doctor Hartmann was about to perform some office in the church, when its curate, of the opposite party, refused to allow him. The civil power was called in, and endeavoured to eject the Vicar-Apostolic. The latter actually remained a prisoner in the church for a whole month rather than yield possession; a most unedifying spectacle, and one which gave occasion to many a leading article in the local press on the unity of the Roman Church. It was not a little curious, however, to see the *Telegraph* and *Courier*, and the *Bombay Times*, taking part with Bishop Hartmann on the most purely Erastian grounds; that the Roman Church in English territory owed obedience to the Queen and her ecclesiastical authorities; and to hear similar arguments adduced by the Ultramontane party.

In the meantime Bishop Hartmann's circular was receiving

answers. Besides the three vicariates—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—of which we have spoken, thirteen others had been founded: in the whole sixteen were 303 priests and 670,000 faithful. (The number of Anglican priests, we may observe, at that time was only 131.) The following signed an address, prepared by Bishop Hartmann, requesting the condemnation of the Bishop of Macao, and the excommunication of those priests who refused obedience to the vicariates:—the Vicars-Apostolic of Calcutta, Carew; of Combatore, Breßellac; of Colombo and his coadjutor; of Dacca, Oliffe; of Jaffna; of Madura, Canoz (a Jesuit); of Mangalore, Charronau; of Pondicheri, Bonnaud; of Imla and Verapoly; of Vizagapatam, Neyret. The Vicar of Agra was not asked, *it is said*, because there were no ‘schismatics’ in his diocese; he of Ava Pegu could not, on account of war, be reached; he of Hyderabad declined signing; he of Madras was silent; he of Patna absent.

In the meantime, Doctor Hartmann’s secretary had reached Rome. It was easy to foresee the consequence. A brief was addressed to India, condemning in the strongest terms the Bishop of Macao, and threatening him, Antonio Mariano Soares, and three other priests with excommunication, if they did not submit in two months after the publication of the instrument. On receiving notice of it, the Bishop-designate of Cochin, Vicar-General of Goa, denounced the brief as detestable and apocryphal; forbade the clergy of the diocese to pay any obedience to it; the Portuguese “Governor-General” rejected it “with contempt,” as an invasion of the rights of the Crown; and the *Bee* published a series of articles to show that blind obedience to Rome was no part of the duty of a Catholic. The Chambers at Lisbon protested against the brief, which produced a counter protest from a large body of the clergy, the Bishop of Guarda taking the lead. In India, the possession of the churches was settled by a civil action in the court of Bombay—Bishop Canoz, of Trichinopoly, on the one side; a priest, with national sentiments, named Arokkianader, on the other—and the judgment was in favour of the Goanese clergy; a heavy blow to the Vicars-Apostolic.

We have already dwelt too long on this episode, and will only add that the schism ran on for six years longer, and has only recently been ended by a Concordat with Don Pedro. The terms, while leaving the Vicars-Apostolic in possession of the powers for which Rome contended throughout, are not unfavourable to the Crown of Portugal.

Let us now direct our attention to the Church in Bavaria. At the close of the last century, free-thinking and Erastianism were

rampant in that land. Maximilian Joseph, who succeeded in 1799, himself a man of no religion, found in the minister Montgelas an unscrupulous agent in impoverishing the Church. Seventy monasteries, some of them on the most magnificent scale, were suppressed at one stroke. Great havoc was made in the cathedral and parish sacristies, which up to that time had been peculiarly rich in works of Christian art. Cardinal della Genga, afterwards Leo XII, had with great trouble almost concluded an arrangement in 1807, when Napoleon interposed, and the Church dragged on a stormy existence till 1817, when at length the Concordat was signed. The oath enforced by the new Constitution caused many scruples among the clergy, which, however, were allayed by the royal proclamation of Sept. 15, 1821; in point of fact, explaining it away. With the accession of Louis, in 1825, happier times began, and Bavaria became the seat of Church art; pity only that, so far as the monarch was concerned, the separation of cultivated taste and pure morality was so complete! A *Society for the Propagation of Good Books* was vigorously supported and extensively useful; and Gorres, Möhler, Döllinger, Reithmayr, and Klee are names which will live in the memory of the Church.

Trèves has during the present century achieved a high reputation for the earnestness and success of its Church-work. Three such succeeding bishops as Sailer, Wittmann, Schwäff are seldom vouchsafed to one see. Partly through their efforts, aided by the, in that respect, excellent disposition of the King, several religious houses have been founded or refounded, especially of Capuchins, Franciscans, and Carmelites; the Redemptorist Fathers and the Brothers of Mercy have been introduced; Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Compassion have numerous convents; while nowhere have the efforts of the Order of the Good Shepherd, for the aid of fallen women, been more blessed. The *Ludwigs-Verein*, a society for missions to North America and Asia, has an increasing income and an extending work. Its statutes were published in 1839. Under her present King, Maximilian, Bavaria presents to the eye one of the bright spots of the Western Church.

We naturally turn next to Prussia. Till 1806, though professedly tolerated, and regarded with a certain contemptuous compassion by successive monarchs, it was at a very low ebb. In that year the Napoleonic wars, which concluded an agreement which almost quenched the spirit of the Church. The episcopate was set on a mediæval Europe, the

Rhine-land, had been swept away for ever, and now in their stead rose the modern Archbishopric of Cologne, with his suffragans of Trèves, Münster, and Paderborn; the Archbishopric of Gnesen-Posen, and the Bishopric of Ermeland. Münster, whose prince-bishop, only 200 years before—the reader may remember Dryden's line,

Let Munster's prelate ever be accursed —

had employed himself in battering down the houses of his flock about their ears, now became the home of a hard-working apostolic bishop, counting his revenue by kreutzers where his predecessor numbered them by florins. In the meantime, the researches of Niebuhr and Bunsen, by calling out the intellectual energies of the Church, gave her real assistance; in the same way that the Tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817 called out Möhler's immortal "Symbolik." The especial studies of the priesthood were directed and furthered by the theological faculty of the University of Bonn, and the *Lyceum Hosianum* for the Diocese of Ermeland and the Catholic Academy of Münster.

But the most remarkable figure in the German ecclesiastical history of the present century is undoubtedly Clement Augustus von Droste, Archbishop of Cologne. He had been Vicar-General of Münster, and while in that position maintained a gallant conflict with the Prussian Government on the subject of theological studies. His predecessor, Ferdinand Spiegel, had been a supporter of Hermesianism, that semi-Pelagian, semi-rationalistic system, which had been condemned by Gregory XVI, in 1835. It had still, however, spread amongst the younger clergy, and Von Droste, in every possible way, endeavoured to stop its further progress. Among other means to this end, he drew up eighteen theses, principally directed against the new heresy, which he required to be signed by candidates for holy orders. The Prussian Government immediately exclaimed that its rights were injured, and peremptorily demanded the recall of the theses. Countless pamphlets appeared on both sides of the question: at the same time also the question of mixed marriages opened another conflict. A convention had been drawn up between the afterwards notorious Bunsen on the part of the King, and Archbishop von Spiegel on that of the Church; by which the latter agreed that the former discipline on the subject of marriages should be relaxed, so as not to be inconsistent with the educational State-minute of 1825. But Bunsen only signed *subject to higher approval*; Von Spiegel absolutely. Pius VIII, in his short pontificate, condemned the concession; and Von

He would not, he said, by serving two masters, bring himself to the same deathbed as that of one of his suffragans—it was the Bishop of Trèves—who then bitterly repented, and, as far as he could, undid his unhappy compliance. On this the Government had recourse to the *ultima ratio regum*; and on Nov. 20, 1837, the brave-hearted prelate was seized, exiled, and imprisoned at Nieuburg. Bunsen, the perpetual reviler of persecutors in all shapes, preferred revenge to consistency.

There arose a burst of indignation from the Roman Catholic world. In an allocution of Dec. 10, 1837, the Pope condemned in the strongest manner the act of the Government, exhorted his beloved brother to stand firm, and praised him in the highest terms. Next Martin von Dunin, Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, who had already, independently of Cologne, been engaged in the same battle against the ministry, issued a very strongly worded pastoral brief; on which the *Oberlandesgerichte*, at Posen, pronounced him suspended from office, and condemned him to six months' confinement in a fortress. He was accordingly imprisoned in that of Colberg. From that moment a Catholic reaction took place all over Germany. Addressees without number poured in to the two Archbishops; the clergy of the archdiocese of Gnesen-Posen, as was fitting, led the way. It happened that a council was assembled at Baltimore when the news of these proceedings reached America, and the archbishop, with twelve of his suffragans, addressed a fraternal letter of sympathy and encouragement to the two confessors. All the Bishops of Prussia were ranged on the same side, with the single exception of Sedlnitzky, Prince-Bishop of Breslau, and he soon afterwards resigned his see.

While matters stood thus, the King died, and was succeeded by Frederick William IV. (June, 1841). This monarch was known to be, theoretically at least, an admirer of the Church; and his first actions did not disappoint his Catholic subjects. The Archbishop of Gnesen was, in less than two months, notwithstanding the general outcry of the Liberal papers, restored to his flock. In two pastoral letters he strongly forbade mixed marriages for the future, but recommended that those who had contracted them should, in the confessional and on the sickbed, be treated with all tenderness. The difficulties for the future were thus solved, the State deprecating them as earnestly as the Bishop; for the past, it must be confessed that the victory lay with the Government. Archbishop von Dunin, to the deep sorrow of all his flock, was taken from the world on St. Stephen's Day, 1842. Before this, however, the King had

granted the bishops what had hitherto been denied them, a free resort to Rome.

In Cologne, too, Frederick William acted with considerable nobleness of spirit. The King of Bavaria permitted the Bishop of Spire, Van Geißel, to act as coadjutor of the archdiocese; in order that negotiations might be set on foot with Rome. The Prussian monarch officially disavowed his predecessor's violence. The Archbishop, however, finding his health fail, and weary of strife, resigned his post in a beautiful pastoral, in which he told his people that, if he seemed to retire from the active battle of his diocese, it was only that, like Moses, he might be the better able to lift up his hands for them to heaven. He died October 19, 1845; and to him, undoubtedly—to his firmness and to his sufferings—is to be ascribed the remarkable regeneration of the Church in almost all the great cities of the Northern Rhine; nowhere, however, more remarkable than at Coblenz. The interest which the King took in that noble work, the completion of Cologne, showed his friendly disposition at least to Catholic art; while perfect freedom was guaranteed to the Roman Church in Prussia by the 15th organic article of Dec. 5, 1848.

Let us now glance at the ecclesiastical condition of Rhineland, where the conquests of Napoleon had obliterated all the old landmarks, and his overthrow had destroyed the new *régime*. Von Dalberg, Primate of Ratisbon,* the leading ecclesiastic of Germany during the troubles, died in February, 1817. Shortly afterwards the Protestant princes of Germany resolved on a general meeting, for the purpose of an arrangement with Rome regarding the change, or creation of dioceses, now absolutely necessary, from the vast alteration of territorial boundaries, and the mediatization of so many little states. There met at Frankfort-on-Main (March 24, 1818), the ambassadors of Baden, both Hesses, the four Hanseatic towns, Mecklenburg, Nassau, Oldenburg, Waldeck, and Wurtemberg; those of Wurtemberg and Baden taking, as was natural, the initiative in the deliberations. To the episcopal arrangements consequent on this meeting we have already alluded in the brief sketch we gave of the pontificate of Pius VII. But difficulties presently arose. One of the bishops-designate for the new sees, by name Wessenberg, had already been coadjutor to Von Dalberg at Constance, and the Pope now refused him his bulls. The reason; the See of Rome imagined these prelates to have been engaged in common to carry out the so-called *Kirchenpragmatik*, the organic

* Some of our readers will remember the rather striking effigy of this prelate, kneeling on a raised pedestal before a very lofty cross, in the centre of the nave of this cathedral.

but disapproved by the Pontiff. These matters were finally arranged by Leo XII. in his bull *Ad Dominici gregis* (April, 1827). In the October of that year Bernard Boll was installed in that lovely cathedral of Freiburg in Breisgau as first archbishop; and the Vicariates-General came to an end. But fresh troubles were at hand. The thirty-nine *Paragraphs* of January, 1830, created a deep sensation all over Germany. By these the offices of the Church were subjected to a *Placet* from the police-office. The bishops tamely yielded; only one generous defender of the liberty of Catholic rites was found to lift up his voice—the free Baron von Hornstein. Pius VIII. in a brief to the prelates of the Upper Rhine for this reproaches them with having obeyed man rather than GOD. The troubles that followed, and especially the daily encroachments made by the civil power on the rights of his Church, embittered and shortened Archbishop Boll's days; he could not procure the removal of one Reichlin-Meldegg, an almost professed Socinian, from the chair of Catholic Theology at Freiburg.

The stand made by Van Droste, in the neighbouring Prussian territories, quickened the exertions of the Church in Wurtemberg and Baden. The Bishop of Rottenburg brought in a *Motion*, in the second Chamber of the former State, which, under that name, became the watchword of ecclesiastical liberty; it contained nine main articles; which, though rejected at the time, were constantly kept in view by those who succeeded to the strife. In Baden things were worse; for here a section of Catholics were for a free German Church—free, that is, from Rome, but chained to the wheels of the State. At the head of these was Dominic Kuenzer, the pastor of the Spital Kirche at Constance, and he had a strong following at Carlsruhe. But Boll had successors of a different calibre to himself. Archbishop *Demeter* first, and then *Von Vicari*, the present venerable Metropolitan, with whom we have the honour to be slightly acquainted, loved but to act on the famous saying of S. Bernard's, *Nil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem ecclesie sue*. It was hoped that the Baden troubles of 1848, which shattered to pieces the old order of things, would have knapped asunder the chains of the Church; but the complete toleration now given by the great Protestant state, Prussia, was in these comparatively little kingdoms, on various pretences, desired. In the February of 1853, the Metropolitan Von Vicari invited his suffragans of Rottenburg, Mainz, Lemberg, and Fulda, to a conference at Freiburg. The result of this, and a later conference, was a demand of these four points: 1. Free intercourse

with priests and laity; 2. Catholic schools; 3. Permission of religious houses; 4. The rights guaranteed to the Church by the Peace of Westphalia. After innumerable difficulties, a convention was drawn up between the King of Wurtemberg and the Apostolic See, in July, 1857, which has, we believe, proved to work well; and another between the Grand Duke of Baden and the same Pontiff, in June, 1859, which gave rise to great troubles, and was explained by a ducal manifesto in the following spring. Affairs in Baden still remain, to a certain extent, unsettled; though in this nation, the Catholics are two to one—in Wurtemberg only one to two. Of all these States we say, in the old rhyme,

Bayern und Pfalz,
Gott erhalt's!

We have entered so fully, on former occasions, into the Church history of Holland and Belgium, that we may omit those states now, and proceed to Austria.

Austria came unprepared to the great struggle, on account of the pseudo-philosophical reforms of the Emperor Joseph. Suppressed and impoverished monasteries, and pedantic routine taking the place of Church education, had not only their usual reward, but actually lost Belgium. The new *régime*, by incorporating the princely domains of the archbishopric of Salzburg into the imperial domain, so far did the Church good service. If any one wishes to judge for himself how those half-secular, half-religious principalities worked, let him read the second volume of the "*Germania Sacra*," of Hansiz, that which contains the archbishopric of Salzburg. We would refer him especially to the Episcopate of Francis, Count of Harrach, towards the end of the seventeenth century. Hansiz honours him with an eulogy which, so far as words go, would seem rather extravagant if applied to S. Augustine. Yet the fact comes out that, because some poor wretch trespassed on his rights of free warren, this admirable prelate *condemned him to the galleys for life*. It is only right to add that, some years after, he procured the prisoner's liberation.

As Austria returned more nearly than did the other German States to the old *régime*, there is the less to say of her recent Church history. Notable names therein are Leopold Chlumczanjsky, first Bishop of Leitmentz, and then Archbishop of Prague; the Count von Firmain, Archbishop, first of Salzburg, then of Vienna; and, above all, F. X. Salin, Bishop of Grork. The Jesuits re-entered in 1820; the Redemptorists in 1816. In September, 1822, the Archbishop of Gran called together a National Court of Hungary. That primacy is the richest in

50,000. The families of 6,000 officers and 50,000 *employés* are reduced to misery. Skirmishes of all kinds, destruction of grain, dearth of food, increase of taxes, attacks on religion and the clergy, suppression and desecration of convents, add to the miseries of the unhappy country.

And now we would refresh ourselves and our readers by looking away from the poor schism-rent Church as she is, to that which she was intended to be, to that which she will be, as we verily believe, on earth ; as we know, in Heaven !

Jerusalem, quæ ædificatur ut civitas : cujus participatio ejus in idipsum.
Illuc enim ascenderent tribus, tribus DOMINI : testimonium Israel, ad
confitendum nomen DOMINI.

Quia illic sederunt sedes in judicio : sedes super domum David.
Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem ; et abundantia diligentibus te.
Fiat pax in virtute tuâ : et abundantia in turribus tuis !





XVII.

CHURCH FESTIVALS AND THEIR HOUSEHOLD WORDS.



T would be an inquiry, equally curious and profitable, which should investigate that which we may call the domestic influence of the Mediæval Church. How ecclesiastical festivals became seasons of home enjoyment ; how holy days were turned into holidays ; how the Church's children learnt, in private life, to think and to speak in the Church's way ; how, ascending higher, the powers of this world, the governors of the state, fell almost unconsciously into the times and the seasons of her who is not of this world ; how, for example, sheriffs were pricked on the morrow of S. Martin ; how lawyers reckoned by Hilary or Trinity term ; how every class was subject to the same moulding influence ; how boys went a *Midlenting*, and peasants hunted the wren on S. Stephen's day, and kings held their Maundy. Merchants, over their ledgers, spoke the language, at least, of religion ; till very lately, bills of lading always commenced with the words "*I, A. B. do send greeting in the Lord God everlasting ;*" nor are the formulæ quite obsolete, "*The ship C. whereof D. E. under God is master ;*" nor yet that, "*To sail with the first fair wind that God shall send.*" Gems were invested with a thousand mystical significations in the eyes of the jeweller ; the country simpler had his Lent Lilies, his Herb Trinity, his Our Lord and Lady, his Alleluia Flower, his Star of Bethlehem. Children began their Alphabet with a *Criscrofs* ; countrymen saw in the ass the token of our LORD'S entry into Jerusalem ; suicides were buried in a *crofs* way. It was the same influence always and everywhere at work ; sometimes beautifully, sometimes amusingly, some-

times extravagantly, but always most really. The Church, whatever her language, was herself vernacular.

We propose to give a few of the national and provincial terms which have been impressed on Ecclesiastical Holydays. It may not be entirely useless to dwell on them; for we are not yet perfectly rid of that stiffness which led men, at the beginning of the movement, to call Christmas Eve the Vigil of the Nativity, and to date letters on the Monday of Pentecost. That a Church should really be national, her terms must be household words, as they have always most been when a national Church was most efficient. Without further preface, we will begin with the commencement of the Ecclesiastical year.

It is curious that the season of Advent should have retained its Latin name everywhere. The Sundays, indeed, were not always reckoned in the same way, the more usual method being to count the first as the fourth, and that nearest to Christmas as the first. The old rule for finding the first Sunday in Advent ran thus :—

Saint Andrew the King
Three weeks and three days before Christmas comes in :
Three days after, or three days before,
Advent Sunday knocks at the door.

The old Hispanic Advent had six weeks, the Sunday next after Martinmas being the first ;* and this is also the case in the Ambrosian rite.

Church laws fixed the commencement of winter to S. Clement's Day. The usual lines which regulate the beginning of the seasons are :—

Dat Clemens hyemem ; dat Petri ver Cathedratus :
Æstat Urbanus ; autumnat Symphorianus.

We have read them thus in a Cambray Missal :—

Cedit hyems retro cathedrato Simone Petro.
Ver fugat Urbanus ; æstatem Symphorianus.
Festum Clementis caput est hyemis venientis.

Or, if the reader wishes a version :—

Winter goes off, and skies grow fair,
When Simon Peter sits in Chair :
Saint Urban bids the Spring be gone :

* When the Dominical letter is A, there are, in fact, seven Sundays in the Mozarabic Advent. But in that case the seventh falls on Christmas Eve, and the office is of that day entirely.

Symphorian calls the autumn on :
Saint Clement's day the wind and rain
And cold of winter brings again.

And a very fair division, too, if we add to the times specified (February 22, May 25, August 22, and November 21), the eight or ten days that the correction of the Calendar, at the date when these verses were written, would have required.

The season of Advent has left few traces in natural names. *Advent-grass* hence receives its title ; and in Germany wild geese are called *Advent-birds*, and sometimes, as also with us, *Ember-geese*.

The English Calendar gives the old rule for the discovery of the Advent Ember-days ; the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, after S. Lucy's Day.

Fasting days and Emberings be
Lent, Whitsun, Holyrood, and Lucie ;

said the rhyme. The modern Roman use fixes the last to the third week in Advent, which must always come to the same thing.

The cristate verses give them thus :—

Dant Crux, Lucia, Cineres, Charismata Dia,
Ut sit in angaria quarta sequens feria.

The Latin name has remained in modern languages, though the contrary is sometimes affirmed, *Quatuor Tempora*, the *Four Times*. In French and Italian the term is the same ; in Spanish and Portuguese they are simply *Temporas*. The German converts them into *Quatember*, and thence, by the easy corruption of dropping the first syllable, a corruption which also takes place in some other words, we get the English *Ember*. Thus, there is no occasion to seek after an etymology in *embers* ; or with Nelson, to extravagate still further to the noun *ymbren*, a recurrence, as if all holy seasons did not equally recur. In Welsh, Ember-week is *Wythnos y cydgorian*, the Week of the Processions. In mediæval Germany they were called *Weibfasten*, *Wiegfasten*, *Wiegefasten*, or the like, on the general principle of their sanctity (we shall presently see the meaning of the word). We meet with the term *Frohnfasten*, *frobne* being the then word for *travail*. Why they were named *soldfasten* it is less easy to say.

Of the Saints Days that occur during Advent we have three French proverbs :—

*Si hiver était outre la mer,
Si viendra il a Sant Nicolas parler.*

of S. Lucy :—

*A la fête de Sante Luce
Le jour croit du saut d'une puce.*

Of S. Thomas :—

*A la fête de Sant Thomas,
Les jours gradissent d'un pas.*

All which maxims speak of the old Calendar. If they are, as is likely, of the fifteenth century, S. Lucy's day falls on what would now be the 22nd of December, S. Thomas's on the 30th. This must be kept in mind in the like sayings.

We proceed to Christmas. In most Celtic languages Christmas Eve is called the *Night of Mary*. It is still observed with great pomp in the Isle of Man, the peasants vying with each other in bringing tapers to church, and in singing carols there. The festival itself is variously named. Our own *Christmas* comes nearest to the German provincialism, *Christfest*. The Romance languages merely retain the Latin name, the French deviating from it most widely in *Noel*. This word became a cry of joy; we find it sung at Angers, during the eight days preceding Christmas, fifteen times at the conclusion of Lauds, and it thus came to be used at other seasons of rejoicing. So, Monstrelet frequently tells us of the cry of Noel that accompanied some triumphant procession. The Welsh *Nadolig* is from the same source. The German *Weihnachten* has been derived from *Wein*, as if expressing the festal character of the day. But it is clearly from the inseparable compound *Weih*, which denotes sanctity or holiness, and occurs so often in German ecclesiastical words. Its composition with the word *night*, rather than *day*, is referable to the midnight mass with which the solemnity so beautifully begins. In Portugal, *Pascoa*, as the proper term for Easter, is by an easy corruption applied also to the two other great festivals. Christmas is therefore *Pascoa do Natal*.

Here, also, we have the Scotch *Yule*, the mediæval German *Juel*, as they say, from *julen*, to be merry. But a more remarkable appellation, *Anklopsters-dag*, from a custom of going round with mallets or hammers, and beating at every door and shutter, a symbolism of the anxiety of "the spirits in prison" to be set free by the birth of the New King. In Basque, Christmas is *Eguberi* (i. e. *New Day*): "old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." The Eastern Church, as we shall see, gives (not less truly) this epithet to the Easter season. In Irish, Christmas is called *Notlaig*; simply from *Natale*.

S. Stephen's Day was in the south of France called *Straw*

appointed. Hence, in Germany, it was *Hafer-Weyhe*, with the same meaning. In the north of England it is known as *Wrenning Day*, from the custom of stoning a wren to death, a cruel commemoration of S. Stephen's martyrdom. In the south, the pigeon matches usually there celebrated are a relic of the old rite. In Denmark it was sometimes called "Second Christmas Day."

The Holy Innocents had a peculiar appellation in England and Germany only, *Childermas Day*, and *Kindermesse*. In other languages it is simply Innocents' Day. The office of the day throughout the Church was one of sorrow; in many places *Gloria in Excelsis* was not sung: in some not even the *Gloria Patri*. The colour also was black. A trace of this remains in Leigh-upon-Mendip, in Gloucestershire, where, from time immemorial, a muffled peal has been rung on that festival. But, till a very recent period, not only that day itself, but the same day in every week of the succeeding year, was Childermas Day, and was considered highly unlucky. So the *Spectator* tells us of his superstitious hosts:—"As they began to talk of family affairs, a little boy at the lower end of the table told her, that 'he was to go into join-hand on Thursday. 'Thursday!' 'says she: 'no, child, if it please GOD, you shall not begin 'upon Childermas Day: tell your writing-master that Friday 'will be soon enough.' I was reflecting with myself at the odds of her fancy, and wondering that anybody would establish 'it as a rule to lose one day in every week.'" Addison gives the day rightly, for in the preceding year (1710) Holy Innocents fell on a Thursday.

The election of a Boy Bishop, which took place usually on S. John's Day, at night, sometimes gave rise to scenes of a very unedifying character, both on Holy Innocents' and on New Year's Day. The latter was, in French, *La Fête des Soudiacres*, or more frequently, *The Feast of Fools*. The former name was intended as a kind of pun between *sou-diacres*, subdeacons and *souls diacres*, drunken deacons; and both in the East and the West the custom gave the Bishops a good deal of trouble in putting it down, or at least restraining it within due bounds. On the contrary, in the south-east of Europe, the *Missa de idolis prohibendis* stamped quite a different character on the day, by announcing the overthrow of the profane joy which formerly welcomed in the New Year by an Idol Feast.

In Germany, besides the ordinary *Fabrtag*, it was sometimes known as *Eben-Weichtag*, i. e. a festival equal in importance to Christmas.

The Epiphany, as it contains in itself three distinct festivals, so it was to be expected that we should find it known by a variety of distinct names. In the Spanish *Epifania*, and the Italian provincialism, *Befania*, the Greek name is simply retained. In old Spanish, however, we find it called *Apparicion*, derived from the Mozarabic ritual, which gives the *Apparitio Domini*. So in the Abbey of Fontevraud, it was *L'Apparition*. Our common English name, *Twelfth Night*, marks it out as the conclusion of Christmas-tide. For the most part, however, national usages connect its title with the worship of the Magi. So in German, it is *Dreykönigstag*; in Danish, *Hellig Tre Kongers Dag*; in French, *Les Rois*; in Portuguese, *Dia das Reis*. In England also, to some extent, the festival was known as the *Three Kings' Day*, and the practice of drawing for king is a relic of that use. In Manx, it is *Laa'l Chybbyr-ushtey*, the day of offering worship. Another German name was *Oberstag*, or *Der Oberste*. In Saxony, *Great New Year's Day*, as being a festival of more importance than the Circumcision. In Austria, *Perchtag*, that is, Bright Day, for the same reason that we shall hear of in the Eastern Church. In the East, the case was different. Here, as every one knows, the 6th of January was at first celebrated as the Feast of the Nativity, and Manifestation to the Gentiles, both in one; and the opposite practice was introduced from the Roman Church. The name Epiphany was still, however, applied in many cases to Christmas Day, and the universally received title for our Epiphany was *The Lights*; the Sundays before and after it also deriving their name from that appellation. The title originally bore reference to the illumination of Baptism, instituted, according to the more probable opinion, on that day, and afterwards to the candles with which, as symbolical of that, the churches of the East blaze. There it is still a festival of superior importance to Christmas, and in many churches of mediæval France the case was the same; as at Rouen, where it received the name of the *Star Feast*. Again, the solemn benediction of the waters in the East, has given a title, in some countries, to the day. Thus, in Illyria and Bulgaria it is known as the *Vodocaersta*, the "Benediction of the Water;" in Russia, *Creshchenie*, the Slavonic term for Baptism. In Welsh the festival is sometimes termed *Ystwyll*, gloom-expelling, sometimes *Seremwyl*, Star Festival.

The morrow of the Epiphany was popularly called *S. Distaff's Day*, from the goodwife reassuming her distaff after the Christmas holyday :—

But this, of course, was simply a jocular appellation. *Plough Monday*, on the contrary, had, in some rituals, its own benediction. In Belgium, this is called *Loft Monday*, as given up entirely to revelling. At Strasburg, it is *Schwör Tag*, because the city magistrates are then annually sworn in.

The Sundays after Epiphany have been named solely from their numbers; it being very rare, even in ancient Missals, to find them called from their introits. In the north of Italy, however, the second is known as *Marriage Sunday*, from the marriage of Cana, related in the gospel for the day.

The Purification was, in one sense, to the West, what the Epiphany was to the East, and has usually received its name from the multitude of tapers employed in the office, with reference, primarily, to the Light to lighten the Gentiles, which was then manifested by the mouth of Simeon. The French Church calls it *La Chandeleure*; in Spain and Portugal it is the *Candelaria*; in Basque, *Ganderailu*; in Denmark, it is the *Kyndelmisse*; in Germany, the *Lichtmesse*; in Suabia, *Kerzweibe*, or *Kerzmesse*; in Belgium, the *Kerstdag*. In Welsh it is *Gwyl Vairy Canwyllau*, the Festival of Mary of the Candles; in Manx, for a reason we cannot explain, it is *Laa'l Moirrey my Giangle*, the Day of Mary's being tied or secured. But, in the Eastern Church, it derives its name from the *meeting* of our LORD by Simeon and Anna; and is there termed *Hypapante*; by the Russian Church, with the same meaning, *Srietenie*. And this name was, as so often, transferred to the Latin Church, by which it was written *Hypanti*; an easy corruption reduced this to *Hypanti*, which was the most frequent mediæval name. In the north of Italy it was often termed *S. Simeon's Day*; in France the name was, in many instances, the same as that in our Calendar—the *Presentation*. We also meet with that of *Susception Day*. The proverb had great vogue:—

Si sol splendescat, Mariâ purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante.

So, in France:—

Selon que nos viellards ont dit,
Si le soleil se montre et luit
A la Chandeleure, croyez
Qu'encor un hiver vous aurez.

There is this proverb also:—

A la fête de la Chandeleure
Les jours croissent de plus d'une heure,
Et le froid pique avec douleur.

S. Blaise's Day is, in some parts of Germany, *Kleine Kerzmesse*—little Candlemas—because of the bonfires that it was usual (for an uncertain reason) to kindle on that night. One thing is clear—that the custom, not being peculiar to England, could not have arisen in an absurd pun on the saint's name, as some have affirmed.

The week before Septuagesima Sunday is, in the Eastern Church, called *Exhortatory Week*, because the faithful are then exhorted to prepare themselves manfully for the great fast. The Nestorians term it the *Ninevites' Week*, on account of a fast which they observe in commemoration of the repentance of Nineveh. The Armenians, who do the same, name it, from an uncertain reason, the *Artziburion*. "At that time," says a Greek divine, with bitterness sufficient, "the thrice accursed Armenians observe their abominable fast of Artziburion." The Saturday of the week was known as *Alleluia Saturday*, because Alleluia was then, according to the most usual rule, dropped till Easter. Hence we have the beautiful hymn, *Alleluia dulce carmen*, and the magnificent *Alleluatic* sequence, appointed for that day.

Septuagesima almost everywhere retained its Latin name. In the Eastern Church it is the *Sunday of the Prodigal Son*, that being the Gospel for the day. The week that succeeds is, in the East, *Apocreoos*, because from Septuagesima Sunday meat is forbidden.

Sexagesima had also only its Latin title. In the East it is the Sunday of *Apocreoos*; the weeks, at that time of the year, preceding, and not following their Sunday. The ensuing week is, in the East, *Cheese Week*; in Russia, *Butter Week*; because, till the close of the following Sunday, cheese and butter are allowed. The Friday of *Sexagesima* was, in the north of Germany, the *Kind-fest*, or *Kind-tag*, being, by a peculiar rite, the Festival of the Invention of the Child in the Temple. In the Tyrol, the Thursday before Quinquagesima was called *Mad Thursday*, because kept as an especial Carnival; also, *Rinne Donnerstag*, from an uncertain reason.

Quinquagesima, or *Esto mihi*. In Germany this is, in many places, called *Pfaffen-Fastnacht* (Priest's Fasting Night): many mediæval councils having ordered ecclesiastics to abstain from meat from that day forward. It was also very widely known as *Esto mihi Sunday*, from the commencement of the Introit, *Esto mihi in Deum Protectorem*. In the patois of Navarre it is *Dimenge cabée*, a corruption of *Dominica in Capite Jejuni*. In Denmark it is *Fastelavn's Sondag*, Sunday of the Preparation for the Fast. In the Tyrol *Rinne Sontag*, probably (like the preceding Thursday)

in the name of Pancakes Sunday, and that day, for the reason given above, it is *Butter* or *Cheese Sunday*.

The following Monday is, in England, *Collop Monday*; because, on that day, the last meat, and that in small quantities, was supposed to be cooked. In Vienne, and the adjacent parts of France, it was (and still is) *Fat Monday* (*Lundi gras*), for the following reason:—Some provincial Councils endeavoured to commence the fast, as in the East, on this day, instead of on the Wednesday; the people compromised the matter by beginning it on Tuesday, and hence this title for the last flesh-day. So in Switzerland, it is *Feiste Dag*.

Shrove Tuesday. Here, as so often, the English name is, beyond all dispute, the most beautiful and appropriate of any; expressing the penitence with which Lent should be welcomed in. In Southern Europe it takes its name from the exact reverse, namely, from the Carnival. In Italy, it is *Martedì grasso*, as in France *Mardi gras*; also *Martedì di Carnevale*. The Spanish Church terms it *Martes de carnestolendas*; the Portuguese, *Dia do Entrudo*; or, more commonly, *Entrudo* alone; from the old word *entrudar*, to feast. Again, in France, we have *Carême entrant*; or, in the old mediæval form, *Carementramnus*. In Walloon patois, *Mâdicâmentran*. In Dansk, on the same principle as Quinquagesima Sunday, it is, *Faste-løvnstirstag*; in Germany it is usually known as *Fastentienstag*, Fast Tuesday. In Welsh Shrovetide is *Ynyd*, which is probably derived from *Initium* Quadragesimæ, the beginning of Lent, and thus also the Manx, *Oie-innyd*.

Ash Wednesday has, in most Churches, its name from the benediction and the wearing of ashes on that day. Thus, in German, it is *Ascher Mittwoche*; in Dansk, *Aske Onsdag*; in Illyrian, *Cista Srijda*; French, *Le jour de Cendres*; in Spanish, *Miercoles de Ceniza*; in Portuguese, *Quarta feira de cinza*. But, from also being Wednesday in *Capite Jejunii*, it is, in Navarre, *Mercré cabée*, like Quinquagesima Sunday. In Germany it was sometimes *Eschtag*, sometimes *Schürtag*, from *schüren* (now *scheuren*,) to purify.

Lent itself has three classes of appellations. In the first place, those derived from the season of the year, as our own *Lent*, akin to the German *Lenz*, and identical with the Dutch and the Flemish *Lente*, the season of spring. Next, those which have their origin from the idea of the fast. So in Russ it is *Velekie Post*, the Great Fast; or simply *Post*, the Fast. In Dansk, *Fastetid*; in German, *Fastenzeit*. So, in the Eastern Church, it is simply the *Μεγάλη Νηστεία*. Thirdly, those derived from the number of days it lasts; *Quadragesima* in Latin, *Carême*

in French. And this is the case in all the Romance languages, and so also in Welsh, when Lent is *Garawys*; in Manx, *Kargys*; in Irish, *Corghas*. Its weeks, when numerically reckoned, are forwarder by one in the East than in the West. The first week in Lent is, according to the rite of Constantinople, that which follows Quinquagesima: according to the use of Rome it is that which follows the first Sunday in Lent.

The day after Ash Wednesday is named, in some parts of England, *Embering Thursday*.

The first Sunday in Lent. Good old Durandus labours to explain why this should be called *Quadragesima*, when, in point of fact, it is not the fortieth, but the two-and-fortieth, day from Easter. His mystical reasons, if not convincing, are at least beautiful: "Because Lent reacheth not save to Maunday Thursday, which is the day of absolution; for by means of "Lent well observed, and by true penitence, man spiritually "cometh to the Supper of the LAMB; as it is written: 'Blessed "are they that are called to the marriage supper of the LAMB.' "Again, because the children of Israel, being fed with manna in "the desert by the space of forty years, came, through forty "encampments, to the Land of Promise. By whose pattern we "also, abstaining forty days from the lusts of the body, are "refreshed by the word of life, and give ourselves up to prayer, "that so we may enter by JESUS CHRIST into the land of the "living; even as they by JESUS Nave, that is, Joshua, into the "Land of Promise." The more common name, however, was from the introit, the Sunday *Invocavit*. So we often read: "The emperor arrived at Metz on the Tuesday after Invo- "cavit." "The Council was begun on the Wednesday of the week called Invocavit." It was sometimes termed *Quintana*, because five Sundays intervened between it and Easter. Our old vernacular name was *Shrove Sunday*. In some parts of Germany it was *Alte Fastnacht*, Old Fast Night,—a relic of the ancient commencement of Lent on the following day, before the additional four days were added to complete the forty. In the East it is *Orthodoxy Sunday*, a festival instituted primarily to commemorate the final defeat of the Iconoclasts, but extended to a general commemoration of all triumphs of the Faith.

The first week in Lent was called by the Anglo-Saxons *Cy-wuka*, that is, *Chaste Week*.

The second Sunday in Lent is also, from the introit, the Sunday *Reminiscere*. In France it was sometimes called *Transfiguration Sunday*, because that event, according to the use of Paris, formed the Gospel of the day.

The third Sunday, or the Sunday *Oculi*, has not, to our

knowledge, any vernacular name in the West, but in the East it is *σταυροπροσκυνήσιμος*, from the Adoration of the Cross on that day.

The fourth, or *Latare Sunday*, is called both by the East and West, *Midlent Sunday*. In Germany, by an odd translation of the introit, *Fröhlechen Sonntag*. In the West it is also termed *Resurrection Sunday*, partly because the Gospel for the day relates the feeding of the five thousand, partly because it was observed as a little carnival between the two halves of Lent; as now, the *Mi-Carême* in Paris is an occasion of great gaiety and splendour. In Rome, it is the Sunday of the *Golden Rose*, from the benediction of that token of the Pontiff's approbation. It was frequently termed in Spain the Sunday *Mediante*, because it exactly halved the old Spanish Lent, and because the Gospel commences with that word.

Thursday of the Midlent Week is, in the Eastern Church, *Thursday of the Great Canon*, because the hymn of S. Andrew of Crete, known by that name, is then sung.

The fifth Sunday is *Passion Sunday*, because then the Western Church begins her more solemn commemoration of the Passion. Then the two glorious hymns of Venuntius Fortunatus, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, and *Pange lingua gloriosi prælium certaminis*, begin to be said. It was also sometimes called *Midlent Sunday*, because it follows the Midlent week; there being many instances in the West, where the Eastern example of considering Sunday as the last day of the week may be traced. More properly it was called *Midlent Osave*. In Germany we find it named *Black Sunday*, with reference to the veiling of the crosses in black, which takes place at that passage of the Gospel, "JESUS hid Himself, and went out of the temple."

The Saturday of Passion Week, or, as the Eastern Church calls it, Palm Week, was named in the South of Europe, *Alms Saturday*, it being customary to bestow charity on the poor, in remembrance of our LORD'S words spoken on that day; "Ye have the poor always with you, and whensoever ye will, ye may do them good." In the East, it is appropriately named *S. Lazarus's Saturday*, and often, both by East and West, *Palm Saturday*.

The sixth Sunday in Lent has a variety of names, most of them beautiful and appropriate. In England, Holland, Germany, and Denmark, it is *Palm Sunday*; in Italy, *Olive Sunday*; in Spain, Portugal, and France, *Branch Sunday*; in Welsh, *Flower Sunday*. In Russia, it is *Verknie Voskresenie*, *Sallow Sunday*, from the necessary employment of willows in the procession. For a similar reason, it is in various parts of England

Willow Sunday, or *Yew Sunday*. Again, it was named *Tradition Sunday*, because on that day the Creed was taught to the catechumens who were to be baptized on Easter Eve; *Indulgence Sunday*, from an uncertain reason; *Palm Easter*; the *Capitilavium*, because it was then usual to wash the heads of the children who were about to be baptized; *Flower-Easter*; *Easter of the Competents*, or *Pascha petitem*, because of the tradition of the Creed to those who were competent for baptism; *Hosanna Sunday*, or merely *Hosanna*, in the South of Europe, as it is in the Coptic Church. In Germany, *Pluem Sonntag*, Bloom Sunday. In the Greek Ritual it is simply *Palm Sunday*, though sometimes called *S. Lazarus's Sunday*. In Georgia, by a singular reference to S. Mary Magdalene, it is *Bzobisa Aghebisa*, Prostitution Sunday. In several parts of England, and especially in Hertfordshire, it is known as *Fig Sunday*: and in Hertford itself and the surrounding towns, more figs are sold in the preceding week, than in all the rest of the year together. No doubt the origin of this custom was our LORD'S desiring to eat of the fig-tree, on the Monday following that Sunday. Only it is curious that the tradition should have lasted on through the Middle Ages, when preserved figs must have been at least as great a rarity as natural figs are with us.

The sixth week in Lent is, in all the Romance languages, as with us, *Holy Week*. The title *Passion Week*, so often bestowed improperly on it among ourselves, is in Russia given to it by right, *Strašnoe Nedelie*. The Latin term, the Greater Week, *Hebdomada Major*, does not seem to have come into vernacular use. In old French it was called, as it sometimes is still, *La Semaine Peneuse*. So Hildebert begins a sermon on the Passion: "Septimana ista, fratres carissimi, ex re nomen habens, vocatur laboriosa, vel, ut vulgo loquuntur, *apænâ, verborustico, pænosa*." The most beautiful term, however, as setting forth its abstraction from worldly labours, and its holy quiet, is that by which it is known in Germany and Denmark, the *Still Week*. In Germany it is also the *Marterwoche*, and *Car* or *Charwoche*, Suffering Week. In the East it is the *Great Week*, and each day has the same epithet, Great Monday, Great Tuesday, &c. Finally, in many mediæval writers, it is the *Authentic Week*; in the sense, we suppose, of *the week*,—the week that is a week indeed; and so we have found it named in a Mayence Missal of 1519. The Welsh call it *Wythnos y Grog*, the Week of the Cross. Tuesday was in Germany, for an unknown reason, called *Blue Tuesday*; Wednesday, *Krumm Mittwoch*, from the confusion (they say) of the Pharisees' Counsel. In Ireland, *Spy Wednesday*, with reference to Judas's mission.

that this day should not have derived its vernacular name from its great institution, the Blessed Eucharist. It had, indeed, in mediæval Latin, the name, *The Birthday of the Chalice*. So Hildebert :—

Hoc in Natali Calicis non est celebratum,
Quando Pascha novum vetus est post Pascha dicatum.

But, in modern languages, this did not obtain. In Dansk we have the name of *Skiertorsdag*, as, in some parts of England, that of *Sheer Thursday*, from the old root *Skier*, signifying pain or affliction. In France it is simply *Jeudi Saint*, a term likely to be confounded with Ascension Day. In German it is *Grüne Donnerstag*, Green Thursday; the origin of the term is much disputed. It is probable, however, that the epithet is here to be taken in the sense of *unripe*, inasmuch as in Slavonia and Carinthia the day is called *Raw Thursday*, with what reference we are quite unable to explain. In Spain, as with us, it is *Juéves del Mandato*, from the performance of the *mandatum*, the washing of the feet. In Portugal it is *Quinta Feira de Endoenças*, Sickness Thursday, on account of the consecration of the chrism for the unction of the sick. In Welsh, with reference to the mocking of our LORD it is *Iau y Cablyd*, Thursday of Blasphemy. In Brunswick it was *Good Thursday*, and so Boniface IX. in a Bull, speaks of "*Bonam quintam feriam in Cænâ Domini*." The Swiss call it *High Thursday*. In some parts of Germany, and in France, *White Thursday*, from the white colour of that day only in Holy Week. In Austria, finally, it is *Antlatz-Tag*, Remission Day, from the readmission of penitents into the Church.

Good Friday is another example of an English appellation that surpasses in beauty the vernacular terms of other languages, except the Flemish, where it is also used. But that we are so completely used to it, we should probably feel what a touching acknowledgment is the name of the work accomplished on that day. In some parts of England it is *Char-Friday*, that is, Passion Friday; a name also in use in Germany. There, however, it is usually called *Still Friday*. Denmark has a far less appropriate name, *Long Friday*. It is not a mark of very high devotion, that the length of the office should be that which has given the title to the day. *Black Friday*, a name common over Southern Germany, gives the popular view of the season, and *Holy Friday* is the somewhat common-place title adopted in most of the Romance languages. In Welsh, it is *Gwener y Corglith*, Friday of the Lesson of the Cross.

Easter Eve has in few modern languages any more recondite name than in our own. In Portugal, it is *Sabbado de Alleluia*, from the triumphant resumption of the Alleluia in the first vespers of Easter. In some parts of Germany, it is *Judas Saturday*. In the East, in the same way as the rest of the week, it is *Great Saturday*, except among the Armenians, who call it *Burial Saturday*.

With respect to the Sundays in Lent, the rhyme well known in the North of England may deserve a little consideration :—

Tid : mid : misera :
Carlins : Psalms : Pafte-egg-day.

Or, as it is in another version :—

Tid : mid : merila :
Carl : Palm : and Good-pace-day.

Clearly there is some reference to the various names of the Sundays in Lent : but it is very difficult to fit in the order of the rhyme with that of the Sundays. *Misera*, is no doubt a simple corruption of *Reminiscere*, the second Sunday in Lent : in which case, *Mid* would be the first, and *Tid*, *Quinquagesima*. But there is nothing, either in the Introit, Collect, Epistle, or Gospel, which, by any possible chance, could be corrupted into such an abbreviation. *Pafte-egg-day* no doubt ought to be *Pasch-egg-day*, that is, with reference to the Easter-eggs once distributed here, as still in the East. *Carl*: *Carl Sunday*, or *Carling Sunday*, or, by a corruption, *Caring Sunday*, is in the Midland Counties a name for Passion Sunday. *Carlins* are a particular kind of beans, which, like haricot beans now, were eaten on that Sunday ; and, for quite as uncertain a reason as that of their use on S. Maurice's day in Switzerland. *Palm* (by corruption *Psalms*) explains itself.

We come now to the Queen of Festivals. And here the Greek and Latin, in various corruptions, is almost universal ; appearing in the French *Pâque*, in the Portuguese *Pascoa*, in the Illyrian *Paska*, and (which is rather strange) in the Danish *Paaske*, the Welsh *Pasg*, the Irish *Caisc*, the Basque *Phazko*. The English *Easter*, and the German *Ostern*, and Austrian *Aster-tag*, from the goddess *Eostre*, whose feast fell in April, afford a curious instance how the Church, when it suits her, lays hold of a Pagan word, and adapts it to her highest and holiest purposes. This derivation, however, does not seem to have pleased ritualists. So, for example, the piety of Honorius of Autun is more conspicuous than his etymology in the following sentence :—“ *Oster* “ is from *the East*, because as there the Sun ariseth, who, as it

“which is CHRIST, who, as it were, sets in His Death, rises again.” Others will deduce from *Urslund*, the Resurrection. But these are vain attempts to get rid of an etymology, of which, after all, there is nothing to be ashamed. In Manx, it is *Yn-chaisht*, “The Holy.” In the East, the common title is *Λαμπρά*, the Bright Day. Thus a Cretan ballad, describing the celebration of the principal feasts of the Church :—

Τοῦ Χριστουγέντου γιὰ κήρι,
Καὶ τοῦ βαίου γιὰ βάλαι
Καὶ τῆς Λαμπρῆς τὴν κυριακὴν
Γιὰ τὸ “Χριστὸς ἀνίστα.”

At Christmas tapers kindle,
At Palmtide Palm-gifts bring ;
And then upon *Bright Sunday*
“The Lord is risen,” we sing.

The use is the same in the Russian Church, where Easter Day is the *Sviatloe Voskresenie*.

In Illyrian, Easter Week is, we know not why, *Vodena nedielja*, *Watery Week*, unless it may refer to the Baptism of the Catechumens on Easter Eve.

The Octave of Easter is, with us, *Low Sunday*, probably from the contrast between the rapturous joy of Easter, and the more ordinary routine to which we now return. At the same time, in every part of the Western Church, it is a Sunday of the first class. In the Latin Church, it is the *Dominica in Albis*, that is, *in Albis depositis*, because then the recently baptized laid aside their white robes. But the Germans, translating exactly from the Latin, call it *der weisse Sonntag*, for precisely the reason that it is *not* white. It is as often called the Sunday *Quasimodo*, from the introit. In the canton of Soleure, in Switzerland, it is *Bean Sunday*, on account of a certain distribution of beans which then takes place, and by which the translation of some of the Martyrs of the Theban Legion is commemorated. In the East, it is *New Sunday*, with reference to the Renovation of all things by our Lord's Resurrection.

Mundi renovatio
Nova parit gaudia :
Resurgente Domino
Conrefurgunt omnia.

It is thus named also by the Armenians. The Greeks frequently call it *Antipascha*, and also *S. Thomas's Sunday*, in commemoration of his conversion on that day.

While in Easter-tide, we must not forget to mention the *Annotine Easter*. This was a commemoration of the preceding Easter, made on that day in the following year. There is a sequence for this festival, the only one with which we are acquainted, beginning;

Surgit Christus cum trophæo,
Jam ex Agno factus Leo.

As, however, Annotine Easter fell often in Lent, and sometimes in Passion-tide, it was in most Churches transferred either to the Sunday *Quasimodo*, or to the fourth Sunday after Easter, or in some cases, to Saturday in the Octave. The origin of its institution seems to have been the natural wish of those baptized at Easter, to celebrate the first anniversary of their spiritual illumination.

A French proverb about Eastertide is:—

Entre Pâques et la Pentecôte
Le dessert n'est que d'une croûte.

The Second Sunday after Easter. This, in the Eastern Church, is the Sunday of the Ointment-bearers (τῶν μυροφόρων), from the Gospel. In the Armenian Calendar, it is *Green Sunday*, because the spring is now, at latest, bursting forth.

The Third Sunday after Easter. This, for a similar reason to that mentioned above, is, in the East, the *Sunday of the Paralytic*. Why the Armenian Church calls it *Beautiful Sunday*, we know not.

The Fourth Sunday after Easter is, with the Greeks Mid-Pentecost, from dividing the time between Easter and Whit-Sunday. Also, from the Gospel, it is the *Sunday of the Samaritan*.

The fifth is *Rogation Sunday*, with the three Rogation Days following. In Germany this is the *Betsontag*, with the same meaning: in other languages the Latin term seems almost invariably followed. The Week is in Germany the *Betwoche*; in Anglo-Saxon, *Gangwuca*. The Oriental Church, retaining the old rule of admitting no fast between Easter and Pentecost, has no such season, and therefore no such name. The Gotho-Hispanic Church, wishing to observe the Rogations, and yet unwilling to break the canon, transferred them either to the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in the week of Pentecost, or else to the Ides or to the Kalends of December. In the East, Rogation Sunday is the *Sunday of the Blind Man*, from the Gospel.

Ascension Day has not many vernacular names. In Germany, it is usually *Uffarts-tag*; sometimes *Non-Tag*, because Nones

were kept with singular splendour, in consequence of the tradition that, at this hour, our LORD ascended into Heaven. In some parts of the south of France it was termed *Bread Thursday*, from a distribution of bread which then was made to the poor; probably with reference to that verse of the Psalm, "Thou art gone up on high: Thou hast led captivity captive, and received gifts for men." In England it has been known as *Bounds Thursday*; from beating the bounds of the parish, transferred, by a corruption of Rogation processions, to this day. In Manx, it is *Fasdyll*, which they derive from *Fas*, GOD, and *theill*, the world, because GOD on that day went up to Heaven from the world. In Russia, they use an especial term for this day, instead of the more ordinary word for *Ascension*: calling it *Voznesenie*, and not *Voschojdenie*. The Eastern Church knows of no especial title for the festival, except that, in Cappadocia, from an uncertain reason, it was the *Epifozomene*.

The Sunday after Ascension is so called all over the West. But in the East it is termed the *Sunday of the Three Hundred and Eighteen*, from the commemoration which then takes place of the Fathers of Nicæa.

Whit Sunday. It is curious that this name should be so mistaken. It is neither *White Sunday* (for, in truth, the colour is red) nor *Huit Sunday*, as the eighth after Easter; but simply by the various corruptions of the German *Pfingsten*, the Danish *Pintse*, the various patois, *Pingsten*, *Whingsten*, &c., derived from Pentecost. The corruption is easy and plain enough: if more proof were wanted, note—

1. That as it is not Easter Sunday, but Easter *Day*, so it is not Whit Sunday, but Whitfun *Day*.

2. Although the barbarous corruptions of Whit Monday and Whit Tuesday, are now in vogue (they do not occur in the Prayer-book), yet no one ventures to speak of Whit Week or Whit-tide, or Whit-holidays, but Whitfun Week (just as *Pfingsten Woche* in German), &c. If the derivations were from White, was it utterly impossible that the unmeaning syllable should here have got in? Who ever heard of Easter-fun Week, or Easterfun holidays?

The Romance languages have, for the most part, vernacularized the Latin name. But in Spain the day is usually called the *Fiesta del Espirito Santo*; and in Portugal, by the use of the word Pascha we already noticed, *Pascoa do Espirito Santo*. In Italy it is *Pasqua Rosata*, because the roses are now in full flower. The German name will suggest to some of our readers Goethe's beautiful imitation of Reynard the Fox:—

Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest, war gekommen : es grüntten und blüthen
Feld und Wald : auf Hügeln und Höhn, in Büschen und Hecken,
Uebten ein fröhliches Lied die neuermunterten Vögel, &c.

From the season, German every-day speech names a number of common objects : thus, green geese are *Pentecost geese* ; the peony is the *Pentecost rose* ; broom is *Pentecost-blossom*. In Rufs it is *Troitzie Den*, Trinity Day ; probably as filling up the commemoration of the blessed Trinity. In the East it is, of course, Pentecost.

Ember Wednesday in Whitfun Week is called *Hib Wednesday* in Germany ; *Good Wednesday* in the Holstein, because, though a Fast, it has so many attributes of a feast.

The Friday in the Octave is, among the Nestorians, named *Golden Friday*. For that day of the week being a high commemoration throughout the year, this, in its most sacred season, is supposed to bear the palm from the others ; and hence its title.

It was not to be expected that *Trinity Sunday*, as a day of such late institution, should have left much trace in modern languages. In old French it was popularly called the *King of Sundays* ; also *Blessed Sunday*. In the Eastern Church it is *All Saints' Sunday*, that commemoration being fixed for this day. The office itself was long unsettled in the Western Church. The original collect for the First Sunday after Pentecost was that which begins, "O GOD, the strength of all them that put their trust in Thee," and it is still retained in the Roman Missal as an adjunct to the festival of the Trinity. The German Church was very tenacious of the old rite. Some celebrated the new festival on the second Sunday after Pentecost, so as to leave the octave clear ; large numbers transferred it to the Sunday next before Advent : and this was, we believe, retained in some parts of Rhineland to the last century, if, indeed, there be not even now a double commemoration. So it was at Orleans till the sixteenth century.

Corpus Christi also, as a late festival, comes under the same head as the last. That, in England, as abroad, it was called from the Body of GOD, the vulgar oath still remains to tell. The French Church has abbreviated it still further, into the *Fête Dieu*.

The Sundays following Trinity are, in the Roman Calendar, as every one knows, called from Pentecost. But in the Sarum, and in most German Missals, they are named, as we name them, from Trinity.

We may observe that in the north of England, and especially in Yorkshire, the Sunday within the Octave of the Patron, or

Sunday is a very great holiday.

It merely remains to notice the other holidays which have received an English vernacular name.

Of these Lady Day shall be the first. That this term was fixed to the Annunciation and not to the Assumption, shows how, in the earlier times of England, the present respective importance of the festivals was reversed. In Dansk it is the same, *Vor Fruedag*; but in other European tongues it is simply the Annunciation. In Welsh it is *Gwyl Vair y Cyhydedd*, the Festival of Mary of the Equinox; in Manx, prettily enough, *Laa'l-Moirrey-my-Sanbh*, the Day of Mary's being whispered to.

Lammas Day, the Feast of S. Peter ad Vincula. It would be most natural to derive this from Loaf-mas, that is, the benediction of the new bread. But when we find the first of August termed in Welsh *Dydd degwm wyn*, Lamb-tithing day, it is clear that the easier derivative, Lamb-mas Day, is also the true one. The Manx name has in all likelihood the same origin; it is *Laa'l Lhuanys*. *Lhuan* is any creature, more especially a lamb or calf, which comes out of due season. It was probably the absence of an octave, as compared with the great festival of S. Peter, that led to the proverbial idiom, *At latter Lammas*; that is, never; or, as the Danes say, on the 30th of February. In Germany, the day is *Kettenfeier*, the Feast of the Chains,—a literal translation of the Latin.

The same feeling which suggested the English benediction showed itself in all the wine countries on the sixth of August. This was the benediction of the new grapes;—and the rite was often performed, as at S. Martin of Tours, by squeezing a grape into the chalice after consecration. So we have *Le jour des raisins*; in Germany, *Traubentag*; in the Moselle districts, *Liebfrauenmilchtag*, the Day of the Milk of our Dear Lady (from the celebrated wine so called). The Benediction of the Grapes took place on the same day in the East.

An instance is within our knowledge of the endowment of a Post-Reformation Sermon, “to be preached on Lady Day in harvest,” *i. e.* on the Assumption.

Saint Monday is, properly speaking, the Monday after S. Crispin: a great holiday. In Dansk it is *Frimandag*, Holiday Monday: why the Germans call it Blue Monday we know not.

Hallowmas, or *All Hallows*, or *All Holland*, has scarcely any peculiar name elsewhere than among ourselves. In Germany it is simply *Allerheiligen*; and in the Romance languages, a pure translation of *Festum Omnium Sanctorum*.

All Souls. This, in Welsh, is *Gwyl y meirw*, the Festival of

the Dead, and sometimes, more poetically, *Gwyl cenad y meirw*, the Festival of the Embassy of the Dead. In Spanish it is *El día de las animas*; in Portuguese, more curiously, it is the *Dia dos finados*, from *finado*, a dead body. In Italy it is the *Giorno de' morti*. In Germany, precisely as with us.

S. Thomas's Eve is, in Manx, *Oie'l-fingan*, the Eve of Cliffs; because men then went out on the cliffs to shoot venison for the approaching Christmas Festival.

The list might, undoubtedly, with great research, and wider opportunity, be well-nigh indefinitely extended. In short, wherever the Church was early planted, there her influence over domestic language will appear very strongly; where she was not established till a late period, there such vernacularisms are scarcely, or not at all, perceptible. This, we believe, is true to a great extent in Bohemia, more so in Poland, and still more so in Lithuania. But the examples which have been produced will not have been given in vain, if they lead any one to consider how completely the Church should mingle herself with the household words of her children, and should, even in this sense, become all things to all men.

FINIS.



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